DIVINA COMMEDIA

MASK OF DANTE

One of the three given to Baron Kirkup by the sculptor Bartolini

Heath's Modern Language Series

DANTE ALIGHIERI

LA DIVINA COMMEDIA

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

BY

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PREFACE

This work, the first annotated edition of the Italian text of the *Divine Comedy* published in America, is intended primarily for the general literary public, though adapted also to academic use. I have aimed to make it so complete that readers will need, for the comprehension of the poem, no other book save their dictionary; but to those (may they be many!) who may be led to push their inquiry further, a great abundance of bibliographical suggestion has been offered. Remembering how often the *Commedia* is read and enjoyed by persons whose Italian equipment is scanty, I have explained in the notes many words and forms that present no difficulty to the experienced student. On the other hand, I have endeavored, by discarding a vast accumulation of interesting but unnecessary erudition, so to curtail the annotation that the reader's attention shall not be constantly distracted from the text. This alleviation has been facilitated by the relegation of all lengthy discussions and involved explanations to the arguments that precede the several cantos. In my interpretation I have tried to give the 'allegorical and true meaning,' as Dante calls it, the place it deserves, but seldom receives, beside the literal. The text here printed is based on the latest edition of Moore's Oxford Dante; I have, however, not neglected the recent investigations of other scholars. The punctuation has been made to conform, as far as possible, to modern English standards. I am under obligations to all the authorities cited in the following pages. For many notes I owe a particular debt to Torraca's edition and to Norton's translation of the poem. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge also the special benefit I have derived from the works of Moore, Toynbee, Gardner, Del Lungo, Novati, D' Ovidio, Zingarelli, Flamini, and Vossler.

C. H. Grandgent.

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The Heavenly Spheres
E = Earth
Empyrean
Ninth Sphere
Eighth Sphere
Seventh Sphere
Sixth Sphere
Fifth Sphere
Fourth Sphere
Third Sphere
Second Sphere
First Sphere
Fire
Air
E
Moon
Mercury
Venus
Sun
Mars
Jupiter
Saturn
Constellations
Primum Mobile
Empyrean
The Earth surrounded by Air and Fire
Ga = Mouth of the Ganges
Gi = Straits of Gibraltar
Gr = Greece
It = Italy
J = Jerusalem
P = Purgatory
Sphere of Fire
Sphere of Air
J
Gr
It
Hemisphere of Land
Africa
Asia
Gi
Ga
Hemisphere of Water
P
Sphere of Air
Sphere of Fire
Sphere of the Moon

Cross Section
of the
Earth,
showing the
general shape
of Hell
The numbers
indicate
the Circles
Jerusalem
Italy, Valley
Incontinence
1
2
3
4
5
6
7 Violence 7
Fraud
8 8
9 9
Winding Passage
from
Hell to Purgatory
Purgatory
The Slope
of Hell
on a larger scale
A
Acheron
Upper Hell
Walls of the City
Styx
Lower Hell
or
City of Dis
R W P
Phlegethon
Cocytus
Centre of the Earth
A. Vestibule: Sluggishness
1. Limbus: Paganism
Incontinence
2. Lust
3 Gluttony
4. Avarice and Prodigality
5. Anger
6. Heresy
Violence
7. R, River; W, Wood; P, Plain
Fraud
8. Deceit
9. Treachery

West
East
Island of Purgatory
Eden
Gate of Purgatory
Valley of Princes
Negligent
Excommunicated
Cato
Eden and Purgatory
Garden of Eden
Entrance to Eden
Lust
Gluttony
Avarice and Prodigality
Sloth
Anger
Envy
Pride
Gate of Purgatory

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

N. B. — Whenever Dante's minor works are cited, the references are to the Oxford Dante, *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, edited by Dr. E. Moore, 3d ed., 1904.

References to the Bible are printed in lower case Roman type.

Acts: The Acts of the Apostles.
Æn.: Virgil's *Æneid.*
ARIST.: Aristotle.
Bull.: Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana, publ. in Florence, Nuova Serie.
CASINI: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by T. Casini, 5th ed., 1903.
Cons.: Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ.*
Conv.: Dante's *Convivio.*
Cor.: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians.
De Cons. Phil.: see *Cons.*
Deut.: Deuteronomy.
D' OVIDIO: F. D' Ovidio, *Studii sulla Divina Commedia*, 1901.
D' OVIDIO[2]: F. D' Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, 1906.
D' OVIDIO[3]: F. D' Ovidio, *Nuovi Studii danteschi*, 1907.
Eccles.: Ecclesiastes.
Ecclus.: Ecclesiasticus.
Exod.: Exodus.
FLAM.: F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 3 vols., 1903–.
Gen.: Genesis.
Giorn. dant.: Giornale dantesco, publ. in Florence.
Giorn. stor.: Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana, publ. quarterly in Turin.
Inf.: Dante's *Inferno.*
Jer.: Jeremiah.
Levit.: Leviticus.
Macc.: Maccabees.
Mat.: The Gospel according to St. Matthew.
Met.: Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*
Mon.: Dante's *De Monarchia.*
MOORE: E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 3 vols., 1896–1903.
NOVATI: F. Novati, *Freschi e Minii del Dugento*, 1908.
Par.: Dante's *Paradiso.*
Phars.: Lucan's *Pharsalia.*
Phil.: The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians.
Pr.: Proverbs.
Ps.: Psalms.
Purg.: Dante's *Purgatorio.*
Rev.: The Revelation of St. John the Divine.
Rom.: Romania, publ. quarterly in Paris.
SCART.: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by G. A. Scartazzini, 6th ed., rev. by G. Vandelli, 1911.
Theb.: Statius's *Thebaid.*
TOR. *or* TORRACA: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by F. Torraca, 2d ed., 1909.
TOYNBEE: P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, 1902.
V. N.: Dante's *Vita Nuova.*
Vulg.: the Vulgate.
Vulg. El.: Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*
Wisdom: the Wisdom of Solomon.
ZINGARELLI: *La Vita di Dante in compendio con un' analisi della Divina Commedia*, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

The Florence in which Dante lived was virtually an independent municipality controlled by trades' unions. Intense local pride, multifarious energy and enterprise, zest for politics, and partisan rivalry kept the blood of her citizens hot. The town was rapidly coming to the front rank among European cities; in manufactures and commerce she was a leader; inrushing wealth and increasing magnificence made her a pleasant abode. And all these interests — self-government, business, luxurious living — had the charm of novelty. So it was with painting, which was undergoing transformation at the hands of Giotto, the successor of Cimabue; so with sculpture and architecture; so with literature in the vulgar tongue, first introduced into Tuscany in the generation preceding Dante. Yet all these innovations were developing, not in a traditionless new settlement, but in a very ancient community, the home of countless generations of civilization. This, no doubt, is the reason why all her creative activities, material and intellectual, naturally assumed an artistic form in which delicacy and sobriety are allied to a dominant sense of harmony. It was a fit place for the breeding of genius: the swiftly growing town was big enough to afford a field for all kinds of talent, and yet so little that all were neighbors and merit could scarcely go unrecognized. The public offices, too, were numerous and the terms of service short, so that many citizens had a direct share in the management of affairs. On the other hand, the community was rent by party strife. The middle class, with its accumulating wealth and strength, was hated by the old military aristocracy, largely of Germanic origin, which lurked entrenched in castles within and without the city, surrounded by armed retainers, ready to seize upon any pretext to make trouble; and the burghers were bent on reducing the feudal lords to political impotence. The old quarrel between Guelfs and Ghibellines had

ceased with the defeat of the latter party at Benevento in 1266; but new factions, as irreconcilable as the old, carried on the internal war. The Whites, under the leadership of the Cerchi family, represented the new power of industry and money; the Donati, with their Blacks, stood for the old nobility, with which the unaffiliated lowest class was inclined to side. In 1300 the most active leaders of both parties were sentenced to banishment. The Blacks, unsuccessful at home, sought aid abroad. Pope Boniface VIII, who had an old claim on Tuscany, sent to the city that royal adventurer, Charles of Valois, ostensibly as a peacemaker. He entered Florence with an army, and straightway turned it over to the Blacks. The Whites were driven out, among them Dante, who never returned. This was in 1302.[1]

In such a community Dante was born in 1265, probably in the last days of May. We know little of his career. His works afford some bits of information, and there are a few scraps of documentary evidence; his neighbor, Giovanni Villani, inserted a brief sketch of him in his Chronicle; Boccaccio prepared a short, eulogistic account of him after his death, and his life was written in the next century by Leonardo Bruni. These are our principal sources. The mass of legend that has grown up about him makes the truth all the more difficult to ascertain. He came of a family ennobled several generations back, but neither rich nor particularly conspicuous. Their name was originally *Alagherius*, or *Alaghieri*. His own name, *Dante*, is a shortened form of *Durante*. His mother died during his childhood, and his father, after marrying again, died in 1283. A half-brother, Francesco, and a half-sister, Tana, were the fruit of this new marriage. Concerning another sister we do not know whether she was the child of the first wife or the second. As far as we can judge from the *Commedia*, the lad's early impressions of family life were happy. He doubtless received a careful

[1] See R. W. Church, *Dante: an Essay*, 1878; E. G. Gardner, *The Story of Florence*, 1900; A. J. Butler, *Dante, his Times and his Work*, 2d ed., 1901; P. Villari, *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze: Ricerche*, 1893–4 (English translation by L. Villari in 1894–5); R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, II, 1908; I. Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII a Arrigo VII*, 1899.

education; it is likely enough that, after learning the rudiments from the Dominicans, he attended the Franciscan school of Santa Croce. Close familiarity with country as well as city life is shown in his writings. His imagination was cultivated by much reading of Provençal and French poets, from whom he learned unaided the science of metrics. He was deeply influenced, too, by contemporary art, and himself practised drawing. Early he distinguished himself as a poet, in a town where poetry and music were just acquiring an unprecedented vogue; and through his verse he made valuable acquaintances. His 'first friend' was the famous poet Guido, considerably his senior and his literary adviser, of the rich Cavalcanti family. Brunetto Latini, a great scholar, secretary of the Republic, aided him with counsel. Other poets, the notary Lapo Gianni and later the youthful Cino da Pistoia, and also the musician Casella, were his associates. A comrade of less desirable character was Forese Donati, brother of Corso, the leader of the Blacks; Forese, a high liver of shady reputation, exchanged with Dante a series of scurrilous sonnets. Dante mingled in the pastimes of his city and did not hold aloof from more serious civic matters: in 1289 he took part in an important military campaign, probably not his first. He may have been in Bologna in 1287 or thereabouts; he must have visited Lombardy before 1300. Between 1293 and 1300 he got deeply into debt. At some time before 1297 he married Gemma Donati, a distant relative of Corso and Forese, to whom he had probably been affianced since boyhood; she bore him two sons, Pietro and Jacopo, and, in all likelihood, two daughters. The family did not follow him in his exile, although three of the children later joined him in Ravenna. Gemma remained in Florence, where she was still alive in 1332. In 1295 Dante entered public life, and a few years later became an important figure in local politics. He strove for the independence of Florence, and repeatedly opposed the projects of the Pope. After going on an embassy to Gan Gemignano, he was for two months, in the summer of 1300, one of the six Priors of Florence. In 1301 he was commissioned to supervise the widening and improvement of a street. At the critical moment of the advent

of Charles of Valois, or shortly before, Dante is said, on good authority, to have been absent on a mission to Rome. On trumped-up charges he was condemned, first to fine and exclusion, later to death by fire; subsequently, perhaps in 1315, he refused to purchase pardon by submission. For a little while after his banishment, in 1302, he conspired with his fellow-exiles; then, disgusted with their policy, perhaps in danger of his life from their violence, he turned his back on them and 'formed a party by himself.' The story of his wanderings is fragmentary. His first refuge was with the Scala family in Verona. On the death of his generous patron, Bartolommeo, in 1304, he is supposed to have visited the university at Bologna; he may even have given private instruction there. There is reason to believe that he travelled widely in Italy, especially in the North. In 1306 he was in Lunigiana with the Malaspina, for whom, on October 6, he acted as attorney in concluding a peace with the bishop of Luni. Thence he probably went to the mountains of the Casentino, on the upper Arno; and it is believed, on the authority of Boccaccio and Villani, that he journeyed between 1307 and 1309 to Paris. In 1308 Henry of Luxembourg, a noble idealist, was elected Emperor; crowned the next year at Aix as Henry VII, he descended in 1310 into Italy, to reunite Church and State, restore order, and reduce rebellious cities to submission. His coming aroused wild excitement and conflicting passions. Florence from the first offered sturdy and successful opposition. Dante, who firmly believed that the woes of Florence and all Italy — in fact, most of the evils in the world — were due to lack of Imperial guidance, greeted Henry as a saviour and hastened to pay him homage. Four letters written in 1310 and 1311 show him in a state of feverish exaltation. He was probably in Pisa in 1312. Henry's invasion, however, was fruitless: he was involved in a turmoil of party strife; the Pope who had summoned him turned against him; and just as his prospects were brightening he died ingloriously near Siena in 1313. With him perished Dante's immediate hopes of peace, the regeneration of his country, and his own restoration. Possibly he took refuge with the Imperial champion Can Grande della Scala in

Verona in 1314. If, as we may infer from a passage in the *Commedia*, Dante went to Lucca, this visit may well have occurred shortly after Henry's death, possibly in 1315; in that year or the next he doubtless returned to Verona. Later, we do not know when, the poet, already famous through his lyrics, his *Convivio*, *Inferno*, and *Purgatorio*, was offered an asylum in Ravenna by Guido Novello da Polenta, a nephew of Francesca da Rimini. His daughter Beatrice was a nun in that city; his son Pietro held a benefice there. This was his home until his death on September 13 or 14, 1321. Shortly before the end he was sent on a mission to Venice. His last years seem to have been peaceful and happy. In Ravenna, where he was greatly esteemed, he had congenial society and eager pupils. He maintained friendly relations with Can Grande della Scala, captain of the Ghibelline league, on whom he built great hopes. Though Florence still repudiated him, Bologna desired his presence.[1]

The foregoing biography of Dante omits the most significant feature of his life, the love for Beatrice. The chivalric amorous service of ladies, which had sprung up among the poets of southern France, developed with some of the later troubadours, under the influence of the growing cult of Mary in the 13th century, into an idealization of woman and a spiritual devotion. But it remained for the school of Bologna and its Florentine disciples to transform this sentiment into a transcendental passion, a combination of religious mysticism and instinctive desire with the Averrhoistic doctrine of a passive individual soul and an active oversoul. In the verse of Guido Guinizelli, who lived just before Dante, woman becomes the visible symbol of the angelic nature; the lover worships in his lady the Heavenly Intelligence which reveals itself in her; only the noble heart is capable of love, and without a fitting object to arouse its inborn love to activity even such a heart is powerless to manifest its latent goodness. These ideas are set forth in a beau-

[1] See P. Toynbee, *Dante Alighieri*, 1910; D. G. Rossetti, *Dante and his Circle*, 1874; N. Zingarelli, *Dante*, 1900 (in the *Storia letteraria d' Italia*, III), and *La vita di Dante in compendio*, 1905; G. Salvadori, *Sulla vita giovanile di Dante*, 1907; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896; P. Gauthiez, *Dante : essai sur sa vie*, 1908.

tiful *canzone* beginning 'Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore,' to which Dante continually reverts. Guinizelli he calls his master, and master of all those who write sweet rhymes of love. Dante, dreamer that he was, and profoundly religious, naturally fell under the sway of this teaching. Critics have hotly debated the question whether his Beatrice was a real woman. Boccaccio asserts that she was Beatrice Portinari, daughter of Folco Portinari, a wealthy and public-spirited Florentine who died in 1289; before that date she was married to a rich banker of good family, Simone dei Bardi. There is no valid ground for rejecting this statement. But after all it makes little difference who she was: the living woman merely furnished the impression that aroused the poet's creative fancy. All imaginative lovers idealize their mistresses beyond recognition. The Beatrice that Dante presents to us, real as she was to him, is almost wholly the product of his own mind. With the flesh-and-blood Beatrice he seems to have had little more than a bowing acquaintance, and there is no reason to believe that she returned or even understood his affection. He first met her when he was nine and she was eight, and even then — at least so it seemed when he looked back upon the episode — she appeared to him as a revelation of the heavenly. Nine years later they exchanged a greeting. When, led to think ill of him by his excessive attentions to another lady, she refused to recognize him, he was profoundly hurt; and his pain was redoubled on one occasion when, with other ladies, she laughed at his show of emotion. He grieved with her sorrow at the loss of a friend, and again when her father was taken from her; he was tormented by a foreboding of her death. Stirred by feminine criticism, he determined to exclude supplication from his verse and make all his love-poetry a hymn of praise. So much he tells us, in the *Vita Nuova*, of his relations with the living Beatrice. After her death, in 1290, her image seems to have become clearer and more fixed; but her influence could not preserve him from morbid dejection and unworthy pursuits. Book-learning and worldliness engrossed him for a while, in spite of the recurring prick of conscience. Even in early youth his fancy had strayed to other women, and his comradeship with

the disreputable Forese Donati is perhaps to be ascribed to a boyish period. After the passing of Beatrice he was, as he thought, unduly moved by the pity of an unnamed lady, who soon, however, became in his mind a mere visible picture of the object of his great passion, Philosophy. Later, in the Casentino, he apparently became violently enamored of a young woman to whom he addressed the most wildly beautiful lyrics in all amatory literature; but even these poems are not beyond the suspicion of allegorical intent.[1]

When we ask ourselves why we are so strangely stirred by the words of a man of whom we know so little, one so remote in date and in thought, we find that it is because, on the one hand, he knew how to present universal emotions, stripping his experiences of all that is peculiar to time or place; and, secondly, because he felt more intensely than other men: his joy, his anguish, his love, his hate, his hope, his faith, were so keen that they come quivering down through the ages and set our hearts in responsive vibration. This intensity seems to distinguish him from other poets of the Middle Ages, perhaps, in part, because he alone had the art to express it. His mastery of language far transcends that of any other mediæval poet, and surpasses that of all but the few very foremost in the world's history. In his close observation and apparent enjoyment of the varying, even the sternest aspects of nature, he seems nearer to our generation than to his own. His study of human nature is no less close. Though the title *Commedia* contained, in its author's mind, no suggestion of the stage, the poem exhibits a command of dramatic situation, a skill in characterization by means of dialogue, not to be found in any

[1] See V. Cian, *I contatti letterari italo-provenzali e la prima rivoluzione poetica della letteratura italiana*, 1900; K. Vossler, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum "süssen neuen Stil,"* 1904; L. Azzolina, *Il "dolce stil nuovo,"* 1903; P. Savj-Lopez, *Trovatori e poeti*, 1906, pp. 9 ff.; Moore, II, 79; E. V. Zappia, *Studi sulla Vita Nuova di Dante. Della questione di Beatrice*, 1904; I. Del Lungo, *Beatrice nella vita e nella poesia del secolo XIII*, 1891; G. Carducci, *Delle rime di Dante*, in his *Studi letterari*, VIII, 1 ff.; A. Zenatti, *Le rime di Dante per la Pargoletta*, in the *Rivista d' Italia*, Jan. 15, 1899; V. Imbriani, *Sulle canzoni pietrose di Dante*, in his *Studî danteschi*, 1891, pp. 427 ff.; A. Abbruzzese, *Su le "Rime Pietrose" di Dante*, in the *Giorn. dant.*, XI, 97 ff.; A. Santi, *Il Canzoniere di Dante*, vol. II, 1906 (vol. I has not yet appeared).

playwright from Euripides to Shakespeare. One other gift he possessed that belongs to no period, but is bestowed upon the greatest artists of all times — the power of visualization, the ability to see distinctly in his mind's eye and to place before the mental vision of the reader not only such things as men have seen, but also the creations of a grandiose imagination, and even bodiless abstractions. In most other respects he belonged to his age: in his submission to authority in all matters of science and philosophy, his unquestioning acceptance of Christian dogma; in his subordination of beauty to truth and his relegation of it to the position of handmaid to utility; in his conception of the individual, not as an independent unit, but as a part of humanity, and his consequent desire to suppress all reference to the events and characteristics that differentiate himself from other men. Mediæval, too, was his mysticism: in him we see a man with the most acute perception of reality, the most eager interest in the doings of his fellows, yet imbued with the idea that the world of fact is all a shadowy image of the world of spirit; his feet were firmly planted on earth, while his head was in the clouds.[1]

Visionary as he was, saddened by his own misfortunes, and exasperated by human wickedness, he had a fundamentally healthy disposition. In his character fierce passion was mated with equally vigorous self-control; vehemence was balanced by introspection and self-judgment; imagination was yoked with logic. He admired simplicity, even asceticism, but he was far from being a foe to culture or to the usages of polite society. He was fond of courtly pursuits, and erudite even to pedantry. In the great writings of pagan times he found a source of endless delight, and he did not hesitate to put them on a par with his Christian authorities. His admiration was less excited by Christian martyrs than by heroic pagan suicides. His Christ is always sublime, a part of the triune God, never the meek lamb nor the humble preacher of Galilee. His outlook upon life was persistently hopeful. Bad as the world was, there could be no doubt of ultimate reform. The Lord, in his unfathomable wisdom, might allow evil to triumph for a while, but his kingdom was

[1] See J. R. Lowell, *Dante*, in his *Literary Essays*, 1897.

sure to come. Dante's political views were entirely abstract and theoretical, and reactionary even for his own day. He had always before him the general principle rather than the particular case. Man being naturally a social creature, political organization is necessary, both in order to supply the manifold needs of the community, assigning different functions to different members, and in order to check greed and insure justice and peace, so that every citizen may have an opportunity to attain his highest development. The State, then, is as necessary — though not so venerable — as the Church. God ordained both, and decreed that Cæsar should found the one, Christ the other. Empire and Papacy are coördinate powers, neither subservient to the other, but both responsible directly to God. The goodness and happiness of the world depend on the balance of the temporal and the spiritual authorities. The rapacity of the clergy and the negligence of sovereigns have disturbed this equilibrium by transferring to the Papacy what belongs to the Empire. Mankind cannot thrive until the adjustment is restored. In his treatment of civics, and in the importance given to avarice as a disturber of society, Dante follows Aristotle, whom he first knew, perhaps, through the commentary of St. Thomas. From the same master he derived vast stores of physical information, as well as a philosophical method and terminology. His general classification of sins and his definition of moral virtues are Aristotelian, but his essential conception of sin and virtue is quite different, being thoroughly Christian. One can only guess what Dante would have been had he really known Plato, to whom he was temperamentally so much more akin. On the ethical side Dante was an eclectic, as were his ancient masters, Cicero and Boethius; Senecan stoicism and Franciscan mysticism dwelt in him side by side. St. Thomas, the interpreter of Aristotle, the learned and ingenious expounder of moral philosophy and Christian dogma, furnished Dante with an abundance of religious doctrine and a host of subtle observations and arguments (not always devoid of inconsistency), and reinforced his inborn fondness for intricate reasoning. To St. Thomas's teacher, Albertus Magnus, the 'Universal Doctor,' perhaps the

greatest scholar and philosopher of the Middle Ages, Dante was directly indebted for not a few of his physical and ethical ideas. Like St. Augustine, Dante takes as his starting-point the Pauline doctrine of predestination and grace; but he draws from it very different consequences. In Dante, as in St. Paul, love is supreme. It is the moving force of the universe and of God himself. Through love God was impelled to create, that there might be others to share his happiness. Everything created is filled with love of the Creator. Animals, plants, lifeless things express their love by being what he made them: the stone, by its hardness and its magic power; the star, by its light and its influence upon earth; the beast, by following its instinct. They cannot do wrong, having no choice. It was God's purpose, however, that there should be creatures with an individual consciousness, a real life of their own; this could not be without freedom of the will, and such freedom implies the possibility of sin. Angels and men alone were given ability to sin, because they alone were created free. But almost instantly after their creation the angels were endowed with such overwhelming grace of vision that their will was absorbed in that of their Maker. The revolt of Lucifer and his fellows occurred in the moment between creation and the acceptance of this grace. The power of vision bestowed on the Heavenly Intelligences is not the same for all: no two angels see God alike, and consequently their natures and functions are diverse, though entirely good. So it is with men. God, in his grace, gives to different men, as he shapes their souls, different degrees of vision. On this vision all their knowledge and all their love depend. According to its clearness, the love of God is more or less intense, wisdom is greater or less, the choice of good and evil is easier or harder, and the eternal state of the soul, if Heaven be attained, is a higher or lower degree of blessedness. Every soul has sight enough to win salvation, and is therefore fully responsible; but some are capable of greater beatitude than others. Predestination becomes, then, in Dante, a mysterious manifestation of God's love: he loves all men, but he fashions them for different ends, on earth and in Heaven, and his love for all is not identical. The natural instinct of man is

to return to his Creator and to love all that is like him. But through inexperience and lack of guidance he may at first mistake evil for good. He possesses, however, the grace of vision, which enables him to discriminate; if he persists in wrongdoing, he rejects grace and sins. If he dies unrepentant, he loses grace forever; if he repents before death, he regains grace and innocence by discipline. Had mankind from the beginning made the proper use of the free will, there would have been no death; all human beings would have lived happily on earth until the Judgment Day, and would then have been taken up to Heaven in the flesh. Adam's disobedience brought death and sin into the world, and suspended salvation until atonement was made by Christ. Only by faith in Christ, before or after his coming, can man be saved; but this faith is (theoretically, at least) within the reach of all. We have seen that man's path is made unduly hard by the lack of temporal direction, for which the impotence of the State is to blame. Men's talents and dispositions differ, too, being the product of the stars — governed by Heavenly Intelligences — that presided over their birth; but every human creature has power to overcome his natural defects so far as to make himself worthy of Heaven. The origin of imperfection in the universe is a difficult (not to say insoluble) problem — one to which Dante often reverted, without ever finding a satisfactory answer. His main argument is that whatsoever is directly shaped by God is perfect, what is fashioned by nature (that is, by the influence of the stars) is faulty. God created brute matter, the heavens, the angels, and creates human souls as they are born. All the rest is the work of nature. Why nature, itself the work of God, should operate defectively, we are not told. Elsewhere Dante says that God, in making material things, has to work with matter, which being imperfect, the divine plan is not realized; but inasmuch as God created matter, this statement can be reconciled with the other only by the supposition that Dante here means, not brute matter, but matter already differentiated and compounded by nature. His whole explanation reduces itself to this: the angels, having an incomplete vision of the divine mind, cannot execute its intent so well as God

himself. If we ask why — this being the case — the angels were given this ministry, or, having the charge, were not endowed with complete sight, no reply is offered. The theory that evil was introduced into the world that man might have exercise for his free will is not formulated in the *Divine Comedy*.[1]

Outside of the *Divine Comedy*, Dante's ideas are to be found, first of all, in the *Convivio*, an unfinished encyclopædic work, in Italian, in the form of a discursive prose commentary on fourteen of the author's *canzoni;* of the projected fifteen books, only four were written, and only three *canzoni* are included. The logically constructed, but purely idealistic and theoretical *De Monarchia*, a Latin treatise in three books, contains his political views. Another Latin treatise, the uncompleted *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, gives us his opinions on language in general, the use of the modern idiom as a literary medium, the relative merits of the various Italian dialects, and the principles of poetic composition in the vulgar tongue; he believed that an ideal, universal Italian, different from any of the actually spoken dialects, was fit, not only for amatory verse, but for martial and moral themes as well. A third Latin work ascribed to him, the *De Aqua et Terra*, is a controversial lecture delivered in Verona in 1320, debating technically the question whether the water of the sea rises in any part higher than the land. Fourteen Latin letters, written at different periods, are attributed to him in manuscripts, and there is record of others, now lost; the authenticity of all the fourteen has been doubted, but it is probable that at least ten are his. Of a political character are the epistles to the princes and peoples of Italy, to the Emperor, to the Florentines, to the Italian cardinals, to a Florentine friend, and an early one to Can Grande. The most important from a literary standpoint, if he really wrote it, is the later, ponderously exegetical *Epistola ad Canem Grandem*, accompanying the first canto of the *Paradiso* with a minute comment on its opening lines and a general discussion of allegory. Many letters and many poems have doubtless perished. On the other hand, some

[1] See K. Vossler, *Die göttliche Komödie. Entwicklungsgeschichte und Erklärung*, 2 vols., 1907–10.

pieces of verse that have gone under his name are, in all likelihood, not his. There seems to be no sufficient reason to ascribe to him the long sonnet sequence called *Il Fiore*, an abridged paraphrase of the *Roman de la Rose*. Among the miscellaneous poems, not contained in his longer works, that are attached to him, we may reckon as his a dozen *canzoni*, a half dozen or more *ballate*, two *sestine*, and some twenty-five or thirty sonnets; they were composed at various times, and treat of love, philosophy, ethics, and sundry occasional topics. Some of them are similar in tone to those comprised in the *Convivio*, others are in the same vein as the thirty-one (mostly sonnets) that form the skeleton of the *Vita Nuova*. This 'little book' consists of a carefully selected and artistically arranged series of amatory poems, surrounded by a dainty prose commentary telling of the poet's early love for Beatrice. There is reason to believe that the prose was written in 1294. Now the final chapter of the *Vita Nuova* speaks of a wondrous vision which determined the lover to write no more of his lady until he should be worthier of the theme; to prepare himself, he was studying with might and main, and he hoped, if his life were spared a few years, to say of her what never had been said of woman. This study, begun for comfort's sake in the darkest hour of mourning for his dead love, as he declares in the *Convivio*, soon became an object in itself, and aroused a new passion that threatened to quench the memory of the old. Beginning with Cicero's *De Amicitia* and the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius, he plunged deep into philosophy and theology. Of the vast knowledge thus accumulated the scholar was naturally proud, and he planned to set it before his fellow-men in the *Convivio*, which was to be a guide to others and a defence of himself. This treatise doubtless occupied him between 1305 and 1308. Only when vast hopes were awakened and then temporarily blighted by the advent and death of his Imperial hero, did Dante forsake this project; then, leaving it two thirds unrealized — leaving unfinished, too, it would seem, his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, — he returned to the fulfilment of his earlier purpose, which, in all probability, he had never quite aban-

doned. Conceived, then, it appears, as early as 1293 or 1294, the plan of the *Divina Commedia* was probably not fully matured until after the death of Henry VII, the Emperor whose advent in 1310 had aroused such wild expectations in Dante's breast. As Henry died in 1313 and the poet in 1321, we may ascribe the composition of the work, in the main, to the years that lie between these dates. Some critics, however, put the *Inferno* much earlier. Both the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* were made public, either singly or together, considerably before the *Paradiso*. If report is to be trusted, this last *cantica* busied the author until the very end of his life. Yet he found time, in his last years, to write two graceful Latin eclogues and (if they be his) the letter to Can Grande and the *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*. There is no external and no definite internal evidence to fix the date of the *De Monarchia;* its general style and maturity point to the latest possible period.[1]

In making his preparation, what books had he studied? The *Æneid*, that corner-stone of mediæval education, must have confronted him from childhood; he tells us that he knew it all by heart. There is no proof, however, that he read the *Georgics*, or any of the *Eclogues* except the fourth. The Latin Bible he had at his fingers' ends. Cicero's ethical writings — especially *De Amicitia* and *De Officiis* — and the great work of Boethius introduced him to philosophy. Much of Aristotle (but not the *Poetics*) and perhaps Plato's *Timæus* he mastered later, in Latin translation. He seems to have seen something of Seneca's prose. Of the Christian scholars and theologians, first of all St. Thomas, then Albertus Magnus, St. Augustine, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, St. Bonaventura, St. Bernard, Peter Lombard, and apparently St. Gregory the Great, St. Isidore of Seville, Peter Damiano, were assiduously consulted;

[1] See E. Gorra, *Per la genesi della "Divina Commedia,"* in his *Fra drammi e poemi*, 1900; also *Quando Dante scrisse la "Divina Commedia"* in the *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, S. II, xxxix, 666 and 827, and xl, 202 (cf. *Bull.*, XV, 1); E. G. Parodi, *La data della composizione e le teorie politiche dell' Inferno e del Purgatorio* in *Studj romanzi*, III (1904), 50 (cf. *Bull.*, XV, 1). For a recent discussion of the letters, see Novati, 329. See also: G. Boffito, *L' Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala*, 1907; V. Biagi, *La Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*, 1908.

and his works show traces of many others. His principal historians were Livy and the Christian Paulus Orosius, author of the *Historia adversus Paganos;* he knew also several compendiums, notably the anecdotical compilation of Valerius Maximus. The treatises of Ægidius Romanus and John of Paris probably came under his inspection. He doubtless was acquainted with the elder Pliny and Solinus; he certainly read the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, and probably the *Composizione del mondo* of Ristoro d' Arezzo. Astronomy he pursued with characteristic thoroughness, first, perhaps, in the *Elementa Astronomica* of Alfraganus. Some strange words and a deal of curious misinformation he got from the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, who lived in the second half of the 12th century. Among the Latin poets, besides Virgil, he was intimate with Ovid, Lucan, and Statius, from whom he derived most of his classical mythology and much of his ancient history. He knew Horace's *Ars Poetica.* Many classical authors whom he had not read were known to him by name and reputation; among them, Homer. Greek and Hebrew he never learned, save a few isolated words. Latin, of the rhetorical, mediæval sort, he wrote well, but with less ease and brilliancy than Italian. He could read and write Provençal, and assuredly knew French. He was deeply versed in the lyric poetry of southern France, and was familiar, directly or indirectly, with the epics of the north. He had critically examined the work of the Italian poets who had preceded him in Sicily, Tuscany, and Bologna; his estimates are to be found, not only in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* but also incidentally in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Divina Commedia.* His own lyrics, by the way, reveal a skill far excelling that of any of his forebears. The learning acquired by all this study was not wasted: it reappears in the *Divine Comedy.* This great poem, unrivalled as it is for sustained grandeur of thought and symmetry of form, resolves itself, upon careful analysis, into at least six diverse elements, fused by genius into a single masterpiece —

> 'Tutti conflati insieme per tal modo
> Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.'

Six literary types are blended into one: the Encyclopædia, the Journey, the Vision, the Autobiography, the Praise of Woman, the Allegory.[1]

The idea of a practical compendium of human knowledge was not unknown to the old Romans: Pliny, for instance, composed the *Historia Naturalis*, Celsus the *De Artibus*. To the borderland of ancient and mediæval times belongs that vast compilation, the *Origines* or *Etymologiæ* of St. Isidore of Seville. Others followed, not only in Latin but also in the vulgar tongues; and then came the attempt to give such works poetic form: witness, for example, the Provençal *Breviari d'Amors*, a huge allegorized treatise, written and widely diffused in Dante's lifetime. In Dante's own city lived Brunetto Latini, author of the French *Trésor* and also of the Italian *Tesoretto*, a versified guide to learning in the semblance of a mystic journey — that same Latini who taught the youthful poet 'come l'uom s'eterna.' The *Commedia* contains the essentials of the vital science, theology, with a full discussion of difficult problems; also the principles of the ancillary discipline, philosophy. It offers, furthermore, a complete course in astronomy and cosmography, with occasional lessons in physics, and much incidental instruction in history and mythology. And this solid doctrine is not to be regarded as intrusive; it forms, so to speak, the nucleus of the whole work.

Among the travellers' tales that delighted the wonder-loving public none were better liked than those which told of journeys to the Garden of Eden; and of these the most famous was the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, the narrative of an Irish monk who sailed out into the Atlantic and after marvellous adventures discovered the Isles of the Blest. It is in Dante's *Purgatorio*, and especially in his de-

[1] See Moore, I; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896, 448 ff.; P. Chistoni, *La seconda fase del pensiero dantesco*, 1903; R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905; P. Rajna, *Lo schema della Vita Nuova*, 1890, in the *Biblioteca delle scuole italiane*, II, ii, 161; M. Scherillo, *Alcune fonti provenzali della Vita Nuova*, 1889; H. D. Chaytor, *The Troubadours of Dante*, 1902; C. B. Heberden, *Dante's Lyrical Metres: his Theory and Practice* in the *Modern Language Review*, iii, 313.

scription of the Earthly Paradise, that the influence of such stories is most evident. The inaccessibility, the wall of fire, the birds, the flowers, the streams, the eternal springtime are traditional features; even the lovely youthful figure of Matilda, genius of the place, has a counterpart in the *St. Brendan*. Some authorities put the Garden on a remote mountain-top, others consigned it to a distant island. Dante combined these locations, and made his Eden the summit of a lone peak rising sky-high from the midst of the great ocean. The spot where man first sinned is directly opposite Jerusalem, where he was redeemed.[1]

In II Corinthians xii, St. Paul declares that 'he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' What he saw and heard he refused to tell, but posterity was less discreet. Toward the end of the 4th century there appeared a Greek document, found, it was said, in the apostle's house in Tarsus — the *Apocalypse of St. Paul*. Though denounced by St. Augustine, and never accepted by the Church, it enjoyed an immense vogue, and was turned into Syriac and Latin. The Latin *Visio Sancti Pauli* — which tells how the Chosen Vessel, led by an angel, visited the realms of the dead — formed the basis of several versions in the vulgar tongues of Europe. But it stood by no means alone. Visions too numerous to tell were seen and invented for many centuries; conspicuous among them are those described in two Irish tales, the *Tundal* and *St. Patrick's Purgatory;* in Dante's own country there was recorded the *Visio Alberici*. Most of these treat of the lower world, in which Hell and Purgatory lie side by side. A large part of the punishments portrayed by Dante were commonplaces of vision literature; but he avoided the extremes of coarseness and grotesqueness, and introduced system and fitness where all had been chaotic. It was his happy idea, moreover, to lift Purgatory to the earth's surface, place it far from Hell, next to the Garden of Eden, and surround it with an atmosphere of light and

[1] See D' Ovidio [2]; A. Graf, *La leggenda del Paradiso terrestre*, 1878, and *Il mito del Paradiso terrestre* in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892, I; E. Coli, *Il paradiso terrestre dantesco*, 1897.

hope. Meanwhile St. Paul's reticence had borne other fruit. A Neo-Platonic treatise, not earlier than the 5th century, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, dealing with the heavens and the Heavenly Intelligences, had been ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the apostle's convert in Athens, and was supposed to contain an authentic record of revelation confided by the master to his disciple. Dante's classification of heavens and angels is founded on this work. But heathen as well as Christian could dream dreams of the hereafter. The *Somnium Scipionis* in Cicero's *De Republica* depicts good souls rising to the stars, and the petty earth in the centre of nine revolving spheres. If Homer's account of a descent into the world of the departed was unknown in the Middle Ages, those of Ovid, Lucan, and Statius were familiar to scholars, and Virgil's was before every schoolboy's eyes. Dante's Hell is full of Virgilian names; Christian and pagan figures are strangely commingled. This must have seemed less incongruous to the author than to us, for in his day the gods of classic mythology were regarded as demons, fallen angels who had seduced mankind to worship them. Furthermore, Dante thought of the ancient poets as seers, who had some inkling of the truth, and in veiled language told of things that became fully known only through the word of God: for instance, when Ovid sang of the Golden Age, or the battle of the giants, he was dimly conscious of the state of man before the fall, and the revolt of the angels against their Maker.[1]

The *Divine Comedy* is not only an Encyclopædia, a Journey, a Vision — it is the Autobiography of a soul. The events of his external life Dante scrupulously excluded from his works: he never mentions his parents, his children, nor, in all probability, his wife; an apparent reference to his sister, in the *Vita Nuova*, is couched in the vaguest terms; only incidentally and rarely does he afford a passing glimpse of his material affairs. His *Vita Nuova*, professedly the story of his youth, is the most baffling record ever penned. In

[1] See A. D' Ancona, *I precursori di Dante*, 1874; M. Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, 1903; A. Graf, *La demonologia di Dante* in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892, II; C. Fritzche, *Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Romanische Forschungen*, II.

his opinion, it is not meet to speak of one's self: 'parlare alcuno di sè medesimo pare non licito,' he declares in the *Convivio*. This maxim evidently does not apply, however, to the inner self, provided that self be generalized into a type of mankind, and provided the recounting of its experiences be helpful to other erring souls — 'quando per ragionare di sè grandissima utilità ne segue altrui per via di dottrina.' Like St. Paul and Æneas, Dante had a mission, a vital message for humanity. The *Divine Comedy* is the epic of remorse, repentance, purification, and final uplifting. Incidentally it depicts the depravity of the world and points the way to social regeneration. For a work of this kind Dante had a great example in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and another, allegorically conceived, in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*.

From the dawn of amorous poetry in Provence it was the habit of the bard to vaunt the charms of his mistress and her superiority to the rest of her sex, attributing to her influence all credit for such gifts as he himself might possess. His life, he alleged, was given to her service, his verse was a tribute to her power. Such a tribute, but a loftier, more enduring one, Dante determined to pay to his lady: 'spero,' he says, 'di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d'alcuna.' The *Divine Comedy* is a monument to Beatrice, and, in truth, such a monument as never was erected, before nor after, to any woman.[1]

'Sciendum est,' declares the letter to Can Grande, referring to the *Divina Commedia*, 'quod istius operis non est simplex sensus, immo dici potest polysemum, hoc est plurium sensuum; nam alius sensus est qui habetur per literam, alius est qui habetur per significata per literam. Et primus dicitur literalis, secundus vero allegoricus, sive mysticus.' Allegorical interpretation had been applied by the ancient Hebrews to the prophecies of the Old Testament, and by the Greeks — in late, sophisticated times — to the Homeric poems. It was early applied also to some of the Latin poets. The *Æneid* was regularly so expounded; a commentary of this kind was surely known to Dante. The method reached its highest develop-

[1] See L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, 1896.

ment, however, in the explanation of the Bible by the Church fathers. In the second book of the *Convivio* Dante discusses it at length; and there he differentiates theological from poetic allegory. In the former the literal as well as the mystic sense is true, while in poetry the letter is fiction and truth resides in the allegory alone. The Old Testament is an accurate record of fact, but at the same time a prophecy of the New; whereas the fable of Orpheus is literally false and only metaphorically true. Furthermore, Dante distinguishes, in addition to the literal and the allegorical, a moral and an anagogical meaning: the one is merely the useful inference that the reader may draw from a story, for the guidance of his own life; the other, which is obscurely defined, seems to be a revelation of spiritual truth, hidden in the words of the text. Dante himself, in the interpretation of his *canzoni* in the *Convivio*, confines his attention to the literal and the allegorical senses. Allegorical composition was to Dante not an artificial but a natural process. He lived in a world of mystic correspondences. Numbers, stars, stones, beasts, had a mysterious significance; even the events of history were fraught with symbolic meaning. The relation of fact to symbol was not arbitrary nor fortuitous; it was real and predestined. Thus in his poem the outer and the inner narratives seem indissolubly bound; neither obstructs the other, neither is complete without the other, and to the intelligent reader the two are of equal interest. The *Divine Comedy* is perhaps the only great allegory of which this can be said to-day. In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, for example, the literal story is too crude and fantastic to please any but a child, and the symbolism appeals only to the adult. In the *Roman de la Rose* the allegory is ingenious and artistically attractive, but the literal fable is insignificant; while the converse is true of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

In exposition, says Dante, 'sempre lo litterale dee andare innanzi'; and he adds, describing his interpretation of his own *canzoni*, 'ragionerò prima la litterale sentenza, e appresso di quella ragionerò la sua allegoria, cioè l'ascosa verità.' We may pursue the

same course. Literally, then, the *Divina Commedia* is the narrative of a journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. The poet, in the middle of his life, finds himself astray at night in a dark wood. He tries to save himself by climbing a mountain whose top is lit by the rays of the rising sun; but three beasts, besetting his path, are about to drive him back, when Virgil, summoned to Dante's help by Beatrice, at the bidding of Mary and St. Lucia, appears and offers to guide him. They can escape from the wood only by going through the earth from side to side. This path leads them through the whole of Hell, where Dante sees the punishment of every kind of sin and converses with the damned. Hell ends at the earth's centre, and from that point the poets climb out by a dark, winding channel to the opposite hemisphere. They emerge in the middle of the ocean, on the shore of an island which consists mainly of a colossal mountain. Cato of Utica, the guardian of the place, meets and directs them. Up the steep mountain-side Dante drags himself, still accompanied by Virgil. On the ledges are repentant souls preparing themselves by discipline for the heavenly life. As Dante and Virgil are approaching the summit, they are joined by Statius, who has just completed his penance. The three mount together to the top, where they find the Garden of Eden, and in it a fair, happy, amorous young maiden, Matilda, who seems to embody the spirit of the place. Amid the trees and flowers they witness a pageant of the Church, whose culmination is the appearance of Beatrice in a shower of lilies thrown by angels. Now Virgil vanishes, and presently Statius is mentioned for the last time. Beatrice it is who leads Dante up from earth through the revolving heavens into the real Paradise, which is the presence of the Almighty, and consigns him to St. Bernard, the great mystic. There has been unrolled before us a picture of mankind, past and present, and a view of the universe. Dante's conception of the world is essentially symmetrical and organic; there is exact correspondence between the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual. The poem ends with the vision of God.

In its 'allegorical and true sense' the *Divine Comedy* is the his-

tory of a soul struggling with sin and, with celestial help, winning peace. The wood typifies the worldly life; the sunlit mountain, righteousness; the three beasts, evil habits, which make reform impossible for the unaided soul. But divine Mercy and Grace send Revelation to direct it — that heavenly enlightenment or superhuman Wisdom which *Beatrix*, the Bestower of Blessings, had always personified in Dante's eyes. For direct Revelation the sinner is not yet fit; he must approach it through Reason. So Virgil, who typifies human understanding, discloses to Dante the true nature of sin in all its hideousness and folly: for the punishments of Hell, so minutely described, are but the image of the sins themselves. When Reason has probed sinfulness to the bottom, Dante, horrified, turns his back upon it and painfully wrests his soul from its clutches; such is the significance of the laborious but uneventful journey from the centre of the earth to the Island of Purgatory. As yet, however, Dante has merely weaned himself from evil practices; he has still to cleanse his soul so that wrongdoing will no longer attract it — to purify it and prepare it for the sight of God. This can be accomplished only by discipline, under the guidance of the Church. Then, as the shackles of sin are removed, the soul once more enjoys its inborn liberty; it regains the Free Will, God's most precious gift to man. Of all the doctrines that Dante expounds, that of Free Will is closest to his heart — the wholesome doctrine of individual responsibility. And Cato, Dante's favorite character in all history — Cato, who gave up life to assert his independence — is made its exponent. The torments on the terraces of Purgatory represent the penances that the soul, under proper direction, must undergo before it can return to its first freedom and innocence. As Dante approaches the top, some questions confront him which Reason alone cannot quite solve; and to answer them, apparently, comes Statius, or human understanding illumined by Christianity. When the soul has regained its original purity — has climbed to its Garden of Eden — and is restored to the primeval life of innocence and activity (which Matilda seems to symbolize), it has no more need of Reason, for all its instincts are unerring. Then, after

the true glories of the Church are unfolded before its eyes, it can follow Revelation through heaven after heaven, ever nearer and nearer to the real Paradise, until at last it stands before its Maker. In the presence of the Source of all knowledge, even Revelation is superfluous; Beatrice resigns her great office, leaving Dante in the charge of St. Bernard, the type of Contemplation. 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' [1]

If to the literal and the allegorical we must add a moral and an anagogical interpretation, we may assume that morally the poem is a warning against sin, an exhortation and guide to repentance, and an incentive to religious contemplation. Anagogically, the poet may be said to portray in Hell the wicked world as he knows it, in Purgatory the rescue of the elect, and in Paradise the kingdom which is to come.

The epithet 'Divine' became attached to the poem in the 16th century through its use in the edition of 1555. The title which Dante gave his work is *Commedia* (or, as he pronounced it, *Comedía*), meaning a poetic composition in a style intermediate between the sustained nobility of tragedy and the popular tone of elegy; according to the letter to Can Grande, the name indicates also a sad beginning and a happy end. The author, in fact, does not scruple, on occasion, to sacrifice elegance and even clearness to brevity, vigor, and pictorial effect. He expected to be minutely studied and weighed, not cursorily read. The characteristic detail, the specific term, the appropriate coloring were worth more to him, when he wrote the *Commedia*, than any absolute standard of poetic propriety. His imagery stamps on the reader's mind an unbroken sequence of visual impressions. An inexhaustible inventiveness, a compact style, a richly varied and picturesque vocabulary make the perusal of the *Commedia* a series of literary surprises. Especially when we consider the poverty of the poetic idiom before Dante, does the

[1] In such a delicate and such an individual matter as spiritual interpretation, it is natural that no two commentators should entirely agree. For two widely different methods of exegesis, see F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 1903–4, and G. Pascoli, *Sotto il velame*, 1900.

master's creative power seem almost beyond belief. His literary medium was virtually his own handiwork. And this nervous strength, this irrepressible originality do not preclude a haunting melodic beauty and a triumphant rhythm that remind one of the tramp of many feet marching to sweet music. Vowel harmonies, pervasive but seldom obtrusive alliteration, skilful distribution of stress are the elements that combine to work the spell. His language is, in the main, the Florentine speech of his day, as it sounded in the mouths of cultivated people. Mingled with this are a few Gallicisms, some archaisms, some words borrowed from other Italian dialects, and a great many Latinisms. The foreign and unusual words and those employed in a strange sense occur for the most part in the rhyme. Dante was generally averse to periphrasis or deviation from his idea, and was loath to end a verse with an insignificant word; so he was sometimes forced to do violence to usage in his rhymes.[1]

Of the external attributes of the *Divine Comedy*, the most wonderful is its symmetry. With all its huge bulk and bewilderingly multifarious detail, it is as sharply planned as a Gothic cathedral. Dante had the very uncommon power of fixing his attention upon the part without losing sight of the whole: every incident, every character receives its peculiar development, but at the same time is made to contribute its exact share to the total effect. The more one studies the poem, the clearer become its general lines, the more intricate its correspondences, the more elaborate its climaxes. At the end of each *cantica* is one of these great culminating points — the sight of Lucifer, the appearance of Beatrice, the vision of God; and for each of them the reader is insensibly prepared by a series of gradations whose structure reveals itself only after long repeated readings. The arrangement of the *Commedia* is based on the number three, the 'mystic' number, the symbol of the Trinity.

[1] See I. Del Lungo, *Il volgar fiorentino nel poema di Dante* in his *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante*, 1898; N. Zingarelli, *Parole e forme della Divina Commedia aliene dal dialetto fiorentino*, in *Studî di filologia romanza*, 1888; F. Garlanda, *Il verso di Dante*, 1907.

Dante shared with most philosophers of his day a profound belief in the significance of numbers. The *Divine Comedy* falls into three books, or *cantiche*, of nearly equal length; each of these has thirty-three cantos, except that the *Inferno* has an additional first canto which serves as an introduction to the whole. The total number of cantos is therefore 100, or the 'perfect' number, ten, multiplied by itself. The verse, invented by Dante for this use, is what is called *terza rima*, a succession of tiercets in which the first and third lines rhyme together while the middle line rhymes with the first and third of the next *terzina*. The metre is the *endecasillabo*, which had developed long before Dante's time. It is really the same verse, essentially, as the French ten-syllable line; but the French take the 'masculine,' or oxytonic, verse as the standard, while the Italians take the 'feminine,' or paroxytonic. The Italian line has normally, then, eleven syllables, with an accent on the tenth: see, for instance, *Inf.* I, 1. Occasionally the final unstressed syllable is dropped, and the verse becomes 'masculine,' or *tronco:* for example, *Inf.* IV, 60. Sometimes, on the other hand, an extra unaccented syllable is added, making a dactyllic ending, and the line is called *sdrucciolo:* e. g., *Inf.* XXIV, 66. In counting syllables, contiguous vowels, whether in the same word or in adjacent words, are generally reckoned as one, being blended together, as in *Inf.* I, 25-6:

> 'Co-sì — l' a-ni-mo — mio — che an-cor — fug-gi-va
> Si — vol-se in-die-tro a — ri-mi-rar — lo — pas-so.'

But often two vowels which in prose may make separate syllables are allowed to count as two in verse; this is regularly done at the end of a line : so *Inf.* I, 12,

> 'Che — la — ve-ra-ce — vi-a ab-ban-do-na-i.'

Besides the fixed accent on the tenth syllable of every line, there must be a stress either on the fourth or on the sixth, as in *Inf.* I, 1-2:

> 'Nel mezzo del cammín di nostra víta
> Mi ritrovái per una selva oscúra.'

In point of fact, however, Dante almost always has a more regular alternation of strong and weak syllables — a movement more nearly

approaching that of English poetry — than this theoretical scheme would indicate: see, for instance, *Inf.* V, 106,

'Amór condússe nói ad úna mórte.'[1]

The *Divina Commedia* has come down to us in nearly 600 manuscripts, none of them in the author's hand, and none taken directly from the original; upwards of 200 are in Florence, the others are collected in Italy or scattered over Europe. Many are beautifully illuminated. Although some of the manuscripts go back to a time within fifteen or twenty years of Dante's death, these copies are by no means in full agreement with one another; furthermore, the early commentators cite variants: it is evident that the corruption of the text set in as soon as the poet died, perhaps even before his decease. The poem was first printed in 1472. In 1502 appeared the Aldo Manuzio edition, in 1595 that of the Accademia della Crusca; these were for centuries regarded as authoritative. There was no critical edition until 1862, when K. Witte published one based on four good manuscripts; for one canto he also collated over 400 manuscripts. Three years later A. Mussafia brought out a collation of two manuscripts. After a long interval came editions by P. Toynbee and G. Vandelli. A fruitless attempt to establish a genealogical sequence of manuscripts was made by G. A. Scartazzini. No satisfactory classification of manuscripts has been made; but it is certain that no existing manuscript or group of manuscripts can be regarded as authoritative throughout. In 1894 appeared the 'Oxford Dante,' *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, edited by E. Moore (3d ed., 1904); the *Divine Comedy* in this volume is based primarily on Witte's text, but Dr. Moore has examined for crucial passages some 200 manuscripts, and has made use of the investigations of other scholars.[2]

Countless allusions, some of them purposely blind, vast accumula-

[1] See H. F. Tozer, *On the Metre of the Divine Comedy* in E. Moore's *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divine Comedy*, 1889, Appendix V; F. Garlanda, *Il verso di Dante*, 1907.

[2] See E. Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divine Comedy*, 1889.

tions of learning, conciseness and originality of phrase, symbolism, not infrequent obscurity combine to obstruct the understanding of the poem. Some of the difficulties we encounter are due to our remoteness from Dante's world, our different habits of thought, the archaic character of his language. Many of them, however, were as great in his day as in ours, and the need of interpretation was immediately felt. At least eleven commentaries on the whole or a part of the work were composed in the 14th century; from the 15th century we have five. The first commentator certainly known to us by name is Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, who goes back as early as 1324. Within sixteen years after him were written the expositions of Jacopo della Lana, those of Dante's sons Jacopo and Pietro, and the work known as the 'Ottimo Commento.' To the latter part of the 14th century belong the exegeses of Boccaccio, who was appointed to expound the *Commedia* in Florence but carried his explanation no further than the 16th canto, of Benvenuto da Imola, and of Buti. The best informed of all these are perhaps Pietro and Benvenuto. All, however, must be used with caution, as they were deficient in poetic insight, and in historical matters did not always discriminate between fact and invention. The task of interpretation has been carried on, with greater or less intelligence and erudition, down to our own day. To keep well abreast of the Dante literature that now appears from year to year would require a man's whole time. At present three recent, copiously annotated Italian editions are at the disposal of students, those of G. A. Scartazzini (revised by G. Vandelli), T. Casini, and F. Torraca. There is a scholarly English edition, with a translation, by A. J. Butler. Of the numerous English versions, the prose rendering by Norton, the unrhymed poetic translation of Longfellow, and Shadwell's *Purgatory* in four-line stanzas excel in accuracy and literary skill; the easiest to read is that of Cary, in blank verse; Plumptre's, in *terza rima*, combines fidelity with happy phrasing and acceptable versification. Several volumes of general studies are especially to be commended: F. D' Ovidio, *Studii sulla Divina Commedia*, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, *Nuovi studii danteschi;*

E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 3 vols.; K. Vossler, *Die göttliche Komödie. Entwicklungsgeschichte und Erklärung*, 2 vols.; I. Del Lungo, *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante;* F. Novati, *Con Dante e per Dante;* F. De Sanctis, *Saggi critici* and *Nuovi saggi critici;* K. Witte, *Essays on Dante;* G. A. Scartazzini, *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia*. For the allegory there is nothing better than F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo*, 3 vols. To those who read German, F. X. Kraus's comprehensive and beautifully illustrated *Dante* may be recommended. N. Zingarelli's *Dante* and *La vita di Dante in compendio* contain full and accurate information concerning the poet's life and works. Excellent handbooks are E. G. Gardner's *Dante* and F. Flamini's *Introduction to the Study of the Divine Comedy* (translated by F. M. Josselyn); *Dante: Introduction à la Divine Comédie*, by H. Hauvette, is very clear; C. A. Dinsmore's *Aids to the Study of Dante* is a convenient compilation. E. A. Fay's *Concordance of the Divine Comedy* and E. S. Sheldon and A. C. White's *Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del canzoniere di Dante Alighieri* are invaluable helps. Most useful for reference are P. Toynbee's *Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante* and G. A. Scartazzini's *Enciclopedia dantesca*. Works of a more special character are mentioned, as occasion arises, in the preceding and the following pages.[1]

[1] See L. Rocca, *Di alcuni commenti della Divina Commedia*, 1891; E. Moore, *Dante and his Early Biographers*, 1890. For bibliography, see T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented* [to Cornell University] *by Willard Fiske*, 2 vols., 1898–1900.

INFERNO

PRELIMINARY NOTE

According to the Ptolemaic system, which was accepted from antiquity down to the time of Copernicus, the earth is a solid, motionless sphere in the centre of the universe. Around it revolve nine transparent hollow spheres, each within its outside neighbor up to the ninth, the Primum Mobile; this imparts its movement to the others and constitutes the frontier of the material world. The eighth heaven carries with it all the fixed stars. Each of those below it contains one heavenly body: the seventh, Saturn; the sixth, Jupiter; the fifth, Mars; the fourth, the Sun; the third, Venus; the second, Mercury; the first, the Moon. They all circle around the earth together, from east to west, once in twenty-four hours. But each heaven except the ninth has, besides, an independent motion of its own, so that it is really moving in a compound curve, made up of two or more different circular revolutions; for instance, the special revolution of the moon is accomplished in a month; that of the sun, in a year. By these sets of motions, and an elaborate system of computation by epicycles, the shifting positions of the sun, moon, and stars were accurately accounted for. Outside the whole universe of matter is the spiritual Paradise, the Empyrean, the true abode of God, the angels, and the blest. The earth is surrounded by air, and between this air and the heaven of the moon is a sphere of fire, toward which all the fire on earth is striving to return. All natural operations on earth are controlled by the movements of the spheres, which are directed by nine orders of angels, or Heavenly Intelligences, created by God for this office.[1]

We have seen that two of the four elements, fire and air, are between the moon and our globe; this body itself consists of the other two, water and earth. The four are arranged in the order of their lightness and their purity. Dante believed the earth to be

[1] See diagrams on p. vi. Cf. Moore, III, 1.

perfectly spherical and about 20,000 miles in circumference. The continents are all grouped on one side, the Hemisphere of Land, which contains not only Europe, Asia, Africa, and some islands, but also the Mediterranean and a part of the great ocean; at the exact centre of this hemisphere is Jerusalem. On the other side is the Hemisphere of Water, in which is no land, except (according to Dante's idea) the mountainous Island of Purgatory, situated precisely opposite Jerusalem. At the top of the mountain of Purgatory is the Garden of Eden. The greater part of the land on the earth's surface is north of the equator, the greater part of the water is south; but the Hemispheres of Land and Water by no means coincide with the northern and southern hemispheres. At the eastern extremity of the Hemisphere of Land is the River Ganges, at the western edge are the Straits of Gibraltar. The Mediterranean was thought to extend over 90°, or a quarter of the earth's circumference; Italy, midway between Gibraltar and Jerusalem, is therefore 45°, or three hours, from each.[1]

Hell is a vast cavity in the form of an inverted cone, whose apex is at the centre of the earth and whose circular base lies beneath the Hemisphere of Land, from which it is shut off by a crust; it extends, apparently, from Italy to mid-Asia. The round declivity of the cavern is broken into nine steps, each of which runs all the way around it; they are of unequal width and separated by cliffs of varying height and steepness. Two enormous precipices divide it roughly into three horizontal sections. A huge wall, circling around one of the terraces, severs the outermost section from the other two, making an Upper and a Lower Hell; the latter is called the City of Dis. On each of the steps is punished some particular kind of sin: in the Upper Hell, the sins of Incontinence, due to lack of self-control; in the Lower Hell, the sins of Violence and Fraud, due respectively to Bestiality[2] and Malice. Violence occupies the middle section, Fraud the lowest. Four steps, or circles, are devoted

[1] See diagrams on p. vi. Cf. Moore, III, 109.
[2] The term 'Bestiality' is taken from Aristotle, but is not used in the Aristotelian sense: its meaning is extended and generalized.

to the four kinds of Incontinence — lust, gluttony, avarice (and prodigality), anger. One circle suffices for Bestiality, but it is divided into three parts, according to the object of the violence: that object may be one's neighbor, one's self, or God. Malice occupies two circles: in the first are the fraudulent, those who deceived persons not bound to them by any special ties; in the second are the traitors, destroyers of their kinsfolk, their countrymen, their guests, or their benefactors. This last circle forms the very floor of Hell; it is a lake of ice at the bottom of a pit; embedded in the middle, at the centre of the earth, is Satan, in whose three mouths are the three arch-traitors, Judas, Brutus, and Cassius. Outside of this general scheme, but within Hell, are three regions inhabited respectively by the souls of sluggards and time-servers, those who were neither good nor bad; the souls of unbaptized children and virtuous pagans; and the souls of heretics. All three are circles, like those mentioned. The first, sometimes called the *Antinferno*, is a vestibule, just inside the entrance, but outside the River Acheron. The second, the Limbus, is within the encircling Acheron, at a lower level than the Vestibule, and forms the first of the nine steps. The third, which constitutes the sixth circle, lies close within the walls of the City of Dis, but is separated from the rest of the Lower Hell by a mighty precipice. The souls in the nether world are, then, arranged in this order: SLUGGISH; *unbaptized*; lustful, gluttonous, avaricious (and prodigal), wrathful; *heretical*; violent; fraudulent, treacherous. The sluggish, the unbaptized, and the heretical lie outside the three great classes — Incontinence, Violence, Fraud. The sluggish are in the Vestibule; all the others are in the nine circles. The punishments vary according to the sins, each being a retaliation for the offence. It must not be forgotten, however, that allegorically the torments represent the sins themselves. 'Wherewith a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished' (Wisdom xi, 16). Dante, under the guidance of Reason, ransacks the human heart and learns to know wickedness as it really is, stripped of the false semblance of good. Thus, for instance, the furious blast that eternally wafts the carnal sinners symbolizes irresistible passion;

the ice in which traitors are buried is the coldness of the heart from which all love has been expelled.[1]

In Dante's Purgatory the sinners are arranged as follows: lustful, gluttonous, avaricious (and prodigal), *slothful*, wrathful, *envious*, *proud*. Sloth intervenes between avarice and anger; envy and pride correspond to the violence, deceit, and treachery of Hell; there is no place for paganism or heresy. The difference is a natural one. Hell is the eternal abode of those who die unrepentant; Purgatory is a place of passage for those who, whatever their crimes may have been, die penitent within the Church. In Purgatory we have to do only with man's fundamental evil dispositions, of which the soul is to be cleansed; in Hell souls are tortured for specific acts or states of the will, the multifarious fruit of these dispositions. The seven capital vices had long been defined by Church writers, and their order, in the main, was pretty well established; the relative positions of sloth and wrath were the most doubtful. In the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great (XXXI, Cap. 45) and in one passage in St. Thomas (*De Malo*, VIII, i) they are all arranged as in Dante, but St. Thomas has them in three other orders, and apparently regards their sequence as unimportant; he prefers *inanis gloria* to *superbia* as a designation of Pride. All the sins in the Lower Hell are directed against justice, and are due to some kind of malice, originally caused, perhaps, by Envy and Pride. Pride, indeed, is the foundation of all sin, inasmuch as sin consists in defying God's law; this doctrine is laid down by St. Cyprian, and recurs in Gregory and St. Thomas. Sloth, or lukewarmness in love of the Lord and his creatures, corresponds to the philosophical *ignavia* and *pusillanimitas;* in so far as it belongs in the nether world at all, it has its proper place in the Vestibule. The unbaptized are beyond redemption, and therefore Purgatory is denied them. Heresy belongs to the speculative intellect, not to the lower appetite nor to the will; it is neither incontinence nor malice, and therefore has no manifestly appropriate place in Dante's system, nor in St. Thomas's. What becomes of repentant heretics we are

[1] See diagram on p. vii. Cf. M. Porena, *Commento grafico alla Divina Commedia*, 1902.

not told, but we may assume that their penance must be paid in the circle of pride.[1]

The mystic journey occurs in 1300, the year of the great Papal jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII. It was a time of general religious enthusiasm, an appropriate moment for a moral awakening. The date is given vaguely in the opening line of the poem, definitely in *Inf.* XXI, 112–4. This latter passage tells us also that the descent was begun on the anniversary of the crucifixion. This may mean March 25, the real date, or Good Friday, the movable Church anniversary. Good Friday in 1300 fell on April 8, and several references in the poem seem to fit that day better than March 25. *Inf.* XX, 127 and *Purg.* XXIII, 119 inform us that the moon was full the night before; in reality the full moon occurred in 1300 on April 5, but in the ecclesiastical calendar for that year the Paschal full moon was set down for the night of April 7. *Purg.* I, 19–20 represents Venus as the morning star two days later; this was the case in 1301, not in 1300, but here again it was surely the almanac that led Dante astray. There is a peculiar fitness in starting on the downward journey on the evening of Good Friday, when day and hour are conducive to gloom. The ascent of Purgatory, on the other hand, begins at a time when everything suggests hope, the morning of Easter Sunday. Throughout the poem we are apparently to think of sunrise and sunset as occurring at six o'clock. It is, then, on the night of April 7, 1300, that Dante comes to his senses in the dark wood of sin.[2] The next day he spends in trying to struggle out, directing his steps toward the sunlit mountain of righteousness; but three beasts — his evil habits — impede his progress. When all seems lost, Virgil, or Reason, appears and offers to lead him out by another way. They enter Hell at sunset on April 8, and spend the night and the next day in their spiral course, turning always to the left as they descend. In Hell they go by the time of

[1] Cf. W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno*, 1909; Moore, II. 152; D'Ovidio, 241; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896, 396 ff; E. G. Parodi in *Bull.*, XV, 182.

[2] Cf. Moore, III, 177, 372, and *The Time References in the Divina Commedia*, 1887; also, *Modern Language Review*, III, 376. There has been much controversy over the year and the day of the vision. Cf. V. Cian in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, March 5, 1911. Some astronomers would put it in 1301.

Jerusalem, which is directly over the bottom of the pit. When they reach the centre of the earth, they pass beyond, climbing along the shaggy side of Satan, who is planted there; then, of course, they are under the opposite hemisphere, whose middle point is Purgatory, between which and Jerusalem there is a difference of twelve hours. Dante represents Virgil and himself, therefore, as gaining twelve hours when they pass the earth's centre: they have a new Saturday before them, and they use all that and the following night in climbing out, by a dark, winding passage, to the other side of the earth, where they emerge on the Island of Purgatory on Sunday morning. Dante has turned his back on sin, has laboriously weaned himself from it, and is now ready to cleanse his soul by penance.

Virgil evidently represents Reason, human understanding, as opposed to Revelation, heavenly intelligence, embodied in Beatrice. One may ask why he was chosen for this function, rather than Aristotle, 'il filosofo,' 'maestro di color che sanno.' For many centuries the *Æneid* had been the best of school-books, the one from which pupils learned grammar, rhetoric, history, mythology. It was expounded literally and allegorically. Its author, at least until Aristotle was discovered in the 12th century, was universally regarded as the wisest man of antiquity, the personification of the best that humanity, without superhuman enlightenment, could achieve; and even in 1300 his fame was scarcely dimmed by the greater glory of the Greek philosopher. Moreover, he had already proved, in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, his competence as a guide to the other world. People generally believed, too, that in his fourth Eclogue he had unconsciously prophesied the coming of Christ. Furthermore, Aristotle was to Dante only a book, while Virgil had been so long a figure in popular and scholarly legend that he had become a distinct personality, one with whom it was a joy to travel and from whom it was anguish to part. Lastly, Dante felt for the master of his childhood, his model in later years, a warm personal gratitude that he was eager to express: [1]

> "Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore;
> Tu se' solo colui da cui io tolsi
> Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.'

[1] Cf. D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, 1872, 2d ed., 1896; English translation by E. F. M. Benecke, 1895.

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

This canto, which serves as a general introduction to the poem, is more formal in its allegory than those which follow; it affords, in some measure, a key to the whole interpretation. The author has purposely enveloped its incidents in a veil of mystery, which enhances its impressiveness.

It is the night of April 7, the night before Good Friday in the great jubilee year, 1300. Dante, at the age of thirty-five, suddenly becomes aware that he is astray in the dark wood of worldliness. In terror he seeks refuge at the foot of the mountain of rectitude, whose summit is lit by the rising sun. The sun, here and elsewhere, typifies enlightenment, perhaps more specifically, as Flamini suggests, righteous choice, the intelligent use of the free will. When Dante tries to scale the hill, three beasts beset his path, a leopard, a lion, and a wolf — the same creatures that appear in Jer. v, 6: 'Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities: every one that goeth out thence shall be torn in pieces.' Apparently he has a fair prospect of passing the first two, at least the leopard, but the wolf drives him back. These animals evidently stand for Dante's vicious habits, which prevent his reform. The old commentators interpreted them respectively as luxury, pride, and avarice; this would imply (unless we understand the poet's whole experience to be generic, not individual) that Dante's dominant sin was avarice, which is scarcely believable. A modern view, upheld by Flamini, is, in spite of some grave objections, far more satisfactory in itself and more in harmony with the whole structure of the poem. Inasmuch as the sins of Hell fall under the three heads, Incontinence, Violence, and Fraud, it is natural that the beasts should stand for corresponding practices: the ravening wolf is Incontinence of any kind, the raging lion is Violence, the swift and stealthy leopard is Fraud. St. Thomas and Richard of St. Victor, two of Dante's favorite authors, saw in the spotted pard a fit symbol of fraudulence. We may understand, then, from the episode, that Dante could perhaps have overcome the graver sins of Fraud and Violence, but was unable, without heavenly aid, to rid himself of some of the habits of Incontinence.

At this crisis Reason, personified in Virgil, comes, at divine bidding, to the sinner's rescue. He declares that escape is possible only

by another route, which will lead them through Hell: we cannot run away from evil before we know what it really is; a rational understanding of human wickedness must precede reformation. The wolf, he says, is ravaging the world, and will continue to do so until a Hound shall appear and drive it back into Hell, whence it first came. This Hound is obviously a redeemer who shall set the world aright. If we compare this passage with another prophecy in *Purg.* XXXIII, 40–45, it is tolerably clear that he is to be a temporal rather than a spiritual saviour — a great Emperor whose mission it shall be to establish the balance of power, restore justice, and guide erring humanity. Such an Emperor, destined to come at the end of the world, was not unknown to legend; his advent appears to have been sometimes associated with the *annus canicularis*, the period of Sirius, the dog-star. As the prediction was still unfulfilled at the time of writing, Dante naturally made it vague; in fact, he rendered Delphic obscurity doubly obscure by adding the mysterious words 'tra Feltro e Feltro.' We know that the poet entertained great hopes of the youthful leader, Can Grande della Scala, in Dante's last years the chief representative of the Imperial power in Italy. It is possible that he so constructed his prognostication as to make its application to Can Grande evident in case those hopes should be realized, but not obtrusive in case they were not. 'Veltro' easily suggests Can Grande; 'Feltro e Feltro' may point to the towns of Feltre and Monte Feltro. Dante's conception of the just Emperor was perhaps influenced by current stories of the Grand Khan of Tartary, who was said to despise wealth and to live simply in a 'felt' tent, and whose title had a strange likeness to the name of the Imperial Vicar General.

For the allegory of the beasts, see Flam., II, 115 ff. For the Veltro: V. Cian, *Sulle orme del Veltro*, 1897; A. Bassermann, *Veltro, Gross-Chan und Kaisersage*, 1902, and also *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 5 (where Bassermann points out a strange similarity between Dante's phraseology and that of a passage in the Alexandrian Greek prophecies called *Oracula Sibyllina*). The interpretation and the coinage of prophecy had a great vogue in the 13th and 14th centuries. — For the situation in the opening lines, cf. B. Latini, *Tesoretto*, II, 75–78, and III, 1.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Chè la diritta via era smarrita.

1. In the *Convivio*, IV, xxiv, 30–1, Dante says that 'il colmo del nostro arco è nelli trentacinque.' Cf. Ps. xc (Vulg. lxxxix), 10: 'The days of our years are threescore years and ten.'
2. *Mi ritrovai*, 'I came to my senses.'

Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura
  Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte, 5
  Che nel pensier rinnuova la paura !
Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte ;
  Ma per trattar del ben ch' i' vi trovai,
  Dirò dell' altre cose ch' io v' ho scorte.
I' non so ben ridir com' io v' entrai ; 10
  Tant' era pien di sonno in su quel punto
  Che la verace via abbandonai.
Ma poi ch' io fui al piè d' un colle giunto,
  Là dove terminava quella valle
  Che m' avea di paura il cor compunto, 15
Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
  Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta
  Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.
Allor fu la paura un poco queta
  Che nel lago del cor m' era durata 20
  La notte ch' i' passai con tanta pieta.
E come quei che, con lena affannata,
  Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,
  Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata,
Così l' animo mio, che ancor fuggiva, 25
  Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo
  Che non lasciò giammai persona viva.

7. *Amara* presumably refers to *cosa* in l. 4. — Cf. Ecclus. xli, 1 : 'O death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee!'

11. According to St. Augustine, 'The soul's sleep is forgetfulness of God ' : Flam., II, 204.

16. Cf. Ps. cxxi (Vulg. cxx), 1 : 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.'

17. *Pianeta*, the sun, which is just rising. It is the morning of Good Friday, April 8, 1300.

21. *Con tanta pièta*, 'so piteously.' *Pièta*, beside *pietà*, was not uncommon in early Italian.

Poi ch' ei posato un poco il corpo lasso,
Ripresi via per la piaggia diserta,
Sì che il piè fermo sempre era il più basso. 30
Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar dell' erta,
Una lonza leggiera e presta molto,
Che di pel maculato era coperta.
E non mi si partia dinanzi al volto;
Anzi impediva tanto il mio cammino, 35
Ch' io fui per ritornar più volte volto.
Tempo era dal principio del mattino;
E il sol montava su con quelle stelle
Ch' eran con lui, quando l' amor divino
Mosse da prima quelle cose belle; 40
Sì che a bene sperar m' era cagione
Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle
L' ora del tempo e la dolce stagione:
Ma non sì, che paura non mi desse

28. *Ei*, an old form equivalent to *ebbi*, is still kept as an ending in the first person singular of the conditional.

30. *Fermo*, 'still.' This perplexing and much discussed line seems to describe the act of cautiously feeling one's way up a slope (*piaggia*). See, however, F. Flamini in *Giorn. dant.*, X, 145; also D. Guerri in *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 177; and D'Ovidio[3], 447.

32. *Lonza* is etymologically connected with *ounce* and perhaps with *lynx*. The animal portrayed, however, is evidently the leopardess, which Dante probably regarded as identical with the panther; it appears, in fact, that the panther, in Dante's day, was thought to be the female of the leopard (cf. *Giorn. dant.*, XV, 1). See *Romanic Review*, I, 18 (cf. *Giorn. stor.*, LIII, 1).

36. *Volte volto:* the repetition of sound, here as in some other passages, is obviously intentional. It is possible that in this line Dante meant to suggest wearisome iteration — 'I turned again and again and again.' — See F. Cipolla, *Risuonanze nella Divina Commedia*, in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LX, ii, 31.

38. The sun was in the constellation of Aries, the Ram.

40. It was believed that when the universe was created, the heavenly bodies were placed in their vernal positions. The sun is in the sign of Aries from March 21 to April 20 inclusive.

41. Construe: 'Sì che l' ora del tempo e la dolce stagione m' era (= erano) cagione a bene sperar di quella fera alla gaietta pelle.'

42. Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, III, 669: 'Pictarumque jacent fera corpora pantherarum.'

La vista che mi apparve d' un leone — 45
Questi parea che contra me venesse
Con la test' alta e con rabbiosa fame,
Sì che parea che l' aer ne temesse —
E d' una lupa, che di tutte brame
Sembiava carca nella sua magrezza, 50
E molte genti fe' già viver grame.
Questa mi porse tanto di gravezza,
Con la paura che uscia di sua vista,
Ch' io perdei la speranza dell' altezza.
E quale è quei che volontieri acquista, 55
E giugne il tempo che perder lo face,
Che in tutt' i suoi pensier piange e s' attrista :
Tal mi fece la bestia senza pace,
Che venendomi incontro, a poco a poco
Mi ripingeva là dove il Sol tace. 60
Mentre ch' io rovinava in basso loco,
Dinanzi agli occhi mi si fu offerto
Chi per lungo silenzio parea fioco.
Quand' io vidi costui nel gran diserto,
'Miserere di me,' gridai a lui, 65
'Qual che tu sii, od ombra od uomo certo.'
Risposemi : 'Non uomo, uomo già fui,

46. *Venesse* for *venisse*.
48. Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, XIII, 406: 'Externasque novo latratu terruit auras.'
52. It was believed that when a wolf meets a man, and sees him first, he strikes the man dumb. See R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 1902, p. 116.
60. For this transference of sense notation, cf. *Inf.* V, 28.
63. *Fioco* in Dante seems always to mean 'weak.' The voice of Reason has not been heeded for so long that it comes faintly to the sinner's ear; so the figure of Virgil appears dim. Cf. Verlaine, *Sagesse*, v:

'La voix vous fut connue (et chère ?)
Mais à présent elle est voilée.'

See Flam., II, 209; also Moore, I, 181.
65. *Miserere*, 'have mercy upon me': beginning of Ps. li (Vulg. l).

E li parenti miei furon Lombardi,
Mantovani per patria ambedui.
Nacqui *sub Iulio*, ancorchè fosse tardi, 70
E vissi a Roma sotto il buono Augusto,
Al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi.
Poeta fui, e cantai di quel giusto
Figliuol d' Anchise, che venne da Troia,
Poichè il superbo Ilion fu combusto. 75
Ma tu perchè ritorni a tanta noia?
Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte,
Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?'
'Or se' tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte
Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume?' 80
Risposi lui con vergognosa fronte.
'O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume!
Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore: 85
Tu se' solo colui, da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.

70. *Sub Iulio*, at the time of Julius Cæsar. — *Tardi*, so late that I was identified with the reign of Augustus, and not that of Cæsar. Virgil was barely 26 when Cæsar perished.

72. Repeatedly Virgil makes pathetic but always dignified and reticent allusion to his lack of Christianity and his consequent eternal exclusion from the presence of God.

73. *Æn.*, I, 544–5:

> 'Rex erat Æneas nobis, quo justior alter
> Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.'

75. *Æn.*, III, 2–3: 'Ceceditque superbum Ilium.' *Met.*, XIII, 108: 'Ilion ardebat.'

84. We learn from *Inf.* XX, 114 that Dante knew the *Æneid* by heart.

85. *Conv.*, IV, vi, 43–5: '*Autore* . . . si prende per ogni persona degna d' essere creduta e obbedita.'

87. *Lo bello stile*, especially the choice of elegant words, an art to be learned by the study of good models. See *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, iv and vi. Cf. G. Lisio, *Lo "bello stile" nelle "Rime" e nella "Commedia,"* in *Rivista d' Italia*, VII, ii, 349.

Vedi la bestia, per cui io mi volsi :
  Aiutami da lei, famoso saggio,
  Ch' ella mi fa tremar le vene e i polsi.' 90
'A te convien tenere altro viaggio,'
  Rispose, poi che lagrimar mi vide,
  'Se vuoi campar d' esto loco selvaggio :
Chè questa bestia, per la qual tu gride,
  Non lascia altrui passar per la sua via, 95
  Ma tanto lo impedisce che l' uccide ;
Ed ha natura sì malvagia e ria
  Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia,
  E dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria.
Molti son gli animali a cui s' ammoglia, 100
  E più saranno ancora, infin che il veltro
  Verrà, che la farà morir con doglia.
Questi non ciberà terra nè peltro,
  Ma sapienza e amore e virtute,
  E sua nazion sarà tra Feltro e Feltro. 105
Di quell' umile Italia fia salute
  Per cui morì la vergine Cammilla,
  Eurialo, e Turno, e Niso di ferute.
Questi la caccerà per ogni villa,
  Fin che l' avrà rimessa nello inferno, 110

89. *Saggio*, in Dante, is almost equivalent to *poeta*.
90. *Le vene e i polsi* was a standing phrase. Cf. *Inf.* XIII, 63.
100. Rev. xviii, 3: 'For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her.'
103. *Peltro*, 'pewter,' i. e., money. It was a common belief that wolves eat dirt.
105. This line is intentionally obscure. *Nazion* probably means 'birth.' *Feltro* means 'felt.'
106. *Æn.*, III, 522-3: 'Humilemque videmus Italiam.' Virgil meant 'low-lying,' but Dante took the word in a moral sense.
107. Camilla, a warrior virgin who fought against the Trojans: *Æn.*, XI.
108. *Æn.*, IX, XII. *Ferute* for *ferite*.

Là onde invidia prima dipartilla.
Ond' io per lo tuo me' penso e discerno
Che tu mi segui, ed io sarò tua guida,
E trarrotti di qui per loco eterno,
Ove udirai le disperate strida 115
Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti,
Che la seconda morte ciascun grida;
E poi vedrai color che son contenti
Nel fuoco, perchè speran di venire,
Quando che sia, alle beate genti: 120
Alle qua' poi se tu vorrai salire,
Anima fia a ciò di me più degna;
Con lei ti lascerò nel mio partire:
Chè quello Imperador che lassù regna,
Perch' io fui ribellante alla sua legge, 125
Non vuol che in sua città per me si vegna.
In tutte parti impera, e quivi regge,
Quivi è la sua città e l' alto seggio:
O felice colui cui ivi elegge!'
Ed io a lui: 'Poeta, io ti richieggio 130
Per quello Dio che tu non conoscesti,
Acciocch' io fugga questo male e peggio,

111. *Dipartilla=la dipartì.* Cf. Wisdom ii, 24: 'through envy of the devil came death into the world.'

112. *Me'=meglio.*

113. *Segui=segua.*

117. 'Each of whom proclaims the second death,' i. e., damnation. The phrase was often used in this sense by theologians. Cf. Rev. xxi, 8: 'the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death'; also Rev. xx, 14. Cf. Dante, Epistola VI, ii, 26 ff.: 'Vos autem divina iura et humana transgredientes . . ., nonne terror secundæ mortis exagitat . . .?'

118. The souls in Purgatory.

122. Beatrice.

126. *Che . . . per me si vegna=che io venga.* This curious passive impersonal construction occurs several times, with verbs of coming, going, and staying, in Dante's works: *Inf.* XXVI, 18; *Purg.* XVI, 119–20, XXII, 85, XXV, 109–10; *Conv.*, III, xiii, 95–7.

Che tu mi meni là dov' or dicesti,
  Sì ch' io vegga la porta di san Pietro,
  E color cui tu fai cotanto mesti.' 135
Allor si mosse, ed io li tenni retro.

134. The gate of Purgatory, opened only to the elect.

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

As this canto opens, it is the evening of Good Friday; twelve hours have been consumed in the attempt to scale the mountain, the encounter with the beasts, and the conversation with Virgil. The world is going to rest, and Dante, 'all alone' among the creatures of this earth, is preparing for a stern and fearful task. At this point — really the beginning of the *Inferno*, inasmuch as the first canto is a general introduction to the poem — Dante invokes the Muses, following the example of the great poets of old. Dante probably believed that the Muses, even to the ancients, were only a figure of speech, a metaphor for poetic inspiration or art; so in the *Vita Nuova*, XXV, 88, he says that Horace, calling upon the Muse, 'parla . . . alla sua scienza medesima.'

Doubting his fitness for the proposed journey, Dante recalls his two great predecessors, Æneas and St. Paul, to whom the realms of the departed were revealed. The former, as the sixth book of the *Æneid* relates, visited the lower world; the latter 'was caught up into Paradise,' as he tells us in II Cor. xii. The one listened to prophecies of Rome's future greatness; the other 'heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' The experience of Æneas prepared the way for the Empire, the 'alto effetto' or 'mighty result' of his vision; the rapture of St. Paul strengthened the faith which sustains the Church Dante has no such mission, he merely represents the ordinary run of humanity: why should such a revelation be made to him?

It is worth noting that in introducing the example of Æneas, Dante begins with 'tu dici che . . . ,' and a few lines further on he uses the phrase 'questa andata onde gli dai tu vanto'; so in *Par.* XV, 26, referring to the same episode, he adds 'se fede merta nostra maggior Musa,' meaning Virgil. These expressions seem to imply a mental reservation with regard to the literal veracity of Æneas's adventure. In *Conv.*, II, i, he makes it clear that in poetry truth is to be sought not in the letter but in the allegory, which he calls 'una verità ascosa sotto bella menzogna.' The sixth book of the *Æneid*, then, is allegorically true, in that it records revelations made to the hero, but in its material details it may be regarded as fiction. In *Æn.*, VI, 893–8, Anchises lets his son out through the ivory gate of deceptive dreams; and Servius, in his commentary, explains this incident as an indication that the whole story is an invention.

To strengthen Dante's wavering courage, Virgil assures him that the experience vouchsafed him is a fruit of the Divine Care which watches lovingly over erring man as long as hope is left. In dramatic fashion he tells how Mary, pitying Dante's plight, called upon Lucia (presumably St. Lucia of Syracuse), who, in turn, summoned Beatrice to his aid; she sought out Virgil in the Limbus and sent him to resue the struggling sinner. On hearing this, Dante takes heart again, and follows his master into the earth. The three ladies form a counterpart to the three beasts. The Virgin, here as generally in Christian thought, symbolizes divine Mercy. Lucia has by almost all interpreters been regarded as the emblem of Grace — probably, as her name suggests, Illuminating Grace; inasmuch as Mary describes Dante to Lucia as 'il tuo fedele,' it would seem that our poet, for reasons unknown to us, had held this saint in particular veneration. Beatrice, as we have seen, stands for Revelation, for which Dante's distorted mind must be prepared by Reason. God in his mercy sends forth his illuminating grace to prepare the way for complete revelation, which will ensue as soon as the reawakened voice of reason shall have made the sinner ready to receive it.

For the symbolism of the three ladies, see Flam., II, 149 ff. It should be recorded that so distinguished a commentator as Torraca regards Beatrice, Lucia, and Mary as emblems of the three Christian virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity — an interpretation that seems to meet with a fatal obstacle in *Purg*. XXIX, 121–9, where these virtues are manifestly represented by three nymphs.

Lo giorno se n' andava, e l' aer bruno
Toglieva gli animai che sono in terra
Dalle fatiche loro ; ed io sol uno
M' apparecchiava a sostener la guerra
Sì del cammino e sì della pietate, 5
Che ritrarrà la mente che non erra.
O Muse, o alto ingegno, or m' aiutate !
O mente, che scrivesti ciò ch' io vidi,
Qui si parrà la tua nobilitate.
Io cominciai : 'Poeta che mi guidi, 10
Guarda la mia virtù, s' ella è possente,
Prima che all' alto passo tu mi fidi.

6. *Mente* here, as very often in Dante, means 'memory.'

Tu dici che di Silvio lo parente,
Corruttibile ancora, ad immortale
Secolo andò, e fu sensibilmente. 15
Però se l' avversario d' ogni male
Cortese i fu, pensando l' alto effetto
Che uscir dovea di lui, e il chi e il quale,
Non pare indegno ad uomo d' intelletto :
Ch' ei fu dell' alma Roma e di suo impero 20
Nell' empireo ciel per padre eletto ;
La quale e il quale (a voler dir lo vero)
Fu stabilito per lo loco santo
U' siede il successor del maggior Piero.
Per questa andata, onde gli dai tu vanto, 25
Intese cose che furon cagione
Di sua vittoria e del papale ammanto.
Andovvi poi lo Vas d' elezïone,
Per recarne conforto a quella fede
Ch' è principio alla via di salvazione. 30
Ma io perchè venirvi? o chi 'l concede?
Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono :
Me degno a ciò nè io nè altri 'l crede.
Per che se del venire io m' abbandono,
Temo che la venuta non sia folle. 35

15. *Immortale secolo*, 'the eternal world,' i. e., the world of disembodied spirit.
17. *I=gli. Pensando*, 'if we consider.'
18. *Il chi e il quale* (*quis et qualis*), 'who and what he was': Father Æneas, founder of Rome.
20. *Alma*, 'revered.'
21. *Empireo ciel*, the Empyrean, the spiritual Heaven, outside the confines of the space and time.
22. *La quale e il quale*, i. e., *Roma* and *impero*.
24. *U'=ove. Maggior Piero*, St. Peter, greatest of Peters or Popes.
28. *Andovvi: vi=al immortale secolo*, ll. 14–15. *Lo Vas d' elezïone*, 'the Chosen Vessel,' St. Paul: Acts ix, 15.
34. 'If I allow myself to go.'

Se' savio, intendi me' ch' io non ragiono.'
E quale è quei che disvuol ciò che volle,
E per nuovi pensier cangia proposta,
Sì che dal cominciar tutto si tolle,
Tal mi fec' io in quella oscura costa : 40
Perchè pensando consumai la impresa
Che fu nel cominciar cotanto tosta.
'Se io ho ben la tua parola intesa,'
Rispose del magnanimo quell' ombra,
'L' anima tua è da viltate offesa, 45
La qual molte fiate l' uomo ingombra,
Sì che d' onrata impresa lo rivolve,
Come falso veder bestia, quand' ombra.
Da questa tema acciocchè tu ti solve,
Dirotti perch' io venni, e quel che intesi 50
Nel primo punto che di te mi dolve.
Io era tra color che son sospesi,
E donna mi chiamò beata e bella,
Tal che di comandare io la richiesi.
Lucevan gli occhi suoi più che la stella ; 55
E cominciommi a dir soave e piana
Con angelica voce in sua favella :
"O anima cortese Mantovana,
Di cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura,

41. *Consumai*, 'I put an end to.' Cf. B. Latini, *Tesoretto*, IV, 18.
44. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxvi, 54 ff.: '[la Ragione] lo sprone usa, quando fugge, per lo tornare al loco onde fuggire vuole (e questo sprone si chiama *Fortezza* ovvero *Magnanimità*, la qual virtute mostra lo loco ove è da fermarsi e da pugnare). . . . Quanto *spronare* fu quello, quando esso Enea sostenne solo con Sibilla a entrare nello Inferno . . .!'
45. Cf. *Conv.*, I, xi, 128 ff.: 'lo pusillanimo . . . sempre si tiene meno che non è.'
48. 'As imperfect sight does an animal when it balks.'
51. *Dolve* = *dolse*.
52. *Sospesi*, 'dangling,' i. e., between Heaven and Hell, in Limbus.
58. Virgil was born near Mantua.

E durerà quanto il moto lontana, 60
L' amico mio — e non della ventura —
Nella diserta piaggia è impedito
Sì nel cammin che volto è per paura ;
E temo che non sia già sì smarrito
Ch' io mi sia tardi al soccorso levata, 65
Per quel ch' io ho di lui nel Cielo udito.
Or muovi, e con la tua parola ornata,
E con ciò ch' è mestieri al suo campare,
L' aiuta sì ch' io ne sia consolata.
Io son Beatrice, che ti faccio andare ; 70
Vegno di loco, ove tornar disio ;
Amor mi mosse, che mi fa parlare.
Quando sarò dinanzi al Signor mio,
Di te mi loderò sovente a lui."
Tacette allora, e poi comincia' io : 75
"O donna di virtù, sola per cui
L' umana spezie eccede ogni contento
Da quel ciel che ha minor li cerchi sui,
Tanto m' aggrada il tuo comandamento
Che l' ubbidir, se già fosse, m' è tardi ; 80
Più non t' è uopo aprirmi il tuo talento.
Ma dimmi la cagion che non ti guardi
Dello scender quaggiuso in questo centro
Dall' ampio loco ove tornar tu ardi."
"Da che tu vuoi saper cotanto addentro, 85

60. 'And shall last as far into the future as motion,' as long as the revolution of the heavens, by which time is measured, shall endure. Many texts have *mondo* for *moto*.

76. In the *Vita Nuova*, X, 13, Dante calls Beatrice 'regina delle virtu.' Cf. Boethius, *Cons.*, I, Pr. iii: 'O omnium magistra virtutum.'

77. Mankind surpasses everything contained within the sphere of the moon (everything perishable) only through divine revelation, embodied in Beatrice.

Dirotti brevemente," mi rispose,
"Perch' io non temo di venir qua entro.
Temer si dee di sole quelle cose
Ch' hanno potenza di fare altrui male:
Dell' altre no, che non son paurose. 90
Io son fatta da Dio, sua mercè, tale
Che la vostra miseria non mi tange,
Nè fiamma d' esto incendio non m' assale.
Donna è gentil nel ciel, che si compiange
Di questo impedimento ov' io ti mando, 95
Sì che duro giudizio lassù frange.
Questa chiese Lucìa in suo dimando
E disse: 'Or ha bisogno il tuo fedele
Di te, ed io a te lo raccomando.'
Lucìa, nimica di ciascun crudele, 100
Si mosse e venne al loco dov' io era,
Che mi sedea con l' antica Rachele.
Disse: 'Beatrice, loda di Dio vera,
Chè non soccorri quei che t' amò tanto
Che uscìo per te della volgare schiera? 105
Non odi tu la pieta del suo pianto,
Non vedi tu la morte che il combatte
Su la fiumana, ove il mar non ha vanto?'

88. 'We must fear only those things that have power to do one harm.' Cf. Canzone IX, 84: 'Che quegli teme c' ha del mal paura.'

92. The happiness of the blest is not marred by compassion for the damned.

94. The Virgin is not expressly named anywhere in the *Inferno*, Hell being a place where mercy does not enter.

102. Beatrice's seat in Heaven is described in *Par.* XXXII, 8-9. Rachel symbolized the contemplative life.

108. The *fiumana* is perhaps the Acheron, the river of death, which flows beneath Dante's feet. Most commentators understand it as a mere metaphor, signifying the same thing as the *selva*. For a different explanation, see Flam., II, 25; also *Giorn. dant.*, X, 145. If the Acheron is meant, the ocean can rightly be said to have no vaunt over it, as it does not empty into the sea, but runs down through Hell.

Al mondo non fur mai persone ratte
  A far lor pro, nè a fuggir lor danno, 110
  Com' io, dopo cotai parole fatte,
Venni quaggiù dal mio beato scanno,
  Fidandomi del tuo parlare onesto,
  Che onora te e quei che udito l' hanno."
Poscia che m' ebbe ragionato questo, 115
  Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse;
  Per che mi fece del venir più presto.
E venni a te così, com' ella volse;
  Dinanzi a quella fiera ti levai
  Che del bel monte il corto andar ti tolse. 120
Dunque che è? perchè, perchè ristai?
  Perchè tanta viltà nel core allette?
  Perchè ardire e franchezza non hai?
Poscia che tai tre donne benedette
  Curan di te nella corte del cielo, 125
  E il mio parlar tanto ben t' impromette?'
Quali i fioretti dal notturno gelo
  Chinati e chiusi, poi che il Sol gl' imbianca,
  Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo,
Tal mi fec' io di mia virtute stanca; 130
  E tanto buono ardire al cor mi corse
  Ch' io cominciai come persona franca:
'O pietosa colei che mi soccorse,
  E tu cortese, che ubbidisti tosto
  Alle vere parole che ti porse! 135
Tu m' hai con desiderio il cor disposto
  Sì al venir, con le parole tue,

118. *Volse*=*volle*.
122. *Allette*=*aletti*.
132. *Franca*, 'set free.'

Ch' io son tornato nel primo proposto.
Or va, che un sol volere è d' ambedue :
Tu duca, tu signore, e tu maestro.' 140
Così gli dissi ; e poichè mosso fue,
Entrai per lo cammino alto e silvestro.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

A SOLEMN inscription over the open gate of Hell arouses Dante's apprehensions, but he is led on by his master into a place full of darkness and the confused wail of countless tortured souls. The absence of light — natural enough in the interior of the earth — symbolizes the spiritual blindness of the sinner. The poet continually makes effective use of it in his larger pictures, but does not allow it to interfere with his treatment of detail; there is always assumed to be some infernal glow that enables him to discern as much as he needs to see.

The part of the lower world on which they enter is the abode of the lukewarm, who were neither good nor bad, and contributed nothing to society. Here, presumably, are to be found those who were given over to acedia, or sloth, one of the seven capital sins. To one of Dante's intense activity and positiveness of judgment these are the most contemptible of all creatures. To him they are as the Laodiceans, 'neither cold nor hot.' 'So then,' says Rev. iii, 16, 'because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.' Both Heaven and Hell reject them. Not one of them does Dante mention by name. Their punishment describes them: as he who will attach himself to neither party must be continually shifting sides, the lukewarm are depicted eternally rushing to and fro after an aimlessly dodging banner; as he who loves his ease is more annoyed by trifles than is the magnanimous man by severe trials, we see the sluggards tormented by flies and wasps, which seem to them worse than any other punishment.

Between this vestibule and the real Hell flows the Acheron, whose bank is crowded with lost souls ready to be ferried over by Charon, the ancient boatman. By him, as by most of the spirits whom he meets in Hell, Dante is immediately recognized as a living man; although these uncorporeal creatures have all the appearance of bodies, can be seen, heard, and (in Hell) even touched, and possess the same senses as those in the flesh, there are certain tokens by which a genuine live body can be distinguished from them. Charon, moreover, discerns — perhaps by virtue of his office — that Dante is one of the elect, and therefore refuses to carry him in his boat. Divine intervention mysteriously helps the poet on his way. A sudden earthquake, similar to that which preceded the descent of Christ, frightens Dante into a swoon; and when he recovers con-

sciousness, he is on the other side of Acheron, at the edge of the abyss. Thus the sinner who is trying to better himself, and meets apparently insuperable obstacles, is carried past them, he knows not how, by a higher power.

For a discussion of the infernal darkness, see G. B. Grassi, *Le tenebre nell' "Inferno" di Dante*, in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 1. The punishment of the lukewarm by flies and wasps may be compared to the plague of locusts described in Rev. ix, 3–6.

PER ME SI VA NELLA CITTÀ DOLENTE,
PER ME SI VA NELL' ETERNO DOLORE,
PER ME SI VA TRA LA PERDUTA GENTE.
GIUSTIZIA MOSSE IL MIO ALTO FATTORE;
FECEMI LA DIVINA POTESTATE, 5
LA SOMMA SAPIENZA E IL PRIMO AMORE.
DINANZI A ME NON FUR COSE CREATE
SE NON ETERNE, ED IO ETERNO DURO.
LASCIATE OGNI SPERANZA VOI CH' ENTRATE!

Queste parole di colore oscuro 10
Vid' io scritte al sommo d' una porta;
Per ch' io: 'Maestro, il senso lor m' è duro.'
Ed egli a me, come persona accorta:
'Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;

5. Hell was made by the triune God — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or Power, Wisdom, and Love.

7. 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void' (Gen. i, 1–2). At this point, apparently, Hell was created for the rebellious angels, who sinned almost as soon as they were made. Cf. Mat. xxv, 41: '. . . everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' The story of the revolt and fall of the angels belongs to very early Christian and even to pre-Christian tradition. It is recorded distinctly in II Peter, ii, 4 and Jude 6, more obscurely in Rev. xii, 9. Tertullian and St. Augustine refer to it, and it is narrated in full by Cassian (4th and 5th centuries) in his *Collationes*, ch. viii–xi. Cf. *Conv.*, II, vi, 95 ff.: 'Dico che di tutti questi Ordini [di angeli] si perderono alquanti tosto che furono creati, forse in numero della decima parte; alla quale restaurare fu l' umana natura poi creata.' See, further, the argument at the head of Canto XXXIV.

8. On the Judgment Day, when all the wicked shall have been consigned to Hell, it will be sealed up, and will remain unchanged forever.

14. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 26: 'Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.'

Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta. 15
Noi siam venuti al loco ov' io t' ho detto
Che tu vedrai le genti dolorose,
Ch' hanno perduto il ben dell' intelletto.'
E poi che la sua mano alla mia pose,
Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai, 20
Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose.
Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
Risonavan per l' aer senza stelle,
Per ch' io al cominciar ne lagrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle, 25
Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle,
Facevano un tumulto, il qual s' aggira
Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando a turbo spira. 30
Ed io, ch' avea d' orror la testa cinta,
Dissi: 'Maestro, che è quel ch' i' odo?
E che gent' è, che par nel duol sì vinta?'
Ed egli a me: 'Questo misero modo
Tengon l' anime triste di coloro 35
Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro
Degli angeli che non furon ribelli
Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.
Cacciarli i Ciel per non esser men belli; 40

18. The vision of God.
22. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 557–8:

'Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
Verbera: tum stridor ferri tractæque catenæ.'

31. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 559: 'At me tum primum sævus circumstetit horror.'
37. Such neutral angels are mentioned in a Syriac version of the *Apocalypse of St. Paul*, and they appear again, in the form of birds, on one of the islands visited by St. Brendan.
40. *Cacciarli=li cacciarono.*

Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,
Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d' elli.'
Ed io : 'Maestro, che è tanto greve
A lor, che lamentar gli fa si forte?'
Rispose : 'Dicerolti molto breve. 45
Questi non hanno speranza di morte,
E la lor cieca vita è tanto bassa
Che invidiosi son d' ogni altra sorte.
Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa,
Misericordia e giustizia gli sdegna. 50
Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.'
Ed io, che riguardai, vidi una insegna,
Che girando correva tanto ratta
Che d' ogni posa mi pareva indegna ;
E dietro le venia sì lunga tratta 55
Di gente ch' i' non avrei mai creduto
Che morte tanta n' avesse disfatta.
Poscia ch' io v' ebbi alcun riconosciuto,
Vidi e conobbi l' ombra di colui
Che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto. 60
Incontanente intesi, e certo fui,
Che quest' era la setta dei cattivi
A Dio spiacenti ed ai nemici sui.
Questi sciaurati, che mai non fur vivi,

42. The guilty might derive some satisfaction from comparing themselves with these.

52. *Insegna*, 'banner.'

54. *Indegna*, probably for *indegnata*, 'disdainful.'

60. Without much doubt this is Celestine V, a pious hermit, who, after a long vacancy of the papal office, was elected Pope in July, 1294, but abdicated five months later, feeling himself physically and mentally unfit. Through his renunciation Boniface VIII, Dante's chief enemy, became Pope. According to Torraca, Celestine (then called Pietro) was in Tuscany in 1280, when Dante may have seen him. He was canonized in 1313.

64. Cf. Rev. iii, 1: 'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.'

Erano ignudi e stimolati molto 65
Da mosconi e da vespe ch' erano ivi.
Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto,
Che, mischiato di lagrime, ai lor piedi,
Da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto.
E poi che a riguardare oltre mi diedi, 70
Vidi gente alla riva d' un gran fiume ;
Per ch' io dissi : 'Maestro, or mi concedi
Ch' io sappia quali sono, e qual costume
Le fa di trapassar parer sì pronte
Com' io discerno per lo fioco lume.' 75
Ed egli a me : 'Le cose ti fien conte
Quando noi fermerem li nostri passi
Sulla trista riviera d' Acheronte.'
Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi,
Temendo no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave, 80
Infino al fiume di parlar mi trassi.
Ed ecco verso noi venir per nave
Un vecchio bianco per antico pelo,
Gridando : 'Guai a voi, anime prave !
Non isperate mai veder lo cielo ! 85
I' vegno per menarvi all' altra riva,
Nelle tenebre eterne, in caldo e in gelo.
E tu che se' costì, anima viva,
Partiti da cotesti che son morti !'
Ma poi ch' ei vide ch' io non mi partiva, 90
Disse : 'Per altra via, per altri porti

72. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 318–9:

'Dic, ait, o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?
Quidve petunt animæ?'

78. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 295: 'Hinc via Tartarei quæ fert Acherontis ad undas.' — Virgil checks Dante's impatience to know everything at once; as they proceed, Dante's questions will find their due answer.

Verrai a piaggia, non qui, per passare;
  Più lieve legno convien che ti porti.'
E il duca a lui: 'Caron, non ti crucciare:
  Vuolsi così colà dove si puote 95
  Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare.'
Quinci fur quete le lanose gote
  Al nocchier della livida palude,
  Che intorno agli occhi avea di fiamme rote.
Ma quell' anime, ch' eran lasse e nude, 100
  Cangiar colore e dibattero i denti,
  Ratto che inteser le parole crude.
Bestemmiavano Iddio e lor parenti,
  L' umana specie, il luogo, il tempo e il seme
  Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti. 105
Poi si ritrasser tutte quante insieme,
  Forte piangendo, alla riva malvagia
  Che attende ciascun uom che Dio non teme.
Caron dimonio, con occhi di bragia,
  Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie; 110
  Batte col remo qualunque s' adagia.
Come d' autunno si levan le foglie

93. Charon sees that Dante is destined to be carried, after death, to Purgatory in the angel's boat described in *Purg.* II, 10–51.

95. Virgil makes use of this formula on other occasions; cf. *Inf.* V, 23.

97. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 298–300:

> 'Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
> Terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
> Canities inculta jacet, stant lumina flamma.'

Charon, like most of the classical guardians retained in Dante's Hell, becomes a demonic figure; his 'fiery eyes' become 'encircled with wheels of flame.'

111. *S' adagia*, 'takes his ease.' Guittone d' Arezzo, in his poem *Ai lasso*, l. 68, uses *v' adagia*, meaning 'suits you.'

112. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 309–10:

> 'Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo
> Lapsa cadunt folia . . . '

The simile is evidently suggested by Virgil, but Dante adds the descriptive 'l' una appresso dell' altra' and the pathetic touch of the last clause. Nearly always, when Dante borrows a simile, he makes it more vivid or more human.

L' una appresso dell' altra, infin che il ramo
Vede alla terra tutte le sue spoglie,
Similemente il mal seme d' Adamo 115
Gittansi di quel lito ad una ad una
Per cenni, come augel per suo richiamo.
Così sen vanno su per l' onda bruna,
Ed avanti che sian di là discese,
Anche di qua nuova schiera s' aduna. 120
'Figliuol mio,' disse il Maestro cortese,
'Quelli che muoion nell' ira di Dio
Tutti convegnon qui d' ogni paese;
E pronti sono a trapassar lo rio,
Chè la divina giustizia gli sprona 125
Sì che la tema si volge in disio.
Quinci non passa mai anima buona;
E però se Caron di te si lagna,
Ben puoi saper omai che il suo dir suona.'
Finito questo, la buia campagna 130
Tremò sì forte che dello spavento
La mente di sudore ancor mi bagna.
La terra lagrimosa diede vento,
Che balenò una luce vermiglia,
La qual mi vinse ciascun sentimento; 135
E caddi, come l' uom cui sonno piglia.

117. 'As a bird comes down at its call,' i. e., the call by which the hunter lures it. The poem is full of figures taken from bird-hunting, the favorite sport of the nobility in the Middle Ages.

126. Any reality seems to them less intolerable than the apprehension.

127. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 563: 'Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.'

129. See note on l. 93.

132. *Mente*, 'memory.'

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

A THUNDER clap announces the consummation of the miracle. Dante finds himself on the brink of the cliff that surrounds the dark abyss. A 'roar of countless wails' greets his ear. At this sound, Virgil, who later in the journey sternly rebukes Dante for his sympathy with the damned, himself turns pale with pity: while Reason, face to face with sin, can feel only abhorrence, it may well be moved to anguish by contemplation of sin's consequences.

The descent of the bank brings the poets to the first circle of Hell, the Limbus. The Church fathers defined the Limbus as an underground place, near Hell and Purgatory, the abode of the souls of unbaptized children and, until the Harrowing of Hell, of the virtuous members of the Old Church; the only punishment is exile from God's presence; the patriarchs were cheered by hope of ultimate rescue. Salvation can be won only through faith in Christ: the ancient Hebrews believed in Christ to come, Christians believe in Christ already descended and arisen. Admission to community with Christ, which redeems man from original sin, must be sanctified by prescribed rites — in Christian times by baptism.

After the crucifixion Christ went down into Hell, — breaking the gates, which have ever since remained open, — and took from Limbus the souls of the worthy people of the Old Testament. The doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell is foreshadowed in Messianic tradition. In the Bible only passing references to it are to be found: as in Ephesians iv, 9; I Epistle of Peter iii, 19 and iv, 6; also, according to St. Augustine, in Ps. cvii (Vulgate cvi), 14. It is mentioned in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter and described in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

It remained for Dante to place in his Limbus the souls of virtuous pagans. These, as they had never believed in Christ, were not saved, but remained with the unbaptized infants. Only Cato of Utica, who appears in the first canto of the *Purgatorio*, was apparently released, and is working out his salvation on the Island of Purgatory; how his entrance into the Church is to be effected, we are not told. It is interesting to note that in the *Æneid*, VI, 426–9, the children are on the outer edge of the lower world — 'infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo.'

Dante's Limbus is shrouded in darkness, and the air quivers with sighs. Such is the life of those devoid of true knowledge of

God: their minds are enveloped in ignorance, and their hearts are full of a vague longing forever unsatisfied. But those among them who combine wisdom with virtue are illumined by mortal intelligence — a light dim compared with the vision of God, but bright beside the obscurity in which their less gifted fellows dwell. The state of the heathen sages of old is symbolized by the 'nobile castello,' the Palace of Wisdom (or, as some understand it, of Fame), where the great souls congregate, 'neither happy nor sad,' enjoying the companionship of their peers and the light of human knowledge. Dante's description of them is reminiscent of Virgil's Elysian Fields in *Æn.*, VI, 637 ff.

For a discussion of the Limbus, see M. Scherillo in *Bull.*, VIII, 1; for the palace, A. Fiammazzo, *Intorno al "Nobile Castello"* in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 25; for the descent of Christ into Hell, M. Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, 1903. pp. 83 ff.; W. H. Hulme, *Harrowing of Hell*, 1907, pp. lx–lxx.

Ruppemi l' alto sonno nella testa
  Un greve tuono, sì ch' io mi riscossi,
  Come persona che per forza è desta;
E l' occhio riposato intorno mossi,
  Dritto levato, e fiso riguardai 5
  Per conoscer lo loco dov' io fossi.
Vero è che in su la proda mi trovai
  Della valle d' abisso dolorosa,
  Che tuono accoglie d' infiniti guai.
Oscura, profond' era e nebulosa 10
  Tanto che, per ficcar lo viso al fondo,
  Io non vi discerneva alcuna cosa.
'Or discendiam quaggiù nel cieco mondo,'
  Cominciò il poeta tutto smorto;
  'Io sarò primo, e tu sarai secondo.' 15
Ed io, che del color mi fui accorto,

2. *Tuono*, probably the peal which followed the lightning of III, 134. Inasmuch as lines 2 and 3 point to a sudden noise, this 'thunder' can hardly be identical with that of l. 9.

4. *Riposato*, recovered from the dazzling effect of the flash.

9. In the *Visio S. Pauli* there is a 'tonitruum' of groans and sighs.

11. *Per ficcar*, 'however intently I fixed.'

Dissi : 'Come verrò, se tu paventi,
Che suoli al mio dubbiare esser conforto?'
Ed egli a me : 'L' angoscia delle genti
Che son quaggiù, nel viso mi dipigne 20
Quella pietà che tu per tema senti.
Andiam, chè la via lunga ne sospigne.'
Così si mise, e così mi fe' entrare
Nel primo cerchio che l' abisso cigne.
Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare, 25
Non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri,
Che l' aura eterna facevan tremare.
Ciò avvenia di duol senza martiri
Ch' avean le turbe, ch' eran molte e grandi,
D' infanti e di femmine e di viri. 30
Lo buon Maestro a me : 'Tu non dimandi
Che spiriti son questi che tu vedi?
Or vo' che sappi, innanzi che più andi,
Ch' ei non peccaro : e s' elli hanno mercedi,
Non basta, perchè non ebber battesmo, 35
Ch' è parte della fede che tu credi.
E se furon dinanzi al Cristianesmo,
Non adorar debitamente Dio :
E di questi cotai son io medesmo.
Per tai difetti, non per altro rio, 40
Semo perduti, e sol di tanto offesi
Che senza speme vivemo in disio.'

25. *Secondo che*, 'as far as one could judge.'
26. *Ma' che*, 'except.' *Ma'*, from Latin *magis*, is equivalent to *più*.
33. *Andi=vada*. Virgil will not have Dante suppose for a moment that his companions in Limbus have been evildoers.
38. *Adorar=adorarono*.
40. *Rio*, 'crime.'
41. *Semo*, equivalent to *siamo*, was common in early Italian.
42. In Dante's time the ending *-emo*, in the first person plural of verbs of the second and third conjugations, had not yet been quite supplanted by *-iamo*.

Gran duol mi prese al cor quando lo intesi,
  Perocchè gente di molto valore
  Conobbi che in quel limbo eran sospesi. 45
'Dimmi, Maestro mio, dimmi, Signore,'
  Comincia' io, per voler esser certo
  Di quella fede che vince ogni errore:
'Uscicci mai alcuno, o per suo merto
  O per altrui, che poi fosse beato?' 50
  E quei, che intese il mio parlar coperto,
Rispose: 'Io era nuovo in questo stato,
  Quando ci vidi venire un possente
  Con segno di vittoria coronato.
Trasseci l' ombra del primo parente, 55
  D' Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè,
  Di Moïsè legista e ubbidiente;
Abraam patriarca, e David re,
  Israel con lo padre e co' suoi nati
  E con Rachele, per cui tanto fe', 60
Ed altri molti; e fecegli beati.
  E vo' che sappi che, dinanzi ad essi,
  Spiriti umani non eran salvati.'

48. As soon as Dante learns that Virgil's soul dwells in Limbus, he is eager to receive from this witness corroboration of the doctrine of the descent of Christ into Hell.

52. Virgil died in the year 19 B. C.

53. Christ is never named in the *Inferno*.

56. *Noè, re, fe'* (ll. 56, 58, 60) form oxytonic or 'masculine' rhymes, called *rime tronche*. Such lines have, as printed and as now pronounced, only ten syllables each, instead of eleven. It is likely, however, that Dante pronounced *Noèe, rée, fée*.

58. Cf. Gen. xvii, 5: 'thy name shall be Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee.'

59. *Israel*, Jacob; *lo padre*, Isaac; *e suoi nati*, his twelve children.

60. To win Rachel, Jacob served Laban twice seven years: Gen. xxix, 18–28.

63. Before the descent of Christ all human souls went, if bad, to Hell, if good, to Limbus. Since that time Christian souls penitent at the moment of death have gone to Purgatory.

Non lasciavam l' andar perch' ei dicessi,
  Ma passavam la selva tuttavia — 65
  La selva, dico, di spiriti spessi.
Non era lunga ancor la nostra via
  Di qua dal sonno, quand' io vidi un foco
  Ch' emisperio di tenebre vincia.
Di lungi v' eravamo ancora un poco, 70
  Ma non sì ch' io non discernessi in parte
  Che onrevol gente possedea quel loco.
'O tu che onori e scienza ed arte,
  Questi chi son, ch' hanno cotanta onranza
  Che dal modo degli altri li diparte?' 75
E quegli a me: 'L' onrata nominanza,
  Che di lor suona su nella tua vita,
  Grazia acquista nel ciel che sì gli avanza.'
Intanto voce fu per me udita:
  'Onorate l' altissimo poeta; 80
  L' ombra sua torna, ch' era dipartita.'
Poichè la voce fu restata e queta,
  Vidi quattro grand' ombre a noi venire;
  Sembianza avevan nè trista nè lieta.
Lo buon Maestro cominciò a dire: 85

64. *Dicessi*=*dicesse.* Early usage hesitated between final *i* and *e* in many verb forms.

68. *Sonno,* the swoon of l. 1. Some texts have *sommo,* the 'proda della valle d' abisso' of ll. 7-8.

69. A light radiates up in all directions from the Castle, forming a hemisphere of brightness over and about it. *Vincía* is generally understood as the imperfect of *vincere,* i. e., 'overcame'; the ending *-ia* for *-ea* or *-eva* was common. Torraca, however, regards it as the imperfect of *vincire,* 'to bind,' and makes *emisperio* the subject: 'which a hemisphere of darkness enclosed.'

72. *Onrevol, onranza* — more commonly *orrevole, orranza* — are contracted forms of *onorevole, onoranza.* Note the repetition of *onore* and its derivatives in ll. 72, 73, 74, 76, 80, 93, 100.

76. God allows the intelligence, by the good use of which they won such renown on earth, to remain with them in the other world.

79. We are not told which of the spirits utters the greeting to Virgil.

'Mira colui con quella spada in mano,
Che vien dinanzi a' tre sì come sire.
Quegli è Omero poeta sovrano,
L' altro è Orazio satiro che viene,
Ovidio è il terzo, e l' ultimo Lucano. 90
Perocchè ciascun meco si conviene
Nel nome che sonò la voce sola,
Fannomi onore, e di ciò fanno bene.'
Così vidi adunar la bella scuola
Di quei signor dell' altissimo canto, 95
Che sopra gli altri com' aquila vola.
Da ch' ebber ragionato insieme alquanto,
Volsersi a me con salutevol cenno;
E 'l mio Maestro sorrise di tanto.
E più d' onore ancora assai mi fenno; 100
Ch' esser mi fecer della loro schiera,
Sì ch' io fui sesto tra cotanto senno.
Così n' andammo infino alla lumiera,
Parlando cose che il tacere è bello,

86. Homer is depicted with a sword because he sang of arms. According to *Vulg. El.*, II, ii, the three best themes of poetry are love, arms, and righteousness.

88. Dante did not know Homer directly. The reputation of the latter as 'sovereign poet' must have survived in school tradition. In the *Ars Poetica*, 73-4, Horace says:

> 'Res gestæ regumque ducumque et tristia bella
> Quo scribi posset numero, monstravit Homerus.'

A passage in *Vita Nuova*, XXV, 88-92, suggests that Dante may have formed his impression of Homer, in part, through Horace. It is noteworthy that the ancient poets thus grouped in the *Inferno* are cited together in the same chapter of the *Vita Nuova*. Dante was thoroughly familiar with Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan. Another ancient poet whom he had read much, Statius, appears in Purgatory.

89. The *Odes* and *Epodes* were probably unknown to Dante. In the *Ars Poetica*, 235, Horace speaks of himself as a writer of satire.

93. They do well to honor in me the name of poet, which they all share.

100. *Fenno* = *fecero*.

104. Things appropriate to that time and place, but not to the present poem.

Sì com' era il parlar colà dov' era. 105
Venimmo al piè d' un nobile castello,
Sette volte cerchiato d' alte mura,
Difeso intorno da un bel fiumicello.
Questo passammo come terra dura.
Per sette porte intrai con questi savi; 110
Giugnemmo in prato di fresca verdura.
Genti v' eran con occhi tardi e gravi,
Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti;
Parlavan rado, con voci soavi.
Traemmoci così dall' un de' canti 115
In loco aperto, luminoso ed alto,
Sì che veder si potean tutti quanti.
Colà, diritto sopra il verde smalto,
Mi fur mostrati gli spiriti magni,
Che del vederli in me stesso n' esalto. 120
Io vidi Elettra con molti compagni,
Tra' quai conobbi Ettore ed Enea,
Cesare armato con gli occhi grifagni.
Vidi Cammilla e la Pentesilea;
Dall' altra parte vidi il re Latino, 125

107. The Palace of Wisdom is surrounded by seven walls representing the four moral virtues (prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice) and the three intellectual virtues (understanding, knowledge, and wisdom). The stream may well stand for eloquence.

110. The gates probably symbolize the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy), which afford access to knowledge.

112. Cf. *Purg.* VI, 63: 'E nel muover degli occhi onesta e tarda.'

121. Electra, daughter of Atlas, and mother of Dardanus, the founder of Troy: *Æn.*, VIII, 134–5. Cf. *Mon.*, II, iii, 68–9: 'avia vetustissima, Electra.'

123. Cæsar, the founder of the Empire, is briefly described as 'in arms, with hawk-like eyes.' Nowhere in the poem do we find a long description or discussion of him. While he deserved, by virtue of his great political act, a place in history beside that of Christ, he was probably, as a tyrant and the opponent of Cato, distasteful to Dante.

124. Camilla, a warrior maiden: *Æn.*, XI, 498 ff. Penthesilēa, queen of the Amazons: *Æn.*, I, 490 ff.

125. Cf. *Æn.*, VII, 45 ff.

Che con Lavinia sua figlia sedea.
Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino,
Lucrezia, Julia, Marzia e Corniglia ;
E solo in parte vidi il Saladino.
Poi che innalzai un poco più le ciglia, 130
Vidi il Maestro di color che sanno,
Seder tra filosofica famiglia.
Tutti lo miran, tutti onor gli fanno.
Quivi vid' io Socrate e Platone,
Che innanzi agli altri più presso gli stanno. 135
Democrito, che il mondo a caso pone,
Diogenès, Anassagora e Tale,
Empedoclès, Eraclito e Zenone ;
E vidi il buono accoglitor del quale,
Dioscoride dico ; e vidi Orfeo, 140
Tullio e Livio e Seneca morale,

127. The other Brutus is in the centre of Hell. *Tarquino*, for *Tarquinio*, was regular in early Italian.

128. Lucretia, wife of Collatinus; Julia, daughter of Cæsar, wife of Pompey ; Martia, wife of Cato of Utica (cf. *Purg.* I, 79; *Conv.*, IV, xxviii, 97 ff.); Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

129. Saladin, the model of chivalry, was sultan of Egypt and Syria in the 12th century. He is different in race and religion from those mentioned hitherto.

131. Aristotle, whom Dante often calls simply 'il Filosofo,' and to whom he repeatedly refers in terms of the deepest admiration. Aristotle was known to Dante in two Latin translations, one of which had been made by, or for, St. Thomas.

136. Democritus, known to Dante probably through Cicero.

137. Anaxagoras, cited by Aristotle. Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece: *Conv.*, III, xi, 39.

138. Empedocles, to whose doctrine reference is made in *Inf.* XII, 42. Heraclītus, mentioned by Aristotle. Zeno, stoic philosopher: *Conv.*, IV, vi, 84.

139. Dioscorides wrote a treatise on plants and their properties: *quale* here means 'qualities' (of plants).

140. Orpheus, considered as a philosopher: *Conv.*, II, i, 25–34.

141. Tully, or Cicero, was one of the first philosophers that Dante studied: *Conv.*, II, xiii, 17 ff.; see also *Inf.* XI, 22–4. Livy wrote philosophical works, mentioned in a letter of Seneca to Lucilius; most texts have Lino, i. e., Linus, an imaginary Greek poet. Seneca the moralist was thought to be a different person from the dramatist: see P. Toynbee in *Giorn. stor.*, XXV, 334.

Euclide geometra e Tolommeo,
Ippocrate, Avicenna e Galieno,
Averroìs, che il gran comento feo.
Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno, 145
Perocchè sì mi caccia il lungo tema
Che molte volte al fatto il dir vien meno.
La sesta compagnia in due si scema;
Per altra via mi mena il savio duca,
Fuor della queta nell' aura che trema; 150
E vengo in parte ove non è che luca.

142. Ptolemy, the great geographer and astronomer of Alexandria, who lived in the second century B. C.

143. Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen: three famous physicians of Greece, Turkestan, and Mysia.

144. Averrhoës, a Spanish Moor of the 12th century, was a celebrated scholar and philosopher. Having read the works of Aristotle in ancient Syriac translations, he composed three commentaries on them; one of these, the 'gran commento,' was followed by St. Thomas. As he inclined towards pantheism and materialism, he was regarded in the 14th century as the master of free-thinkers. — *Feo* = *fece*.

148. The company of six dwindles to two — Virgil and Dante.

150. Out of the peaceful atmosphere of the Palace into the air that quivers with sighs: cf. ll. 26–7.

151. *Ove non è che luca*, 'where there is nothing shining': beyond the brightness of the Palace.

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

In this canto are found several striking similes drawn from bird-life, which Dante loved to depict. The second circle, with its wind-wafted spirits, offers fit opportunity for these portrayals of starlings, cranes, and doves. Cranes are put to a like use by Virgil in *Æn.*, X, 264–6:

> 'Quales sub nubibus atris
> Strymoniæ dant signa grues, atque æthera tranant
> Cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.'

Torraca quotes from the *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini as follows: 'Gru sono uccelli che volano a squadre, a modo di cavalieri che vanno in battaglia.' The eager flight of the dove to her young was noted later by Rabelais (*Pantagruel*, IV, iii): 'Il n'est que vol de pigeon, quand il a œufz ou petitz, pour l'obstinée sollicitude en lui par nature posée de recourir et secourir ses pigeonneaux.'

The descent from Limbus to the second circle is not described; we have no means of conjecturing the size or the steepness of the cliff. The journey through Hell being physically impossible, Dante purposely refrains from furnishing particulars that might destroy the illusion, while abounding in such details as serve to heighten it. As the pit narrows progressively toward the bottom, the terraces correspondingly decrease in circumference, but the penalties become more and more severe. At one point in the round of this shelf is a break, where the rock has fallen. When Dante mentions this *ruina*, in l. 34, he offers no explanation: shrieks and curses are redoubled here, but we know not why. Our suspense lasts until we reach Canto XII, ll. 31–45. There we are told that when Christ descended into Hell, his coming was preceded by an earthquake, which shook down the walls of the abyss in three spots. Those broken places lie beside the circle of the pagans, just beyond the enclosure of the heretics, and over the hypocrites by whom Christ had been condemned (XXI, 112–4; XXIII, 133–8) — all close to the abodes of those who had offended the Saviour by disbelief in his mission. In each case the word 'ruin' is used. The sight of the first *ruina* moves the souls of the second circle to lamentation, because it reminds them of the time when the neighboring Hebrew spirits in the Limbus were rescued, while all the other souls in Hell were left to eternal torment.

Most of the fallen angels, or fiends, are in the lower Hell; a few, however, appear as presiding genii outside the City of Dis: so Charon, Cerberus, Plutus, Phlegyas, and, at the threshold of the second circle, Minos, the judge. Both theologians and simple folk were prone to look upon the heathen gods as demons who had beguiled men into their worship. It is not strange, therefore, to find in a Christian Hell many classic personages, especially such as were already associated with the lower world. Dante did not treat all the pagan divinities alike; if he depicted Plutus as a devil, the Muses and Apollo were to him simply allegorical figures, while Jove apparently represented the ancient poets' dim conception of the Supreme Being. Minos, the great king and legislator of Crete, holds in the 11th book of the *Odyssey* the noble office of judge of the dead. In the *Æneid*, VI, 432–3, though briefly sketched, he retains the same honorable function:

> 'Quæsitor Minos urnam movet: ille silentum
> Conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit.'

In Dante he has become a hideous demon, arbiter of the damned — the symbol, it would seem, of the guilty conscience.

The second circle punishes *lussuria*, or lust, the first of the sins of Incontinence. The luxurious are forever blown about in the darkness by stormy blasts, typifying the blind fury of passion. In some previous tales of Hell a wind torments evildoers, notably in the *Visio Alberici*, XIV, where souls are driven by the fiery breath of a dog and a lion. Dante divests the torment of all grotesqueness, and, indeed, treats the sinners of this class with special consideration. This may be due in part to sympathy, and partly, no doubt, to a sense that their fault is the result of a mistaken following of love, the noblest of human emotions. Theologically speaking, the fate of lost souls should arouse no pity, as the sight of sin should excite only repugnance. But we must remember that the Dante who is visiting Hell is himself still a sinner. Moreover, allegorically interpreted, these harassed souls are men and women loving and suffering on earth; and even the most sinful, as long as they live, are fit objects of compassion.

Compassion, tenderness, sympathetic curiosity, anguish, reach their climax when Dante meets and converses with Francesca da Rimini. This unhappy lady was the daughter of Guido Minore da Polenta, a powerful citizen of Ravenna, and was married to Giovanni di Malatesta da Verrucchio (called Sciancato, or Gian Ciotto), lord of Rimini. Of her love for Paolo, her husband's brother, and the murder of the two by Giovanni, we have no record before Dante, although the event must have been well known. It probably occurred about 1285: in 1282–3 Paolo was in Florence

as Capitano del Popolo, and in 1288 there is evidence of a child born to Giovanni by a second wife. After Francesca's adventure had been made eternally famous by Dante's poem, many fables grew up about it; her fate is still a favorite theme for artists and authors. Of all the episodes in the *Commedia*, this has always been the most popular.

It is not alone the undying passion of Francesca that moves us, but even more her gentleness and modest reticence. In her narrative she names none of the participants; not even her city is called by name. Her identity is revealed by Dante, who, recognizing her, addresses her as 'Francesca.' Everything in her story that could mar our pity is set aside, and nothing remains but the quintessence of love. Amid the tortures of Hell, where all is hatred, her love does not forsake her, and she glories in the thought that she and Paolo shall never be parted.

Should we be inclined to question whether mere impersonal sympathy, however natural and profound, could have sufficed to lead a religious poet, a stern moralist, thus to idealize an adulteress and mitigate her punishment, we might feel ourselves justified in seeking some special reason for his kindliness. As we look through the *Commedia*, we find that in one place or another the exiled poet contrived to pay an appropriate tribute to all those who had befriended him in his need: it was the only return his grateful heart could make. His last and probably his happiest years were spent in Ravenna under the protection of Guido Novello da Polenta, a nephew of our Francesca. Now, we do not know exactly when Dante went to that city, but in any case it was almost certainly at a period later than the time when the *Inferno* was composed. His son Pietro, however, established himself in Ravenna, perhaps as early as 1317, receiving a benefice from Guido's wife; and his daughter Beatrice entered a convent there. It is possible that previous courtesies, of which we have no record, were extended to Dante or his kindred before this *cantica* was completed. There is, then, some slight ground for the supposition that this passage was intended as an incidental homage to Guido's family, a rehabilitation of Francesca's memory. Love, she says, comes to gentle hearts with irresistible force — 'a nullo amato amar perdona.' Had she lived, she would have repented; it was her sudden taking off that damned her. Her fate is contrasted with that of her husband: her soul is one of the highest in Hell; his, one of the lowest.

See A. Graf, *La demonologia di Dante* in his *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892–3, II, 79. For Francesca, F. De Sanctis, *Francesca da Rimini* in his *Nuovi saggi critici*, 1893 (6th ed.). For Dante's pity, D' Ovidio, 80–92; Moore, II, 210 ff.; F. Cipolla in the *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LIV, 294.

Così discesi del cerchio primaio
  Giù nel secondo, che men loco cinghia
  E tanto più dolor che pugne a guaio.
Stavvi Minòs orribilmente e ringhia;
  Esamina le colpe nell' entrata, 5
  Giudica e manda secondo che avvinghia.
Dico che quando l' anima mal nata
  Li vien dinanzi, tutta si confessa;
  E quel conoscitor delle peccata
Vede qual loco d' inferno è da essa; 10
  Cignesi colla coda tante volte
  Quantunque gradi vuol che giù sia messa.
Sempre dinanzi a lui ne stanno molte:
  Vanno a vicenda ciascuna al giudizio;
  Dicono e odono, e poi son giù volte. 15
'O tu, che vieni al doloroso ospizio,'
  Disse Minòs a me, quando mi vide,
  Lasciando l' atto di cotanto uffizio,
'Guarda com' entri, e di cui tu ti fide:
  Non t' inganni l' ampiezza dell' entrare!' 20
  E il duca mio a lui: 'Perchè pur gride?
Non impedir lo suo fatale andare;

4. *Minòs:* in mediæval schools Greek proper names, in the nominative, were very commonly stressed on the last syllable, this having been apparently regarded as the regular Greek accentuation; hence *Cleopatràs*, *Parìs*, *Semiramìs*, and elsewhere *Calliopè*, *Semelè*, etc. For some reason *Cleopatràs*, with an *s*, seems to have been considered the correct form.

6. *Avvinghia*, 'entwines.'

7. *Dico*, 'I mean.'

8. *Li* and *gli* were used interchangeably.

9. *Peccata:* collective feminine plural (originally neuter plural) forms in *-a* were much commoner in Dante's day than now.

19. *Fide* = *fidi*. So, in l. 21, *gride* = *gridi*. The forms in *-e* are the older.

20. Cf. Mat. vii, 13: 'wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction.' Also *Æn.*, VI, 126-7:

'facilis descensus Averni:
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis.'

21. *Pur* seems to mean *tu pure*, i. e., as well as Charon.

Vuolsi così colà dove si puote
Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare.
Ora incominciano le dolenti note 25
A farmisi sentire ; or son venuto
Là dove molto pianto mi percote.
Io venni in loco d' ogni luce muto,
Che mugghia come fa mar per tempesta,
Se da contrari venti è combattuto. 30
La bufera infernal, che mai non resta,
Mena gli spirti con la sua rapina ;
Voltando e percotendo li molesta.
Quando giungon davanti alla ruina,
Quivi le strida, il compianto e il lamento, 35
Bestemmian quivi la virtù divina.
Intesi che a così fatto tormento
Enno dannati i peccator carnali,
Che la ragion sommettono al talento.
E come gli stornei ne portan l' ali 40
Nel freddo tempo, a schiera larga e piena,
Così quel fiato gli spiriti mali.
Di qua, di là, di giù, di su gli mena ;
Nulla speranza gli conforta mai,
Non che di posa, ma di minor pena. 45
E come i gru van cantando lor lai,
Facendo in aer di sè lunga riga,
Così vid' io venir, traendo guai,
Ombre portate dalla detta briga.

23. The same formula was used in III, 95–6.
28. Cf. 'dove il sol tace' in I, 60.
38. *Enno* = *sono*.
40. *Stornei* = *stornelli*.
45. 'I do not say hope of rest, but even hope of less punishment.'
48. Dante was exceedingly fond of the expression *trarre guai*, 'to utter wails.'
49. *Briga:* the strife of conflicting winds, l. 30.

Per ch' io dissi: 'Maestro, chi son quelle 50
Genti che l' aura nera sì gastiga?'
'La prima di color di cui novelle
Tu vuoi saper,' mi disse quegli allotta,
'Fu imperatrice di molte favelle.
A vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta 55
Che libito fe' licito in sua legge,
Per torre il biasmo in che era condotta.
Ell' è Semiramìs, di cui si legge
Che succedette a Nino e fu sua sposa;
Tenne la terra che il Soldan corregge. 60
L' altra è colei che s' ancise amorosa
E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo;
Poi è Cleopatràs lussurïosa.
Elena vedi, per cui tanto reo
Tempo si volse, e vedi il grande Achille, 65
Che con amore al fine combatteo.
Vedi Paris, Tristano'; e più di mille

53. *Allotta* = *allora*.

54. Semiramis, queen of Assyria, of whom Dante had read in the *Historia* of Paulus Orosius, I, iv. In *Mon.*, II, ix, 27–8, Dante says that Ninus, her husband, 'Asiam totam sibi subegerit.'

56. To excuse her own unnatural passion, 'præcepit . . . quod cuique libitum esset, licitum fieret,' i. e., she made every one's pleasure lawful.

60. The lands in Egypt and Syria which the Sultan now rules. For this use of *corregge*, see Ps. xcv (Vulg.), 10: '*correxit* orbem terræ.'

61. *Altra* here, as very often in Dante, means 'second.' The story of Dido's fatal love for Æneas (and her infidelity to the memory of her dead husband, Sichæus) is told in *Æn.*, IV.

64. Here, and in ll. 65, 67, some texts have *vidi* for *vedi*. With the reading *vidi*, the quotation should close with l. 63. — *Elena*, Helen, 'on whose account so many evil years were spent' in the Trojan war.

66. 'Who fought with love up to the end': the Old French poet, Benoît de Sainte More, in his *Roman de Troie*, developing an allusion in Dares's *Excidium Trojæ*, narrates that Achilles, madly in love with Polyxena, was lured into an ambush, where he perished. See also Servius's Commentary on *Æn.*, III, 322. — *Combatteo* = *combattè*.

67. *Paris*, son of Priam. *Tristano*, Tristram, hero of the most famous mediæval love romance.

Ombre mostrommi, e nominolle, a dito,
Che amor di nostra vita dipartille.
Poscia ch' io ebbi il mio dottore udito 70
Nomar le donne antiche e i cavalieri,
Pietà mi giunse, e fui quasi smarrito.
Io cominciai : 'Poeta, volentieri
Parlerei a que' duo che insieme vanno
E paion sì al vento esser leggieri.' 75
Ed egli a me : 'Vedrai, quando saranno
Più presso a noi ; e tu allor li prega
Per quell' amor che i mena, e quei verranno.'
Sì tosto come il vento a noi li piega,
Mossi la voce : 'O anime affannate, 80
Venite a noi parlar, s' altri nol niega.'
Quali colombe dal disio chiamate,
Con l' ali alzate e ferme, al dolce nido
Vegnon per l' aer dal voler portate,
Cotali uscir della schiera ov' è Dido, 85
A noi venendo per l' aer maligno,
Sì forte fu l' affettüoso grido.
'O animal grazioso e benigno,

68. Some texts have *nominommi.*
69. *Dipartille = le dipartì;* the *le* is superfluous.
78. *I = li.*
81. *Altri,* 'some one.' God is never named to the damned, nor by them, save in blasphemy.
82. This beautiful simile was doubtless suggested by *Æn.*, V, 213–7:

> 'Qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
> Cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
> Fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pennis
> Dat tecto ingentem : mox aëre lapsa quieto,
> Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.'

Dante, however, while keeping a part of the general picture and a few of the expressions ('sweet nest' and 'motionless wings'), alters the situation, making the dove fly to her nest instead of flying away from it; furthermore, he infuses an entirely new spirit into the figure by his conception of love as the sole power that sustains the mother-bird in her flight.
88. *Animal,* 'living creature.'

Che visitando vai per l' aer perso
Noi che tignemmo il mondo di sanguigno, 90
Se fosse amico il re dell' universo,
Noi pregheremmo lui della tua pace,
Poich' hai pietà del nostro mal perverso.
Di quel che udire e che parlar ti piace
Noi udiremo e parleremo a vui, 95
Mentre che il vento, come fa, si tace.
Siede la terra dove nata fui
Sulla marina dove il Po discende
Per aver pace co' seguaci sui.
Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s' apprende, 100
Prese costui della bella persona

89. *Perso*, 'perse,' a term often used by Dante in the sense of 'dark,' denotes properly 'un colore misto di purpureo e di nero, ma vince il nero': *Conv.*, IV, xx, 14–5.

92. 'Pace' is what Francesca most desires; and she imagines that every one else must crave peace — even the rivers running to the sea, as in l. 99.

95. *Vui*, a southern form for *voi*, was often used in the rhyme by Tuscan poets.

96. In l. 31 the poet tells us that the 'bufera infernal' never rests. But the 'bufera' seems to indicate the whole storm of conflicting blasts: in a single spot the gust may die down for a moment — *come fa*, 'as it now does.'

97. *Terra*, 'city': Ravenna.

99. 'To have peace with its pursuers': the tributaries are conceived as chasing the Po down to the sea.

100. Note the recurrence of *amore* and *amare* in Francesca's speeches, especially the use of *amore* at the beginning of three successive tiercets in ll. 100, 103, 106. — According to the doctrine formulated by the Bolognese poet Guido Guinizelli, who belonged to the generation before Dante, love exists potentially in the noble heart (and there only) from its birth, and is immediately awakened to activity by the sight of a worthy object:

> 'Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore,
> Come alla selva augello in la verdura,
> Nè fe' Amore avanti gentil core,
> Nè gentil core avanti Amor, Natura.'

This doctrine was adopted and developed by Dante and his fellow poets of the 'dolce stil nuovo.' So Dante, in the 10th sonnet of the *Vita Nuova:*

> 'Amore e 'l cor gentil son una cosa,
> Siccom' il Saggio in suo dittato pone'

101. Love seized him, Paolo, 'for the fair body that was taken from me'; and 'the way (in which it was taken from me) is still harmful to me,' because, murdered as she was without a chance to repent, she incurred eternal pun-

Che mi fu tolta, e il modo ancor m' offende.
Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona,
Mi prese del costui piacer sì forte
Che, come vedi, ancor non mi abbandona. 105
Amor condusse noi ad una morte.
Caïna attende chi vita ci spense.'
Queste parole da lor ci fur porte.
Da che io intesi quelle anime offense,
Chinai 'l viso, e tanto il tenni basso 110
Finchè il poeta mi disse: 'Che pense?'
Quando risposi, cominciai: 'O lasso!
Quanti dolci pensier, quanto disio
Menò costoro al doloroso passo!'
Poi mi rivolsi a loro, e parla' io, 115
E cominciai: 'Francesca, i tuoi martiri
A lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio.
Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
A che e come concedette amore
Che conoscesti i dubbiosi desiri?' 120
Ed ella a me: 'Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore.

ishment. For this use of *bella persona*, cf. Odo delle Colonne, *Oi llassa namorata*, ll. 17–8:

'La sua persona bella
Tolta m' à gioco e risa.'

103. 'Love, which exempts no loved one from loving in return, seized me for his charms with such might . . .' *Piacer* is used here like the corresponding Provençal word *plazer*, 'attraction,' 'charm.'

107. *Caïna*, the abode of traitors to kindred, at the bottom of Hell, awaits Francesca's husband, Gian Ciotto.

108. *Da lor ci fur porte*, 'were offered us by them,' although they were spoken by Francesca alone.

109. *Offense=offese*, 'injured.'

111. *Pense=pensi:* cf. l. 19.

112. Evidently there is a pause between question and answer.

123. *Il tuo dottore*, Virgil, who was happy and glorious on earth, and is now condemned to eternal exile.

Ma se a conoscer la prima radice
Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto, 125
Farò come colui che piange e dice.
Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse ;
Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.
Per più fïate gli occhi ci sospinse 130
Quella lettura e scolorocci il viso,
Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.
Quando leggemmo il disïato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso, 135
La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante.
Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse !
Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.'
Mentre che l' uno spirto questo disse,
L' altro piangeva sì che di pietade 140
Io venni men, così com' io morisse ;
E caddi, come corpo morto cade.

127. The French prose romance of Lancelot of the Lake, which tells of the love of the hero for Guinevere, wife of King Arthur.

129. *Sospetto*, 'misgiving.' — In the romance, Lancelot and Guinevere were not alone, as Paolo and Francesca were.

130. *Gli occhi ci sospinse*, 'made our eyes meet.'

133. *Il disïato riso*, i. e., the worshipped lips.

137. Gallehaut was the intermediary who brought Lancelot and Guinevere together; Paolo and Francesca had no such go-between — the book was their Gallehaut, an incentive to sin. Cf. D'Ovidio[3], 527.

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

For the reason already mentioned, Dante likes to pass lightly over the transitions from one step to another. Thus, when he awakens from his second swoon, he finds himself once more mysteriously transported, this time to the third terrace. Gluttony, the next of the sins of Incontinence, is essentially foul and selfish, and so is fitly symbolized by the cold, slimy filth which constitutes the punishment of the third circle. It is a sin that robs men of their humanity, making them unrecognizable to their friends. Its perfect embodiment is Cerberus, the tormenting genius of the place. This beast, opposing the poets' passage, is offered a double handful of mud, which it eagerly devours. So in the *Æneid*, VI, 417–23, Cerberus is pacified by the Sibyl with a honey-cake:

> 'Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
> Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.
> Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
> Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
> Objicit: ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
> Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
> Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro.'

The substitution of dirt for medicated sweets serves still further to debase greediness.

With one of the souls here confined Dante holds converse. This is Ciacco, a Florentine renowned both for his gluttony and for his cleverness, who figures also in one of Boccaccio's tales, *Decameron*, IX, 8. It is not certain whether *Ciacco* was his real name — perhaps a synonym of Jacopo — or a nickname meaning 'pig'; nor is it known whether he is to be identified with a poet called Ciacco dell' Anguillaia. In response to a question by Dante, this spirit prophesies the approaching victory of the Whites — the *selvaggia* or 'rustic' party — over their opponents, and the ensuing triumph of the Blacks through the connivance of Boniface VIII. In Florence, he further declares, there are only two just men, and they have no influence. Who these two are, we are not told. A comparison with the close of Canzone IX — in which Dante sends his song 'to the three least guilty of our city' — and with *Purg.* XVI, 124–6 (where the only three good men now left in Lombardy are named), makes it likely that the poet had in mind two specific persons; but it is impossible to guess whom he meant.

In ll. 35-6 Dante speaks of walking over the empty shades which look like real people. Throughout Hell the souls, though without weight, are not only visible and audible, but tangible. On the lower slopes of the mountain of Purgatory, however, Dante cannot touch a shade (*Purg.* II, 79 ff.), although two spirits can still embrace (*Purg.* VI, 75); and near the summit one soul apparently cannot clasp another (*Purg.* XXI, 130 ff.). In *Purg.* XXV, 79 ff., we are informed that after death the atmosphere collects around the departed spirit, forming an aerial body, which reflects all the emotions of the soul itself. Although Dante nowhere says so explicitly, it would seem that he chose to regard this airy shape as more substantial in proportion to its proximity to the centre of gravity of the universe (which is also the centre of sin), and more ethereal as it rises above the earth's surface. This conception of the shade appears to be Dante's own, although St. Thomas mentions the power of angels and devils to assume aerial forms.

See M. Scherillo, *Il "Ciacco" della Divina Commedia*, in *Nuova Antologia* (1901), XCIV, 427; cf. *Bull.*, X, 186. See also I. Del Lungo, *Il priorato di Dante*, in *Nuova Antologia* (1900), LXXXVIII, 3. For the 'giusti son duo' of l. 73, see Gen. xviii, 24: 'Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city.' For the solidity of shades: G. Gargano-Cosenza, *La saldezza delle ombre nel poema dantesco*, 1902, and R. Petrosemolo, *La saldezza delle ombre nella Divina Commedia*, 1902; cf. *Bull.*, X, 79.

Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse
Dinanzi alla pietà de' duo cognati,
Che di tristizia tutto mi confuse,
Nuovi tormenti e nuovi tormentati
Mi veggio intorno, come ch' io mi mova 5
E ch' io mi volga, e come ch' io mi guati.
Io sono al terzo cerchio della piova
Eterna, maledetta, fredda e greve;
Regola e qualità mai non l' è nuova.
Grandine grossa e acqua tinta e neve 10
Per l' aer tenebroso si riversa;
Pute la terra che questo riceve.
Cerbero, fiera crudele e diversa,
Con tre gole caninamente latra

13. *Diversa*, 'strange.'

Sopra la gente che quivi è sommersa. 15
Gli occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta ed atra,
E il ventre largo, e unghiate le mani;
Graffia gli spiriti, gli scuoia ed isquatra.
Urlar gli fa la pioggia come cani;
Dell' un de' lati fanno all' altro schermo; 20
Volgonsi spesso i miseri profani.
Quando ci scorse Cerbero, il gran vermo,
Le bocche aperse e mostrocci le sanne:
Non avea membro che tenesse fermo.
E il duca mio distese le sue spanne; 25
Prese la terra, e con piene le pugna
La gittò dentro alle bramose canne.
Qual è quel cane che abbaiando agugna,
E si racqueta poi che il pasto morde,
Che solo a divorarlo intende e pugna, 30
Cotai si fecer quelle facce lorde
Dello demonio Cerbero, che introna
L' anime sì ch' esser vorrebber sorde.
Noi passavam su per l' ombre che adona
La greve pioggia, e ponevam le piante 35
Sopra lor vanità che par persona.
Elle giacean per terra tutte quante,
Fuor ch' una, che a seder si levò, ratto
Ch' ella ci vide passarsi davante.

18. *Scuoia*, 'flays': some texts have *ingoia*, 'swallows.'
21. *Profani*, the impious gluttons, 'whose God is their belly': Phil. iii, 19.
22. *Vermo*, 'worm' or 'dragon.' In *Inf.* XXXIV, 108, Lucifer is called 'il vermo reo.' In the *Visio Alberici*, IX, there is at the entrance of Hell a 'vermis infinitæ magnitudinis' bound with a great chain.
23. *Sanne*, 'fangs.'
25. *Spanne*, palms and fingers.
28. *Agugna*, 'craves.'
30. *Pugna*, 'struggles.'
34. *Adonare*, which recurs in *Purg.* XI, 19, was used also by G. Villani, always in the sense of 'subdue.'

'O tu, che se' per questo inferno tratto,' 40
Mi disse, 'riconoscimi, se sai;
Tu fosti, prima ch' io disfatto, fatto.'
Ed io a lei: 'L' angoscia che tu hai
Forse ti tira fuor della mia mente
Sì che non par ch' io ti vedessi mai. 45
Ma dimmi chi tu se', che in sì dolente
Loco se' messa, ed a sì fatta pena,
Che, s' altra è maggio, nulla è sì spiacente.'
Ed egli a me: 'La tua città, ch' è piena
D' invidia sì che già trabocca il sacco, 50
Seco mi tenne in la vita serena.
Voi cittadini mi chiamaste Ciacco.
Per la dannosa colpa della gola,
Come tu vedi, alla pioggia mi fiacco;
Ed io anima trista non son sola, 55
Chè tutte queste a simil pena stanno
Per simil colpa.' E più non fe' parola.
Io gli risposi: 'Ciacco, il tuo affanno
Mi pesa sì che a lagrimar m' invita.
Ma dimmi, se tu sai, a che verranno 60
Li cittadin della città partita;
S' alcun v' è giusto; e dimmi la cagione
Perchè l' ha tanta discordia assalita.'
Ed egli a me: 'Dopo lunga tenzone
Verranno al sangue, e la parte selvaggia 65

48. *Maggio* for *maggiore* was not uncommon in early Italian. — Dante, who has not yet seen the rest of Hell, assumes that no punishment can be more disgusting than this.

51. To the lost souls the earthly life seems, by contrast, clear and beautiful.

54. *Mi fiacco*, 'I am broken.'

58. Note the similarity of ll. 58–9 to V, 116–7, which express the same sentiment in different words.

65. *Verranno al sangue*, a biblical phrase: I Sam. xxv, 26, 'prohibuit ne

Caccerà l' altra con molta offensione.
Poi appresso convien che questa caggia
Infra tre soli, e che l' altra sormonti
Con la forza di tal che testè piaggia.
Alte terrà lungo tempo le fronti, 70
Tenendo l' altra sotto gravi pesi,
Come che di ciò pianga e che ne adonti.
Giusti son duo, ma non vi sono intesi.
Superbia, invidia ed avarizia sono
Le tre faville che hanno i cori accesi.' 75
Qui pose fine al lagrimabil suono.
Ed io a lui: 'Ancor vo' che m' insegni,
E che di più parlar mi facci dono.
Farinata e il Tegghiai', che fur sì degni,
Jacopo Rusticucci, Arrigo e il Mosca, 80
E gli altri che a ben far poser gl' ingegni,
Dimmi ove sono, e fa ch' io li conosca;
Chè gran disio mi stringe di sapere
Se il ciel gli addolcia o lo inferno gli attosca.'

venires in sanguinem,' i. e., 'hath withholden thee from coming to shed blood.' — After long strife between the adherents of the Donati, representing the old aristocracy, and the followers of the Cerchi, who had come to Florence from the country and enriched themselves by commerce, blood was shed in an encounter on May 1, 1300. In June, 1301, the leaders of the Black or Donati party conspired against their opponents, and in consequence were exiled. — G. Villani says that the Cerchi were 'di bizzarra salvatichezza,' or 'curiously rustic.'

67. The Blacks having gained the upper hand through the cunning of Boniface VIII and his pretended 'peace-maker,' Charles of Valois, banished, between January 1 and October 1, 1302, some 600 Whites. Dante was sentenced on January 27, and again on March 10. — *Tre soli* means three solar years, beginning January 1; the Florentine year began on March 25.

69. *Tal* is Boniface. *Piaggiare* meant 'to temporize' (perhaps originally 'to hug the shore') and also 'to go to law' (cf. Provençal *plach* and Italian *piato*, 'law-suit'): either meaning would fit here, as the Pope in 1300 was acting ambiguously and was also engaged in litigation with Florence.

72. *Adonti*, 'be shamed.'

77. *Vo'=voglio.*

78. *Facci=faccia.*

84. *Addolcia*, 'sweetens'; *attosca*, 'envenoms.'

E quegli : 'Ei son tra le anime più nere ; 85
Diversa colpa giù li grava al fondo ;
Se tanto scendi, li potrai vedere.
Ma quando tu sarai nel dolce mondo,
Pregoti che alla mente altrui mi rechi.
Più non ti dico e più non ti rispondo.' 90
Gli diritti occhi torse allora in biechi ;
Guardommi un poco, e poi chinò la testa :
Cadde con essa a par degli altri ciechi.
E il duca disse a me : 'Più non si desta
Di qua dal suon dell' angelica tromba. 95
Quando verrà la nimica podesta,
Ciascun ritroverà la trista tomba,
Ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura,
Udirà quel che in eterno rimbomba.'
Sì trapassammo per sozza mistura 100
Dell' ombre e della pioggia a passi lenti,
Toccando un poco la vita futura ;
Perch' io dissi : 'Maestro, esti tormenti
Cresceranno ei dopo la gran sentenza,
O fien minori, o saran sì cocenti?' 105
Ed egli a me : 'Ritorna a tua scienza,

85. Farinata degli Uberti is among the heretics, X, 32; Tegghiaio Aldobrandi and Jacopo Rusticucci are with the sodomites, XVI, 41, 44; Mosca de' Lamberti is one of the sowers of discord, XXVIII, 106. Arrigo, who cannot be identified with certainty, is not mentioned again.

93. *Con essa*, i. e., head and all.

96. *Nimica*, 'hostile' to sin. *Podèsta* = *potestà*, Christ; cf. John v, 27: 'And [the Father] hath given him authority (*potestatem*) to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man.' On the Day of Judgment, at the sound of the last trumpet, all souls in Heaven and Hell will return to earth, resume their bodies, gather in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and listen to their eternal sentence; after which they will go back to their respective places.

103. *Esti* = *questi*.

105. *Fien* = *fiano* = *saranno*.

106. *Tua scienza*, philosophy. Tor. cites from Fra Giordano: 'Dicono i santi e' savi che 'l corpo nostro non è uomo per sè, nè l'anima non è uomo

Che vuol, quanto la cosa è più perfetta,
Più senta il bene, e così la doglienza.
Tuttochè questa gente maledetta
In vera perfezion giammai non vada, 110
Di là, più che di qua, essere aspetta.'
Noi aggirammo a tondo quella strada,
Parlando più assai ch' io non ridico.
Venimmo al punto dove si digrada :
Quivi trovammo Pluto il gran nimico. 115

per sè; nè ha l'uno natura perfetta per sè solo, ma l'anima e il corpo congiunti insieme fanno uomo, sono una natura compiuta e perfetta.' Tor. quotes also from St. Thomas: 'The soul separated from the body is, in a way, imperfect, like any part existing outside of its whole, since the soul is naturally a part of human nature. Man, then, cannot attain the utmost felicity until it is reunited to the body.' If the bodiless soul cannot attain the utmost happiness, we may infer that it cannot attain the utmost misery. It follows that the pains of Hell will be severer after the Judgment, because, although the word 'perfection' cannot be fitly applied to 'these accursed people,' they expect to be more complete after the Great Day than before it.

114. *Dove si digrada*, 'where the descent is.'

115. *Pluto*, Plutus, the god of wealth, who was not always distinguished, even by the ancients, from Pluto.

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

PLUTUS, the symbol of wealth, an inflated, puffy-faced monster, is as unsubstantial as he seems gigantic; when thwarted, he collapses and falls in a heap. Virgil addresses him, in l. 8, as 'maledetto lupo.' Similarly in *Purg.* XX, 10, Dante exclaims, in the circle of avarice and prodigality: 'Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa!' These two passages afford strong support for the interpretation of the wolf in Canto I as avarice. The arguments on the other side seem, however, conclusive; it is probably safe to assume that the wolf, in Dante's mind, always signified Incontinence, either in the abstract or in some one of its forms — and of these avarice is by far the most important and injurious. The swarm of the money-lovers is greater than any other in Dante's Hell, as it was in Virgil's (*Æn.*, VI, 610–11):

> 'Aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis
> Nec partem posuere suis, quæ maxima turba est.'

The fourth circle contains both misers and spendthrifts — those who showed no moderation in the use of worldly goods, but handled them so 'undiscerningly' that they are themselves made indistinguishable, 'darkened beyond discernment,' their individuality being sunk in their vice. The insulting cries which they exchange — 'Why hoard?' 'Why squander?' — proclaim, or 'bark,' their sin clearly enough. So the usurers, in Canto XVII, are altered beyond recognition, and can be picked out only by their money-bags. As Dante comes down among the sinners of the fourth shelf, the avaricious, as the more despicable, are on his left, the prodigal on his right. The 'clenched fist' is the sign of greed; the 'cropped hair,' of lavishness. Clerics form a large part of the miserly host; Dante was by no means alone in regarding avarice as the besetting fault of the clergy. In this canto we find none of the gentleness with which our poet treats the amorous; even the gluttonous receive more consideration. The verses bristle with derisive terms: *cozzi*, *zuffa*, *ontoso metro*, *rabbuffa*. As in *Æn.*, VI, 616, 'saxum ingens volvunt alii,' so these two classes of sinners, each traversing one-half the ring, roll huge weights, pushing with might and main 'by strength of chest,' the misers moving toward the right, the spendthrifts toward the left. When they reach a spot in front of

Dante, they clash together; then, with mutual execration, they turn about and laboriously work their way to the opposite side of the ring, where the encounter is repeated. And so the weary, futile round goes on to all eternity, a fit image of the incessant and useless efforts of humanity to transfer worldly possessions.

For this transfer God created a special minister, Fortune, a power similar to the celestial intelligences that move the heavens. She may be called the Angel of Earth. It is her mission to shift prosperity to and fro, without apparent plan, seeing that it remain not too long with one person, family, or nation. In many of his utterances about Fortune, Dante evidently follows Boethius; but the distinctly Christian conception of her as God's instrument seems to come rather from Albertus Magnus, and her rank as an angelic intelligence is bestowed by Dante himself.

Cutting across this circle, the poets find a stream that pours down over the edge to the terrace below; they keep close to this torrent, and so descend to the fifth shelf. Here the brook feeds a vast swamp, filled with muddy figures, all intent on mangling one another. Thus foul wrath pictures itself. These souls fare no better, at Dante's hands, than their immediate predecessors: their marsh is a 'puddle,' they 'gurgle in their gullets' and 'guzzle mud.' Aristotle, in his *Ethics*, IV, v — and, after him, St. Thomas, both in his commentary on Aristotle and in his *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xlvi, Art. 8, and Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clviii, Art. 5 — divided the wrathful into three classes: the *acuti*, or quick-tempered; the *amari*, or sullen; the *difficiles* (also called *graves*), or vindictive. The *acuti* are evidently the sinners on the top of the pool; but below in the mire, so we are told, are others, whose presence is indicated only by the bubbles they send to the surface. These are the *amari*, and not improbably the *difficiles* as well — although Flamini would consign the latter to the City of Dis. Inasmuch as these sunken spirits are said to harbor 'sluggish fumes' or the 'fumes of sloth' ('accidioso fummo'), some commentators regard this marsh-bottom as the regular abode of acedia or sloth, one of the seven capital sins, which in Purgatory has a circle to itself. But acedia is a disposition, not an act: in so far as it leads to cowardice or indifference, it belongs to the *Antinferno;* when it manifests itself as sullenness, that sullenness is punished in the bog. As Brunetto Latini says in his *Tesoretto*, Cap. XXI, 145 ff.:

> In ira nasce e posa
> Accidia niquitosa;
> Chè chi non puote in fretta
> Fornir la sua vendetta,
> . . . .

. . . è 'n tanto tormento
Che non ha pensamento
Di neun ben che sia,
Ma tanto si disvia
Che non sa migliorare
Nè già ben cominciare,
Ma croio e nighittoso
È 'n ver Dio glorioso.'

For Fortune, see Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.*, II, Pr. ii and Met. ii, 1-8; IV, Pr. vi; also Albertus Magnus, *Physicorum*, Lib. II, Tr. ii, Cap. 14 ff.; and N. Busetto, *Origine e natura della "Fortuna" dantesca*, in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 129, R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, 271 ff. For the wrathful, Moore, II, 173-8; Flam., I, 161-85. It should be noted that Casini puts into the fifth circle not only anger and sloth, but also envy and pride.

'Pape Satan, pape Satan, aleppe,'
Cominciò Pluto colla voce chioccia.
E quel Savio gentil, che tutto seppe,
Disse per confortarmi : 'Non ti noccia
La tua paura, chè, poter ch' egli abbia, 5
Non ti torrà lo scender questa roccia.'
Poi si rivolse a quell' enfiata labbia
E disse : 'Taci, maledetto lupo!
Consuma dentro te con la tua rabbia!
Non è senza cagion l' andare al cupo. 10
Vuolsi nell' alto là dove Michele
Fe' la vendetta del superbo strupo.'
Quali dal vento le gonfiate vele

2. *Chioccia*, 'clucking': Plutus talks like a hen. The first line is evidently intended to produce the effect of an unintelligible jargon. If (as is scarcely probable) Dante meant the words to signify anything, they may perhaps be interpreted: 'Oh! Satan! Oh! Satan! Alas!' *Pape* looks like the Greek exclamation *papæ;* and *aleppe* has suggested to some the Hebrew *aleph*, which is said to have been used as an interjection of grief. See, however, D. Guerri in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 138; and E. Galli in *Rivista d' Italia*, XI (October, 1908), 617.

9. *Dentro* is adverbial, *te* is the object of *consuma*.

10. *Cupo*, 'hollow,' 'deep.'

12. *Strupo=stupro*, which sometimes had the sense of 'violence' and 'rebellion.' For the story of the revolt of the angels, through pride, and their ejection from Heaven, see III, 7, and the argument to XXXIV.

13. *Le vele gonfiate dal vento.*

Caggiono avvolte, poichè l' alber fiacca,
Tal cadde a terra la fiera crudele. 15
Così scendemmo nella quarta lacca,
Pigliando più della dolente ripa
Che il mal dell' universo tutto insacca.
Ahi giustizia di Dio, tante chi stipa
Nuove travaglie e pene quante io viddi? 20
E perchè nostra colpa sì ne scipa?
Come fa l' onda là sovra Cariddi,
Che si frange con quella in cui s' intoppa,
Così convien che qui la gente riddi.
Qui vid' io gente più che altrove troppa, 25
E d' una parte e d' altra, con grand' urli,
Voltando pesi per forza di poppa;
Percotevansi incontro, e poscia pur li
Si rivolgea ciascun, voltando a retro,
Gridando: 'Perchè tieni,' e 'Perchè burli?' 30
Così tornavan per lo cerchio tetro
Da ogni mano all' opposito punto,
Gridandosi anche loro ontoso metro;
Poi si volgea ciascun, quando era giunto
Per lo suo mezzo cerchio all' altra giostra. 35

14. *Fiacca*, 'breaks.'

16. *Lacca*, 'ditch.' Dante varies as much as possible, not only the descriptions of the circles, but also the names by which he calls them. — The *ripa* in l. 17 is the whole conical declivity of Hell, which 'bags all the evil of the universe.'

19. *Stipa*, 'packs.'

20. *Viddi*=*vidi*.

21. *Ne scipa*, 'wastes us.'

22. *Cariddi*, Charybdis, in the Strait of Messina. Cf. *Æn.*, III, 420.

24. *Riddi*, 'dance their round.'

25. *Troppa*, 'numerous.'

28. *Pur li* (i. e., *pur lì*, but pronounced with the stress on the *pur*), 'right there.' Dante usually tried to put one of the most important words of the line at the end; when he could not, he was rather fond of such fantastic rhymes as this, which are not uncommon in earlier Italian poets.

Ed io, che avea lo cor quasi compunto,
Dissi : 'Maestro mio, or mi dimostra
Che gente è questa, e se tutti fur cherci
Questi chercuti alla sinistra nostra.'
Ed egli a me : 'Tutti quanti fur guerci 40
Sì della mente, in la vita primaia,
Che con misura nullo spendio ferci.
Assai la voce lor chiaro l' abbaia,
Quando vengono a' duo punti del cerchio
Ove colpa contraria li dispaia. 45
Questi fur cherci, che non han coperchio
Piloso al capo, e Papi e Cardinali,
In cui usa avarizia il suo soperchio.'
Ed io : 'Maestro, tra questi cotali
Dovre' io ben riconoscere alcuni 50
Che furo immondi di cotesti mali.'
Ed egli a me : 'Vano pensiero aduni.
La sconoscente vita che i fe' sozzi
Ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni.
In eterno verranno alli duo cozzi ; 55
Questi risurgeranno del sepulcro
Col pugno chiuso, e questi co' crin mozzi.
Mal dare e mal tener lo mondo pulcro
Ha tolto loro, e posti a questa zuffa.
Qual ella sia, parole non ci appulcro. 60
Or puoi, figliuol, veder la corta buffa

38. *Cherci=chierici*, 'clerics.' *Chercuti* means 'tonsured.'
40. *Guerci della mente*, 'mentally asquint.'
42. *Ferci=ci fecero.*
48. *Usa il suo soperchio*, 'wreaks its excess.'
53. *Sconoscente*, 'undiscerning.' — *I=li.*
60. *Parole non ci appulcro*, i. e., 'I waste no fine words in telling.'
61. *Buffa*, probably 'jest,' as in XXII, 133; others interpret it as 'puff,' 'breath of wind.'

De' ben che son commessi alla Fortuna,
Per che l' umana gente si rabbuffa.
Chè tutto l' oro ch' è sotto la luna,
E che già fu, di queste anime stanche 65
Non poterebbe farne posar una.'
'Maestro,' diss' io lui, 'or mi di' anche:
Questa Fortuna di che tu mi tocche,
Che è, che i ben del mondo ha sì tra branche?'
E quegli a me: 'O creature sciocche, 70
Quanta ignoranza è quella che vi offende!
Or vo' che tu mia sentenza ne imbocche.
Colui lo cui saper tutto trascende
Fece li cieli, e diè lor chi conduce,
Sì che ogni parte ad ogni parte splende, 75
Distribüendo egualmente la luce.
Similemente agli splendor mondani
Ordinò general ministra e duce,
Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani
Di gente in gente e d' uno in altro sangue, 80
Oltre la difension de' senni umani:
Per che una gente impera, e l' altra langue,
Seguendo lo giudizio di costei,
Che è occulto, come in erba l' angue.
Vostro saper non ha contrasto a lei: 85
Questa provvede, giudica e persegue
Suo regno, come il loro gli altri dei.
Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue;

68. *Tocche*=*tocchi*, 'allude': cf. V, 19.
74. *Chi conduce*, a directing power, i. e., the angels, or heavenly intelligences, who govern the revolutions of the spheres.
81. *Difension*, 'preventing.'
84. Cf. Virgil, Eclogue III, 93: 'latet anguis in herba.'
87. *Dei*, the heavenly intelligences, or angels.
88. Cf. Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.*, II, Pr. i.

Necessità la fa esser veloce,
Sì spesso vien chi vicenda consegue. 90
Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce
Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode,
Dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce.
Ma ella s' è beata e ciò non ode:
Con l' altre prime creature lieta 95
Volve sua spera, e beata si gode.
Or discendiamo omai a maggior pieta;
Già ogni stella cade che saliva
Quando mi mossi, e il troppo star si vieta.'
Noi ricidemmo il cerchio all' altra riva 100
Sopra una fonte, che bolle e riversa
Per un fossato che da lei deriva.
L' acqua era buia assai vie più che persa;
E noi, in compagnia dell' onde bige,
Entrammo giù per una via diversa. 105
Una palude fa, che ha nome Stige,
Questo tristo ruscel, quando è disceso
Al piè delle maligne piaggie grige.

90. 'So often comes one who obtains a turn,' i. e., so numerous are those who must be successively favored.

91. *Posta in croce*, 'crucified,' i. e., cursed, vilified.

94. *S' è = è:* in early Italian the verb *essere*, especially in the third person singular, was very often accompanied by a superfluous reflexive pronoun.

95. *Prime creature*, 'primal creatures,' angels.

96. *Spera*, 'wheel,' the traditional symbolic attribute of Fortune.

97. *Pièta:* cf. I, 21.

99. The stars which were rising in the east when they started have now crossed the meridian and begun to descend towards the west: it is past midnight. Virgil usually states the hour in astronomical terms — in Hell by the positions of the moon and stars, which, of course, he cannot see, except with his mind's eye. — Cf. the words of the Sibyl in *Æn.*, VI, 539: 'Nox ruit Ænea; nos flendo ducimus horas.'

102. *Fossato*, 'gully.'

103. *Persa:* cf. V, 89. *Bigio*, too, has the sense of 'murky'; and *grigio* means 'dusky.'

105. *Diversa*, 'strange': cf. VI, 13.

106. The Styx was the most famous of the rivers of the classic lower

Ed io, che di mirar mi stava inteso,
Vidi genti fangose in quel pantano, 110
Ignude tutte e con sembiante offeso.
Queste si percotean non pur con mano
Ma con la testa, col petto e co' piedi,
Troncandosi coi denti a brano a brano.
Lo buon Maestro disse: 'Figlio, or vedi 115
L' anime di color cui vinse l' ira.
Ed anche vo' che tu per certo credi
Che sotto l' acqua ha gente che sospira,
E fanno pullular quest' acqua al summo,
Come l' occhio ti dice, u' che s' aggira. 120
Fitti nel limo dicon: "Tristi fummo
Nell' aer dolce che dal sol s' allegra,
Portando dentro accidïoso fummo.
Or ci attristiam nella belletta negra."
Quest' inno si gorgoglian nella strozza, 125
Chè dir nol posson con parola integra.'
Così girammo della lorda pozza
Grand' arco tra la ripa secca e il mezzo,
Con gli occhi volti a chi del fango ingozza.
Venimmo al piè d' una torre al dassezzo. 130

world. Virgil uses the phrase 'Stygiamque paludem' in *Æn.*, VI, 323 and 369. — The four rivers of Dante's Hell — Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, Cocytus — are all connected, forming one stream. Lethe is not in Hell, but in the Garden of Eden.

111. *Offeso*, 'damaged.'

118. *Ha* = *vi ha*, 'there are.'

121. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clviii, Art. 5: 'Amari habent iram permanentem, propter permanentiam tristitiæ quam inter viscera tenent clausam.'

123. 'Sluggish fume.' *Fummo* for *fumo* was very common, and is still in popular use.

124. *Belletta*, 'mire.'

128. *Mezzo*, pronounced *mêtso*, means 'wet.' The word for 'middle' is sounded *mèdzo*.

130. Here, as frequently, Dante breaks his narrative at an interesting point, using suspense as a means of heightening effect.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

The guardian of the fifth circle is Phlegyas, who seems to impersonate both *furor* and *rancor*. On earth he was a king of the Lapithæ, who, in a frenzy of rage against Apollo for the violation of his daughter, set fire to the temple at Delphi, and was slain by the god. He is mentioned, without specific punishment, in the *Æneid*, VI, 618–20:

> 'Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
> Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:
> Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere Divos.'

'Learn moderation from my example' is his warning. In the *Commedia* he is a boatman on the Styx. It can hardly be his duty to ferry over all the spirits that are to go beyond: his tiny skiff would not suffice; and, besides, we are given to understand that each lost soul, after hearing its sentence, falls — as it were by the weight of its own sin — to the depth that befits it. His function seems to be to carry the wrathful spirits to their proper places in the Stygian pool.

St. Thomas, in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clviii, Art. 1, distinguishes from sinful rage the righteous indignation that is aroused by the sight of wickedness. This justifiable anger is illustrated, in an exciting scene, by the attitude of Dante toward one of the violently wrathful — an attitude which Reason heartily approves. The furious soul that so incenses Dante is Filippo Argenti degli Adimari of Florence, who 'in the world was a haughty person.' Boccaccio describes him, in the *Decameron*, IX, 8, as 'grande e nerboruto e forte, sdegnoso, iracundo e bizzarro più che altro.'

To the shores of the swamp an air of mystery is lent by two signal lights which are kindled, we know not how, at the top of a tower, and another light which responds from afar. When at last the poets arrive with Phlegyas at the other side, they are confronted by a vast wall that encircles the City of Dis, or Lower Hell, the abiding-place of those whose sins were due, not to Incontinence of desire or temper, but to permanent evil dispositions, Bestiality and Malice. Their crimes are the fruit of envy and pride. In Ps. lxxxvi, 13, we read: 'thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell' — 'eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiore'; and from the

word *inferiore* St. Augustine and others argued a division of Hell into two parts.

Before landing, the boat has to make a long circuit about the fortifications. When the gate is reached, hosts of demons appear upon the ramparts, — 'più di mille da' ciel piovuti,' — who successfully oppose Dante's entrance. They lend a deaf ear to Virgil, and shut the doors in his face. The discomfited guide and his terror-stricken follower are obliged to wait for heavenly aid. The erring soul, which, seeking enlightenment, is trying to probe the recesses of human wickedness, comes to a stage where further advance seems impossible. Fear and remorse seize it at the aspect of the worst iniquities; reason can direct it no longer; it is on the verge of despair. To the horrified searcher it appears that reason is about to forsake him, that he is to be left without its guidance, while sin besets him on every hand. But in the hour of need divine help is not lacking. A special grace descends upon the distracted spirit, and opens a way where all seemed hopeless. Such, apparently, is the allegory of this dramatic episode.

Flam., I, 177 ff., suggests that Filippo Argenti represents a type of irritability due to vanity, and compares him with St. Thomas's *chaymus* (Aristotle's χαῦνος), the man fond of vain show.

Io dico, seguitando, ch' assai prima
Che noi fussimo al piè dell' alta torre,
Gli occhi nostri n' andar suso alla cima,
Per duo fiammette che i' vedemmo porre,
E un' altra da lungi render cenno 5
Tanto ch' a pena il potea l' occhio torre.
Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno;
Dissi: 'Questo che dice? e che risponde
Quell' altro foco? e chi son quei che il fenno?'
Ed egli a me: 'Su per le sucide onde 10
Già puoi scorger quello che s' aspetta,
Se il fummo del pantan nol ti nasconde.'

3. *Andar*=*andarono*.
4. *I'*=*ivi*.
6. *Tanto* modifies *da lungi*. — *Torre*, 'take in,' 'discern.' *Capio* was so used in Latin.
7. The 'Sea of all wisdom' is of course Virgil.
9. *Fenno*=*fecero*.

Corda non pinse mai da sè saetta
  Che sì corresse via per l' aer snella,
  Com' io vidi una nave piccioletta 15
Venir per l' acqua verso noi in quella,
  Sotto il governo d' un sol galeoto,
  Che gridava : 'Or se' giunta, anima fella?'
'Flegïàs, Flegïàs, tu gridi a voto,'
  Disse lo mio signore, 'a questa volta. 20
  Più non ci avrai, che sol passando il loto.'
Quale colui, che grande inganno ascolta
  Che gli sia fatto, e poi se ne rammarca,
  Fecesi Flegïàs nell' ira accolta.
Lo duca mio discese nella barca 25
  E poi mi fece entrare appresso lui,
  E sol quand' io fui dentro parve carca.
Tosto che il duca ed io nel legno fui,
  Secando se ne va l' antica prora
  Dell' acqua più che non suol con altrui. 30
Mentre noi correvam la morta gora,
  Dinanzi mi si fece un pien di fango,
  E disse : 'Chi se' tu che vieni anzi ora?'
Ed io a lui : 'S' io vegno, non rimango.

16. *In quella*, sc., *ora*.

17. *Galeoto* = *galeotto*, 'oarsman.' The poem contains several examples of imperfect rhymes of this type, in which a word with a single consonant is mated with a word that properly has a double one. Inasmuch as some Italian dialects had reduced the double consonants to single in pronunciation, and the spelling of them was by no means consistent even in the regions where they were sounded, Dante, like some other poets, assumed that a license of this kind was occasionally permissible. Cf. *Bull.*, III, 111–2; *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beiheft xv, 64.

18. Phlegyas, in his blind wrath, seems not to have noticed that there are two new-comers.

20. *A questa volta*, 'this time.'

27. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 412–4:

> 'simul accipit alveo
> Ingentem Æneam Gemuit sub pondere cymba
> Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.'

Ma tu chi se', che sei sì fatto brutto?' 35
Rispose: 'Vedi che son un che piango.'
Ed io a lui: 'Con piangere e con lutto,
Spirito maledetto, ti rimani!
Ch' io ti conosco, ancor sie lordo tutto.'
Allora stese al legno ambo le mani; 40
Per che il Maestro accorto lo sospinse,
Dicendo: 'Via costà con gli altri cani!'
Lo collo poi con le braccia mi cinse,
Baciommi il volto, e disse: 'Alma sdegnosa,
Benedetta colei che in te s' incinse. 45
Quei fu al mondo persona orgogliosa;
Bontà non è che sua memoria fregi:
Così s' è l' ombra sua qui furïosa.
Quanti si tengon or lassù gran regi,
Che qui staranno come porci in brago, 50
Di sè lasciando orribili dispregi!'
Ed io: 'Maestro, molto sarei vago
Di vederlo attuffare in questa broda,
Prima che noi uscissimo del lago.'
Ed egli a me: 'Avanti che la proda 55
Ti si lasci veder, tu sarai sazio.
Di tal disio converrà che tu goda.'
Dopo ciò poco, vidi quello strazio
Far di costui alle fangose genti
Che Dio ancor ne lodo e ne ringrazio. 60
Tutti gridavano: 'A Filippo Argenti!'

39. *Ancor*, 'although.'
41. *Accorto*, 'wary.'
45. *In te s' incinse*, 'conceived thee.'
48. *S' è*: see note on VII, 94.
49. *Regi*=*re*.
55. *Proda*, 'shore,' at the other side of the swamp.

E 'l Fiorentino spirito bizzarro
In sè medesmo si volgea co' denti.
Quivi il lasciammo, chè più non ne narro;
Ma negli orecchi mi percosse un duolo 65
Per ch' io avanti l' occhio intento sbarro.
Lo buon Maestro disse: 'Omai, figliuolo,
S' appressa la città che ha nome Dite,
Co' gravi cittadin, col grande stuolo.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, già le sue meschite 70
Là entro certo nella valle cerno
Vermiglie, come se di foco uscite
Fossero.' Ed ei mi disse: 'Il foco eterno
Ch' entro le affoca le dimostra rosse,
Come tu vedi in questo basso inferno.' 75
Noi pur giugnemmo dentro all' alte fosse
Che vallan quella terra sconsolata.
Le mura mi parean che ferro fosse.
Non senza prima far grande aggirata,
Venimmo in parte dove il nocchier forte 80
'Uscite,' ci gridò, 'qui è l' entrata.'
Io vidi più di mille in sulle porte

62. *Bizzarro*, 'irritable.'
68. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 127: 'atri janua Ditis.' Dante transfers the name from the god to the city.
70. In the distance the wall, with its towers, looks like great buildings, which Dante appropriately calls 'mosques,' or places of demon-worship.
71. *Nella valle* means, perhaps, 'within the moat.' The sixth circle is apparently on the same level as the fifth. The boat passes presently (l. 76) from the swamp into the moat.
72. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 630-1:

'Cyclopum educta caminis
Mœnia conspicio.'

77. *Vallan*, 'fortify.' — *Terra*, 'city.'
78. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 554: 'stat ferrea turris.' — Flam., II, 37, regards the wall as the symbol of ill will.
80. *Forte*, 'loudly.'

Da' ciel piovuti, che stizzosamente
Dicean: 'Chi è costui, che senza morte
Va per lo regno della morta gente?' 85
E il savio mio Maestro fece segno
Di voler lor parlar segretamente.
Allor chiusero un poco il gran disdegno
E disser: 'Vien tu solo, e quei sen vada,
Che sì ardito entrò per questo regno. 90
Sol si ritorni per la folle strada:
Provi se sa; chè tu qui rimarrai
Che gli hai scorta sì buia contrada.'
Pensa, Lettor, se io mi sconfortai
Nel suon delle parole maledette; 95
Ch' io non credetti ritornarci mai.
'O caro duca mio, che più di sette
Volte m' hai sicurtà renduta, e tratto
D' alto periglio che incontra mi stette,
Non mi lasciar,' diss' io, 'così disfatto. 100
E se 'l passar più oltre c' è negato,
Ritroviam l' orme nostre insieme ratto.'
E quel signor che lì m' avea menato
Mi disse: 'Non temer; chè il nostro passo
Non ci può torre alcun: da tal n' è dato. 105
Ma qui m' attendi; e lo spirito lasso
Conforta e ciba di speranza buona,
Ch' io non ti lascerò nel mondo basso.'
Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona

83. Flam., II, 45, thinks that the demons, or fallen angels, typify perverse habits.
93. *Scorta*, 'revealed.'
97. 'Seven' is often used to indicate an indeterminate number in the Bible (as in Prov. xxiv, 16) and elsewhere.
105. *Da tal:* by God himself.

Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse ; 110
Chè 'l sì e 'l no nel capo mi tenzona.
Udir non pote' quel ch' a lor si porse ;
Ma ei non stette là con essi guari
Che ciascun dentro a pruova si ricorse.
Chiuser le porte que' nostri avversari 115
Nel petto al mio signor, che fuor rimase
E rivolsesi a me con passi rari.
Gli occhi alla terra, e le ciglia avea rase
D' ogni baldanza, e dicea ne' sospiri :
'Chi m' ha negate le dolenti case?' 120
Ed a me disse : 'Tu, perch' io m' adiri,
Non sbigottir, ch' io vincerò la prova,
Qual ch' alla difension dentro s' aggiri.
Questa lor tracotanza non è nuova,
Chè già l' usaro a men segreta porta, 125
La qual senza serrame ancor si trova.
Sopr' essa vedestù la scritta morta.
E già di qua da lei discende l' erta,
Passando per li cerchi senza scorta,
Tal che per lui ne fia la terra aperta.' 130

114. *Che* is equivalent to 'before.' — *A pruova*, each faster than his neighbor.
120. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 534: 'tristes . . . domos.'
121. *Perchè*, 'although.'
123. 'No matter what is stirred inside to prevent us.'
125. The demons are still possessed by the pride that caused their original fall. Their 'insolence' was shown at the outer gate of Hell, when they tried to oppose the descent of Christ.
126. Cf. Ps. cvii (Vulgate cvi), 16: 'For he hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder.'
127. *Vedestù* = *vedesti tu*.
130. The one who is descending from the gate to open the city is an angel, 'del ciel messo.'

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

DANTE in his terror begins to doubt whether Reason is a safe guide. Without venturing a direct question, he tries to ascertain whether his companion has full knowledge of the road they are to travel. The sage assures him that he has probed every depth of sin — that he has gone down to the very bottom of Hell. Even so the Sibyl, in the *Æneid*, VI, 564–5, tells Æneas:

> 'Sed me, cum lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis,
> Ipsa Deum pœnas docuit, perque omnia duxit.'

It was the Thessalian sorceress Erichtho, Virgil declares, who sent him, shortly after his death, to fetch a soul from the pit of treachery. Why she should have made him her messenger, instead of directly conjuring up the traitor, we are not told; perhaps Virgil's soul, being nearer the earth's surface, was more easily reached by her incantations. This same Erichtho, long before Virgil's adventure, had summoned for Sextus, the son of Pompey, on the eve of Pharsalus, the shade of a soldier to foretell the outcome of the battle: Lucan relates the incident at length in *Pharsalia*, VI, 413 ff. That witches had such power over the departed was firmly believed, not merely by the ancients, but in Christian times down almost to our day. Did not the woman of En-dor, in I Samuel xxviii, call up Samuel to prophesy to Saul?

While the poets are awaiting heavenly aid, suddenly at the top of a tower appear the threatening forms of three Furies, who presently summon Medusa to turn Dante to stone Virgil quickly covers his disciple's eyes with his own hands. 'Shouldst thou see the Gorgon,' he says, 'there would be no returning to earth.' At this point our author expressly bids us ponder the allegory:

> 'O voi che avete gl' intelletti sani,
> Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde
> Sotto il velame degli versi strani.'

Many solutions have been proposed. The most natural and appropriate interpretation makes the Furies symbols of remorseful terror and Medusa the emblem of despair. *Desperatio*, or despair of the mercy of God, though not so wicked as hate and unbelief, is, according to St. Thomas, incurable and therefore more dangerous

In the *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xx, Art. 3, he also quotes from St. Isidore, 'To despair is to descend into Hell.' St. Gregory, in his *Moralia*, Book VIII, ch. xviii, §34, declares that by *desperatio* 'the way of return is cut off.' Fear and hopelessness lead to insanity. So, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IV, 481 ff., Tisiphone brings madness in her train:

> 'Nec mora, Tisiphone madefactam sanguine sumit
> Inportuna facem, fluidoque cruore rubentem
> Induitur pallam, tortoque incinguitur angue,
> Egrediturque domo. Luctus comitatur euntem
> Et Pavor et Terror trepidoque Insania vultu.'

Help comes in the shape of an angel, the bearer of divine grace. He moves through Hell like a storm-wind, scattering the damned before him, and opens the gate with a touch of his wand The description of his descent reminds one, in some respects, of a flight of Mercury told by Statius in the *Thebaid*, II, 1-6. Particularly the phrase 'pigræ ire vetant nubes' resembles Dante's:

> 'Dal volto rimovea quell' aer grasso,
> Menando la sinistra innanzi spesso,
> E sol di quell' angoscia parea lasso.'

The only obstacle to God's grace is the dense atmosphere of ignorance and spiritual blindness that it must penetrate.

Inside the walls are the arch-heretics and their followers, those who wilfully defied their Maker and renounced his truth. Their existence is a living death, an invocation of divine anger: hence their souls appear to us as buried in tombs, consumed by that fire which, in the *Inferno*, seems to be a constant symbol of God's wrath. Their sin, though not a manifestation of Violence nor of Fraud, is due essentially to pride rather than to weakness; it indicates a disposition of the spirit, not an impulse of flesh or temper: their place, then, is within the City of Dis, but above the first great precipice that separates the upper from the lower circles.

Quel color che viltà di fuor mi pinse,
Veggendo il duca mio tornare in volta,
Più tosto dentro il suo nuovo ristrinse.
Attento si fermò com' uom che ascolta;
Chè l' occhio nol potea menare a lunga 5

1. *Di fuor mi pinse*, 'painted on my face.'
3. *Dentro . . . ristrinse*, 'repressed.' *Nuovo*, sc., *colore.*

Per l' aer nero e per la nebbia folta.
'Pure a noi converrà vincer la punga,'
Cominciò ei: 'se non . . . tal ne s' offerse.
Oh quanto tarda a me ch' altri qui giunga!'
Io vidi ben sì com' ei ricoperse 10
Lo cominciar con l' altro che poi venne,
Che fur parole alle prime diverse.
Ma nondimen paura il suo dir dienne,
Perch' io traeva la parola tronca
Forse a peggior sentenza ch' ei non tenne. 15
'In questo fondo della trista conca
Discende mai alcun del primo grado,
Che sol per pena ha la speranza cionca?'
Questa question fec' io; e quei: 'Di rado
Incontra,' mi rispose, 'che di nui 20
Faccia il cammino alcun per quale io vado.
Ver' è ch' altra fïata quaggiù fui,
Congiurato da quella Eriton cruda
Che richiamava l' ombre a' corpi sui.
Di poco era di me la carne nuda, 25
Ch' ella mi fece entrar dentro a quel muro
Per trarne un spirto del cerchio di Giuda.
Quell' è il più basso loco e il più oscuro
E il più lontan dal ciel che tutto gira:
Ben so il cammin; però ti fa sicuro. 30

7. *Punga* = *pugna*.
8. *Tal*, i. e., Beatrice. Cf. XII, 88.
9. *Quanto tarda a me*, 'how I long.' *Altri* here, as very frequently in Dante, means 'some one'; cf. V, 81.
17. *Primo grado*, i. e., Limbus.
18. *Cionca*, 'cut off.'
20. *Incontra*, 'it happens.'
27. *Cerchio di Giuda*, Giudecca, the innermost part of the ninth and last circle of Hell.
29. *Il ciel che tutto gira* is the Primum Mobile, the outermost of the revolving heavens.

Questa palude che il gran puzzo spira
Cinge d' intorno la città dolente,
U' non potemo entrare omai senz' ira.'
Ed altro disse, ma non l' ho a mente;
Perocchè l' occhio m' avea tutto tratto 35
Ver l' alta torre alla cima rovente,
Dove in un punto furon dritte ratto
Tre furie infernal di sangue tinte,
Che membra femminili aveano ed atto,
E con idre verdissime eran cinte; 40
Serpentelli e ceraste avean per crine
Onde le fiere tempie eran avvinte.
E quei che ben conobbe le meschine
Della regina dell' eterno pianto:
'Guarda,' mi disse, 'le feroci Erine. 45
Questa è Megera dal sinistro canto,
Quella che piange dal destro è Aletto,
Tesifone è nel mezzo'; e tacque a tanto.
Con l' unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto;
Batteansi a palme e gridavan sì alto 50
Ch' io mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto.
'Venga Medusa, sì 'l farem di smalto,'
Dicevan tutte riguardando in giuso:
'Mal non vengiammo in Teseo l' assalto.'

33. *Senz' ira*, 'peacefully.'
38. *Tre furie:* cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, I, 103 ff.; Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 490 ff.
41. *Ceraste*, 'cerastes,' i. e., horned snakes.
43. *Meschine*, 'handmaids' of Hecate. The Furies are coupled with Hecate in *Æn.*, IV, 609–10:

> 'Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
> Et Diræ ultrices.'

45. The Erinyes, or Furies, were named Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra.
48. Cf. *Æn.*, X, 761: 'Pallida Tisiphone media inter millia sævit.'
52. *Medusa:* cf. *Met.*, IV, 772 ff.
54. *Mal non vengiammo*, 'we did wrong in not avenging.' Theseus, who

'Volgiti indietro, e tien lo viso chiuso; 55
Chè se il Gorgon si mostra, e tu il vedessi,
Nulla sarebbe del tornar mai suso.'
Così disse il Maestro; ed egli stessi
Mi volse, e non si tenne alle mie mani
Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi. 60
O voi che avete gl' intelletti sani,
Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde
Sotto il velame degli versi strani.
E già venia su per le torbid' onde
Un fracasso d' un suon pien di spavento, 65
Per cui tremavano ambedue le sponde;
Non altrimenti fatto che d' un vento
Impetüoso per gli avversi ardori,
Che fier la selva, e senza alcun rattento
Li rami schianta, abbatte, e porta fuori. 70
Dinanzi polveroso va superbo,
E fa fuggir le fiere e li pastori.
Gli occhi mi sciolse, e disse: 'Or drizza il nerbo
Del viso su per quella schiuma antica,
Per indi ove quel fummo è più acerbo.' 75
Come le rane innanzi alla nimica
Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan tutte,
Fin che alla terra ciascuna s' abbica,
Vid' io più di mille anime distrutte
Fuggir così dinanzi ad un che al passo 80
Passava Stige colle piante asciutte.

had attempted to rescue Persephone from the lower world, was himself rescued by Hercules. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 392 ff.

58. *Stessi = stesso.*
60. *Chiudessi = chiudesse:* cf. IV, 64.
68. *Avversi ardori*, 'conflicting temperatures.'
78. *Alla terra . . . s' abbica*, 'cocks itself (crouches) on the bottom.'
79. *Distrutte*, 'lost.'

Dal volto rimovea quell' aer grasso,
  Menando la sinistra innanzi spesso;
  E sol di quell' angoscia parea lasso.
Ben m' accors' io ch' egli era del ciel messo, 85
  E volsimi al Maestro; e quei fe' segno
  Ch' io stessi cheto ed inchinassi ad esso.
Ahi quanto mi parea pien di disdegno!
  Venne alla porta, e con una verghetta
  L' aperse, chè non ebbe alcun ritegno. 90
'O cacciati del ciel, gente dispetta,'
  Cominciò egli in su l' orribil soglia,
  'Ond' esta oltracotanza in voi s' alletta?
Perchè ricalcitrate a quella voglia
  A cui non puote il fin mai esser mozzo, 95
  E che più volte v' ha cresciuta doglia?
Che giova nelle fata dar di cozzo?
  Cerbero vostro, se ben vi ricorda,
  Ne porta ancor pelato il mento e il gozzo.'
Poi si rivolse per la strada lorda, 100
  E non fe' motto a noi; ma fe' sembiante
  D' uomo cui altra cura stringa e morda
Che quella di colui che gli è davante.
  E noi movemmo i piedi in ver la terra,
  Sicuri appresso le parole sante. 105

91. *Dispetta*, 'despised.'
94. Cf. Acts ix, 5: 'it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.'
95. 'Whose goal can never be cut off.'
97. *Dar di cozzo*, 'to butt.'
99. Cerberus, having tried to obstruct Hercules, was chained by him and dragged outside of Hell. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 395–6:

> 'Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit,
> Ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem.'

102. *Stringa e morda:* cf. *Æn.*, IX, 294, 'Atque animum patriæ *strinxit* pietatis imago,' and VII, 402, 'si juris materni *cura remordet.*'

Dentro v' entrammo senza alcuna guerra ;
Ed io, ch' avea di riguardar disio
La condizion che tal fortezza serra,
Com' io fui dentro, l' occhio intorno invio ;
E veggio ad ogni man grande campagna 110
Piena di duolo e di tormento rio.
Sì come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna,
Sì com' a Pola presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo, 115
Così facevan quivi d' ogni parte,
Salvo che il modo v' era più amaro ;
Chè tra gli avelli fiamme erano sparte,
Per le quali eran sì del tutto accesi
Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte. 120
Tutti gli lor coperchi eran sospesi,
E fuor n' uscivan sì duri lamenti,
Che ben parean di miseri e d' offesi.
Ed io : 'Maestro, quai son quelle genti
Che seppellite dentro da quell' arche 125
Si fan sentir con gli sospir dolenti?'
Ed egli a me : 'Qui son gli eresiarche
Co' lor seguaci d' ogni setta, e molto
Più che non credi, son le tombe carche.
Simile qui con simile è sepolto, 130

112. At Arles, near the delta of the Rhone, and at Pola, in the south of Istria, were ancient burying-grounds. The graves at Arles, of Roman origin, were thought to be filled with the bodies of Christian heroes who had fallen in battle with the Saracens.

114. The Bay of Quarnaro bathes the northeastern confines of Italy.

120. 'That no industry requires iron more so.'

123. *Offesi*, 'sufferers.'

129. There are on earth many secret unbelievers.

E i monimenti son più e men caldi.'
E poi ch' alla man destra si fu volto,
Passammo tra i martiri e gli alti spaldi.

132. Usually, in the descent through Hell, the poets turn to the left in each circle, this course symbolizing the direction taken by the sinner. The turn to the right, in this particular place, was perhaps suggested by *Æn.*, VI, 540 ff.

> 'Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas:
> Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit;
> Hac iter Elysium nobis.'

133. *Spaldi*, 'battlements' of the city wall.

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

In this canto allegory yields to dramatic realism. Startling is the first call of Farinata as he stands upright in his tomb; not less effective Cavalcante's sudden interruption of the colloquy, and Farinata's prompt continuation of it, as soon as Cavalcante has sunk out of sight. A curious impression of verity is given by the little word 'credo' in line 54:

'Credo che s' era in ginocchie levata.'

We now learn that the damned, while aware of the past and indistinctly cognizant of the future, have no knowledge of present events on earth. Just how much time the 'present' embraces we are not told. This idea, which seems to be original with our poet, opens the way to an intensely pathetic situation in this canto; and throughout the *Inferno* it provides opportunity for varied narrative, the things of 1300 being told by Dante to the shades, while later events are prophesied by them to him. After the Judgment Day, when earthly life shall cease and the foresight of lost souls shall thus come to an end, their blindness will be unrelieved.

Although all heresies are punished in this circle, the only one that concerns Dante is that called 'Epicurean,' a name bestowed, in his day, upon materialistic free-thinking which denied the immortality of the soul and regarded a comfortable life as the highest good. There is grim irony in the eternal burial of sinners who affirmed that the spirit perishes with the body. Epicurus himself, pagan though he was, is with them. According to Dante, all philosophies, ancient and modern, admit the existence and the after-life of the soul, which Epicurus alone denied; he, then, was a heretic toward the truth that prevailed in his own time. Many of the best minds of the 13th century were led by intellectual pride into this false belief. Their excellence makes their example the more terrible.

Among them was Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, a noble and wealthy Florentine, the father of that Guido whom Dante calls his 'first friend.' This Guido, a little older than Dante, was a famous poet and student, an ardent partisan, hostile to the Donati. In June, 1300, while Dante was a prior, Guido was banished with the other leaders of the two factions. He was soon taken ill and recalled, and died in the same year. Several passages in the *Vita Nuova* point

to discussions of literary principles by the two poets; Guido, we know, advised Dante to write his early work in Italian rather than in Latin. He seems to have been an independent thinker, and probably was inclined to skepticism When Cavalcante sees Dante traversing Hell in the flesh, imagining that 'altezza d' ingegno' enables the young man to perform this miracle, he wonders why his son, Dante's companion and likewise endowed with 'lofty genius,' is not with him. Dante hastens to explain Guido's absence by the assurance that it is not his own wit, but Virgil's, which directs him, adding that Guido may not have duly esteemed the ancient sage —

'Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno.'

This may mean that Guido's pride would not submit to the guidance of true Reason; or it may refer to some difference of literary opinion — possibly concerning the mystical significance of the *Æneid* or the fourth *Eclogue* — to which we have no other clue. Dante's use of the past tense, 'ebbe,' suggests to the father that his son is dead, that he is past repentance and salvation; and this supposition being confirmed by the bewildered silence of the poet (who does not yet know that lost souls are ignorant of the present), he falls back in despair.

Another famous heretic is Manente degli Uberti, called Farinata, chief of the Florentine Ghibellines, a wise and valiant leader, who died in 1264, a year before Dante's birth. In 1260 he had taken part in the battle of Montaperti, where the Guelfs of Florence suffered a fearful defeat from the Sienese, the exiled Ghibellines, and King Manfred's Germans. Some 10000 of the Florentines were killed, 5000 wounded, and 15000 taken as prisoners to Siena; the battlefield, we are told, was all red with blood, as if it had been covered with scarlet cloth. After this rout, the neighboring towns and barons held a council at Empoli, and all but Farinata were in favor of destroying Florence; he, however, opposed the project so stoutly that it was abandoned. In 1283 the inquisitor condemned him (nearly twenty years dead), his sons, and his grandsons as heretics. His brave and haughty spirit is not quelled even by his fiery punishment: he appears with head and chest erect, 'as if he held Hell in great contempt.' Dante approaches him with deference; only when goaded beyond endurance by Farinata's taunts does he show resentment. To him, as to Cavalcante, he uses the respectful *voi*, a form of address that he applies to no other of the damned, save Brunetto Latini.

See F. De Sanctis, *Il Farinata di Dante*, 1869; G. Surra, *La conoscenza del futuro e del presente nei dannati danteschi*, 1911. For the Epicureans, see *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 170. See also *Conv.*, II, ix, 55–74; IV, vi, 97–114.

Ora sen va per un secreto calle
  Tra il muro della terra e li martiri
  Lo mio Maestro, ed io dopo le spalle.
'O virtù somma, che per gli empi giri
  Mi volvi,' cominciai, 'com' a te piace, 5
  Parlami, e satisfammi a' miei desiri.
La gente che per li sepolcri giace
  Potrebbesi veder? Già son levati
  Tutti i coperchi, e nessun guardia face.'
Ed egli a me: 'Tutti saran serrati, 10
  Quando di Josaffàt qui torneranno
  Coi corpi che lassù hanno lasciati.
Suo cimitero da questa parte hanno
  Con Epicuro tutti i suoi seguaci,
  Che l' anima col corpo morta fanno. 15
Però alla dimanda che mi faci
  Quinc' entro satisfatto sarai tosto,
  Ed al disio ancor che tu mi taci.'
Ed io: 'Buon Duca, non tegno riposto
  A te mio cor, se non per dicer poco; 20
  E tu m' hai non pur mo a ciò disposto.'
'O Tosco, che per la città del foco
  Vivo ten vai così parlando onesto,

1. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 443: 'secreti celant calles.'

8. *Già* is here simply an affirmative particle, corresponding to German *ja*.

11. On the Day of Judgment all souls, having recovered their bodies, will gather in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, whence, after hearing their sentence, they will return to Heaven or Hell. See Joel iii, 2: 'I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat . . .' Also Joel iii, 12: 'Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat; for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about.' The Vulgate has *gentes* in both passages. Cf. Mat. xxv, 31 ff.

13. *Suo* very frequently in Dante is equivalent to the possessive *loro*.

21. Cf. III, 80. The unspoken desire is perhaps the wish to see Farinata: cf. VI, 79.

23. *Onesto*, 'modestly.'

Piacciati di restare in questo loco.
La tua loquela ti fa manifesto 25
Di quella nobil patria natio,
Alla qual forse io fui troppo molesto.'
Subitamente questo suono uscìo
D' una dell' arche ; però m' accostai,
Temendo, un poco più al duca mio. 30
Ed ei mi disse : 'Volgiti : che fai?
Vedi là Farinata che s' è dritto.
Dalla cintola in su tutto il vedrai.'
I' avea già il mio viso nel suo fitto ;
Ed ei s' ergea col petto e colla fronte, 35
Come avesse lo inferno in gran dispitto.
E l' animose man del duca e pronte
Mi pinser tra le sepolture a lui,
Dicendo : 'Le parole tue sien conte.'
Com' io al piè della sua tomba fui, 40
Guardommi un poco, e poi quasi sdegnoso
Mi dimandò : 'Chi fur li maggior tui?'
Io, ch' era d' ubbidir desideroso,
Non gliel celai, ma tutto gliel' apersi ;
Ond' ei levò le ciglia un poco in soso ; 45
Poi disse : 'Fieramente furo avversi
A me ed a' miei primi ed a mia parte,
Sì che per due fiate gli dispersi.'
'S' ei fur cacciati, ei tornar d' ogni parte,'

25. Mat. xxvi, 73: 'loquela tua manifestum te facit,' 'thy speech bewrayeth thee.'

36. *Dispitto* = *dispetto*, 'scorn.'

39. *Conte* probably = *contate*, 'numbered,' i. e., 'brief': cf. X, 115 and XVII, 40. The word *conto* means also 'agreeable' and 'clear.'

48. Farinata scattered the Guelfs in 1248 and 1260.

49. *Tornar* = *tornarono*. The Guelfs returned to Florence in 1251, after the death of Frederick II, and in 1266, after the battle of Benevento; they then expelled the Ghibellines, who never 'learned the art' of returning.

Rispos' io lui, 'l' una e l' altra fiata ; 50
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte.'
Allor surse alla vista, scoperchiata,
Un' ombra lungo questa, infino al mento ;
Credo che s' era in ginocchie levata.
D' intorno mi guardò, come talento 55
Avesse di veder s' altri era meco ;
Ma poi che il suspicar fu tutto spento,
Piangendo disse : 'Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d' ingegno,
Mio figlio ov' è, e perchè non è teco?' 60
Ed io a lui : 'Da me stesso non vegno ;
Colui, che attende là, per qui mi mena,
Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno.'
Le sue parole e il modo della pena
M' avevan di costui già letto il nome : 65
Però fu la risposta così piena.
Di subito drizzato gridò : 'Come
Dicesti "egli ebbe"? Non viv' egli ancora?
Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce lome?'
Quando s' accorse d' alcuna dimora 70
Ch' io faceva dinanzi alla risposta,
Supin ricadde, e più non parve fuora.
Ma quell' altro magnanimo, a cui posta
Restato m' era, non mutò aspetto,
Nè mosse collo, nè piegò sua costa. 75

55. *Come*, 'as if.'
57. *Suspicar* (or *sospecciar*), 'curiosity.'
58. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 734 : 'carcere cæco.'
65. *Letto*, 'proclaimed.'
69. *Lome*, a dialect form of *lume*. Cf. Eccles. xi, 7 : 'Truly the light is sweet (*dulce lumen*), and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun.'
72. *Fuora* = *fuori*.
73. *A cui posta*, 'at whose instance.'

'E se,' continüando al primo detto,
'S' egli han quell' arte,' disse, 'male appresa,
Ciò mi tormenta più che questo letto.
Ma non cinquanta volte fia raccesa
La faccia della donna che qui regge, 80
Che tu saprai quanto quell' arte pesa.
E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge,
Dimmi perchè quel popolo è sì empio
Incontro a' miei in ciascuna sua legge?'
Ond' io a lui : 'Lo strazio e il grande scempio 85
Che fece l' Arbia colorata in rosso
Tale orazion fa far nel nostro tempio.'
Poi ch' ebbe sospirando il capo scosso,
'A ciò non fui io sol,' disse, 'nè certo
Senza cagion con gli altri sarei mosso : 90
Ma fu' io sol colà dove sofferto
Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,
Colui che la difesi a viso aperto.'
'Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza,'

77. *Quell' arte:* cf. l. 51.

80. 'The queen who rules here' is Hecate, who in the sky appears as the moon. Before fifty months have passed, Dante is to learn how hard is the art of returning from exile. The unsuccessful mission of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, sent by Benedict XI to Florence to secure peace and the restoration of the exiles, began on March 10, 1304. The fiftieth new moon after Dante's visit to Hell was about April 4, 1304. See Moore, III, 372.

82. 'As thou hopest ever to return . . .' *Se*, with the present subjunctive, is often used to introduce a formula of adjuration or asseveration. *Regge* is an old subjunctive from *redire = riedere ;* it comes from *redeas*, just as *vegge* from *videas*.

84. In 1280, when most of the Ghibellines were allowed to come back, several of the Uberti were expressly excluded.

85. 'The rout and great slaughter' of Montaperti, beside the Arbia, not far from Siena, in 1260.

87. The Florentine councils met in the church of S. Giovanni.

91. At the Diet of Empoli, just after the battle. — *Sofferto*, 'agreed.'

92. *Torre via*, 'wipe out.'

93. *A viso aperto*, i. e., before all the world.

94. The same construction as in l. 82.

Prega' io lui, 'solvetemi quel nodo, 95
Che qui ha inviluppata mia sentenza.
E' par che voi veggiate, se ben odo,
Dinanzi quel che il tempo seco adduce,
E nel presente tenete altro modo.'
'Noi veggiam, come quei ch' ha mala luce, 100
Le cose,' disse, 'che ne son lontano;
Cotanto ancor ne splende il sommo Duce.
Quando s' appressano, o son, tutto è vano
Nostro intelletto; e s' altri non ci apporta,
Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano. 105
Però comprender puoi che tutta morta
Fia nostra conoscenza da quel punto
Che del futuro fia chiusa la porta.'
Allor, come di mia colpa compunto,
Dissi: 'Or direte dunque a quel caduto 110
Che il suo nato è co' vivi ancor congiunto.
E s' io fui innanzi alla risposta muto,
Fate i saper che il fei perchè pensava
Già nell' error che m' avete soluto.'
E già il Maestro mio mi richiamava; 115
Per ch' io pregai lo spirto più avaccio
Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava.
Dissemi: 'Qui con più di mille giaccio;
Qua dentro è lo secondo Federico,

96. *Sentenza*, 'judgment.'
97. *E'=egli*, 'it.'
100. 'We see dimly.'
105. *Sapem=sappiamo.*
109. *Compunto*, 'remorseful.'
110. *Quel caduto:* Cavalcanti.
111. Guido died on August 20, 1300.
113. *I=gli.* — *Fei=feci.*
116. *Avaccio*, 'hurriedly.'
119. The great Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250), who was long engaged in strife against the Papacy, was generally regarded as an Epicurean.

E il Cardinale, e degli altri mi taccio.' 120
Indi s' ascose ; ed io in ver l' antico
Poeta volsi i passi, ripensando
A quel parlar che mi parea nimico.
Egli si mosse, e poi così andando
Mi disse : 'Perchè sei tu sì smarrito?' 125
Ed io li satisfeci al suo dimando.
'La mente tua conservi quel ch' udito
Hai contra te,' mi comandò quel Saggio,
'Ed ora attendi qui' — e drizzò il dito.
'Quando sarai dinanzi al dolce raggio 130
Di quella il cui bell' occhio tutto vede,
Da lei saprai di tua vita il viaggio.'
Appresso volse a man sinistra il piede ;
Lasciammo il muro, e gimmo in ver lo mezzo
Per un sentier ch' ad una valle fiede, 135
Che infin lassù facea spiacer suo lezzo.

120. Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, apostolic legate in Lombardy and Romagna against Frederick, in the Kingdom of Naples against Manfred, was accused of unbelief and of sympathy with the Imperial cause. Several of the early commentators report him as saying: 'If there is a soul, I have lost it for the Ghibellines.'

129. 'He lifted his finger' in the usual didactic attitude.

131. Beatrice.

135. *Ad una valle fiede*, 'strikes into a valley,' i. e., leads to the edge of a pit.

CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

On the rough edge of the circular precipice leading to the seventh circle we meet the most shocking example of unbelief, an heretical Pope — the more gruesome because he does not appear, his presence being indicated only by an inscription on his tomb. This is Anastasius II, who for many centuries was generally but unjustly thought to have been induced by Photinus, deacon of Thessalonica, to deny the divinity of Christ; it is likely that he had been confused with the Byzantine emperor, Anastasius I.

At this point the master explains to his follower the general plan of the lower world. In Purgatory, too, the exposition occurs in the middle of the journey. The arrangement of punishments has been described in the preliminary note to the *Inferno*. In Virgil's account, based on the teaching of ancient philosophers, there is no mention of the sluggards, the unbaptized, or the heretics. Cicero wrote in his *De Officiis*, I, 13: 'Cum autem duobus modis, id est aut vi aut fraude, fiat injuria, fraus quasi vulpeculæ, vis leonis videtur: utrumque homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio digna majore. Totius autem injustitiæ nulla capitalior est quam eorum qui, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt ut viri boni esse videantur.' These two kinds of sin, *vis*, or violence, and *fraus*, fraud, are chastised in the Lower Hell. Outside the City of Dis, in the second, third, fourth, and fifth circles, are those who erred through Incontinence. In Aristotle's *Ethics*, VII, i, are specified three sorts of conduct to be shunned, κακία, ἀκρασία, θηριότης; the Latin translation used by St. Thomas calls them (Flam., I, p. 146) 'malitia, incontinentia, et bestialitas,' and we are told further (Flam., I, p. 151), 'minus autem bestialitas malitia, terribilius autem.' Incontinence is treated in the *Ethics*, VII, iii–x. Although Bestiality, as Aristotle defines it (VII, v), is something more inhuman than common violence, it seems probable that Dante roughly equated it with Cicero's *vis*; while malice corresponds well enough to the Ciceronian *fraus*. At any rate, Incontinence, Violence, and Fraud are the three great groups under which evil acts are classified.

Expounding the sins of the Lower Hell, Virgil declares that every wrongdoing hateful to God has harm for its object, and this harm is inflicted either by force or by deceit. Of these two methods the latter is the worse. The former is punished in the seventh circle.

But inasmuch as force may be done to our fellow-man, to ourselves, or to our Maker, this circle is divided into three concentric rings: the first contains assassins, robbers, and tyrants; the second, suicides; the third, blasphemers, sodomites, and usurers. Sodomites do violence to Nature, the minister of God. Usurers — that is, money-lenders — do violence to human industry, the offspring of Nature, and thus offend the Creator. This view of the practice of letting money at interest was usual in the Middle Ages. 'Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother,' says Deut. xxiii, 19. At the beginning of the *Ethics*, IV, i, Aristotle declares that 'the waste of property seems to be a sort of self-ruin, since life is maintained by property.' In accordance with this idea, Dante puts with the suicides, in the second ring, those who wasted their goods so recklessly that their death resulted; they are distinguished, in the *Inferno*, from the ordinary prodigals, whose fault was one of Incontinence.

Fraud may be perpetrated upon those who have no special cause to trust us, in which case only the common tie of humanity is broken; or upon those who have a particular ground for confidence, and then outrage is done not only to this universal fellowship, but also to the bond of family, country, hospitality, or gratitude. Deceivers of the former sort are tormented, according to the nature of their fraud, in the ten circular, concentric ditches of the eighth circle: eight of the ten types are rapidly enumerated in this canto; the other two — evil counsellors and sowers of discord — are dismissed with the epithet 'similar filth.' Traitors to kindred, fatherland, guests, or benefactors find their eternal abode in the icy plain of the ninth circle.

See Moore, II, 152 ff.; D' Ovidio, 241 ff.; Flam., I, 143-58.

In su l' estremità d' un' alta ripa,
  Che facevan gran pietre rotte in cerchio,
  Venimmo sopra più crudele stipa:
E quivi, per l' orribile soperchio
  Del puzzo, che il profondo abisso gitta, 5
  Ci raccostammo dietro ad un coperchio
D' un grande avello, ov' io vidi una scritta
  Che diceva: 'Anastasio papa guardo,
  Lo qual trasse Fotin della via dritta.'

3. *Stipa*, 'pack,' i. e., throng of sinners more cruelly punished. Cf. VII, 19.

'Lo nostro scender conviene esser tardo, 10
Sì che s' aüsi un poco prima il senso
Al tristo fiato, e poi non fia riguardo.'
Così il Maestro ; ed io : 'Alcun compenso,'
Dissi lui, 'trova, che il tempo non passi
Perduto' ; ed egli : 'Vedi che a ciò penso. 15
Figliuol mio, dentro da cotesti sassi,'
Cominciò poi a dir, 'son tre cerchietti
Di grado in grado, come quei che lassi.
Tutti son pien di spirti maledetti ;
Ma perchè poi ti basti pur la vista, 20
Intendi come e perchè son costretti.
D' ogni malizia ch' odio in cielo acquista
Ingiuria è il fine, ed ogni fin cotale
O con forza o con frode altrui contrista.
Ma perchè frode è dell' uom proprio male, 25
Più spiace a Dio ; e però stan di sutto
Gli frodolenti, e più dolor gli assale.
De' violenti il primo cerchio è tutto ;
Ma perchè si fa forza a tre persone,
In tre gironi è distinto e costrutto. 30
A Dio, a sè, al prossimo si puone
Far forza, dico in loro ed in lor cose,
Come udirai con aperta ragione.

11. *S'ausi*, 'accustom itself.'
17. *Tre cerchietti:* the 7th, 8th, and 9th circles of Hell, called *cerchietti* because they are smaller in circumference than those above.
18. *Lassi=lasci.*
21. *Costretti*, 'stowed.'
22. Cf. Ps. v, 5: 'thou hatest all workers of iniquity.'
23. Sins of malice, punished in the last 3 circles, are directed against justice.
26. *Sutto = sotto.*
28. *Primo cerchio*, i. e., the first of the three *cerchietti* mentioned in l. 17: the 7th circle of Hell.
31. *Puone=può.*
32. *In loro ed in lor cose*, 'to their persons and their property.'
33. *Ragione*, 'explanation.'

Morte per forza e ferute dogliose
  Nel prossimo si danno, e nel suo avere 35
  Ruine, incendi e tollette dannose :
Onde omicide e ciascun che mal fiere,
  Guastatori e predon, tutti tormenta
  Lo giron primo per diverse schiere.
Puote uomo avere in sè man violenta 40
  E ne' suoi beni : e però nel secondo
  Giron convien che senza pro si penta
Qualunque priva sè del vostro mondo,
  Biscazza e fonde la sua facultade,
  E piange là dove esser dee giocondo. 45
Puossi far forza nella Deïtade,
  Col cor negando e bestemmiando quella,
  E spregiando natura e sua bontade :
E però lo minor giron suggella
  Del segno suo e Sodoma e Caorsa, 50
  E chi, spregiando Dio col cor, favella.
La frode, ond' ogni coscïenza è morsa,
  Può l' uomo usare in colui che 'n lui fida,
  Ed in quei che fidanza non imborsa.
Questo modo di retro par che uccida 55

36. *Tollette dannose*, 'wrongful extortions.'
40. *Puote = può.*
42. *Senza pro*, 'unavailingly.'
44. *Facultade*, 'means.'
45. And is brought to grief on earth through the waste of that which should have made him happy.
47. Cf. Ps. xiv, 1 : 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.'
48. *Sua*, i. e., God's.
49. 'The smallest round (the innermost of the three rings into which the 7th circle is divided) stamps with its mark' the sodomites and the usurers and the blasphemers.
50. *Sodoma*, Sodom: see Gen. xix. *Caorsa*, Cahors, a town in southern France, a notorious nest of usurers.
54. *Fidanza non imborsa*, 'pockets no faith,' i. e., has no trust.
55. *Questo modo di retro:* 'this latter way.'

Pur lo vinco d' amor che fa natura ;
Onde nel cerchio secondo s' annida
Ipocrisia, lusinghe e chi affattura,
Falsità, ladroneccio e simonia,
Ruffian, baratti e simile lordura. 60
Per l' altro modo quell' amor s' obblia
Che fa natura, e quel ch' è poi aggiunto,
Di che la fede speziäl si cria :
Onde nel cerchio minore, ov' è il punto
Dell' universo, in su che Dite siede, 65
Qualunque trade in eterno è consunto.'
Ed io : 'Maestro, assai chiaro procede
La tua ragione, ed assai ben distingue
Questo baratro e il popol che il possiede.
Ma dimmi : Quei della palude pingue, 70
Che mena il vento, e che batte la pioggia,
E che s' incontran con sì aspre lingue,
Perchè non dentro dalla città roggia
Son ei puniti, se Dio gli ha in ira?
E se non gli ha, perchè sono a tal foggia?' 75
Ed egli a me : 'Perchè tanto delira,'
Disse, 'lo ingegno tuo da quel che suole?

57. *Cerchio secondo*: the 8th circle, the second of the *cerchietti* of l. 17.
58. *Chi affattura*, 'spell-binders.'
60. *Ruffian*, 'panders.' — *Baratti*, 'deals,' 'malfeasance,' i. e., grafters.
61. *L' altro modo :* cf. l. 53.
64. *Il cerchio minore*, the smallest of the *cerchietti*, the 9th and last of the circles of Hell. — *Il punto*, 'the centre' of the whole material universe, where Dis, or Lucifer, is confined.
68. *Ragione :* cf. l. 33.
70. The wrathful (5th circle).
71. The lustful and the gluttonous (2d and 3d circles).
72. The avaricious and the prodigal, who taunt each other when they meet (4th circle).
73. 'The ruddy city,' i. e., the City of Dis, or Lower Hell.
75. *A tal foggia*, 'in such a plight.'
76. *Delira*, 'wanders.'

Ovver la mente dove altrove mira?
Non ti rimembra di quelle parole
Colle quai la tua Etica pertratta 80
Le tre disposizion che il ciel non vuole:
Incontinenza, malizia e la matta
Bestialitade? e come incontinenza
Men Dio offende e men biasimo accatta?
Se tu riguardi ben questa sentenza, 85
E rechiti alla mente chi son quelli
Che su di fuor sostengon penitenza,
Tu vedrai ben perchè da questi felli
Sien dipartiti, e perchè men crucciata
La divina vendetta gli martelli.' 90
'O Sol che sani ogni vista turbata,
Tu mi contenti sì, quando tu solvi,
Che, non men che saper, dubbiar m' aggrata.
Ancora un poco indietro ti rivolvi,'
Diss' io, 'là dove di' che usura offende 95
La divina bontade, e il groppo solvi.'
'Filosofia,' mi disse, 'a chi la intende,
Nota non pure in una sola parte
Come natura lo suo corso prende
Dal divino intelletto e da sua arte; 100
E se tu ben la tua Fisica note,
Tu troverai non dopo molte carte

80. *La tua Etica*, i. e., the *Ethics* (VII, i) of thy master, Aristotle, who enumerates three evils to be avoided: malice (κακία), incontinence (ἀκρασία), bestiality (θηριότης).
84. In the *Ethics*, VII, x, incontinence is compared with malice.
87. *Su di fuor*, 'above, outside (the City of Dis).'
91. *Sol* = *sole*.
95. See l. 50.
96. *Il groppo solvi*, 'loose the knot.'
97. *Filosofia:* the works of Aristotle.
100. *Sua arte:* the operation of the divine intelligence.
101. Aristotle, *Physics*, II, ii.

Che l' arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
  Segue, come il maestro fa il discente,
  Sì che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nepote. 105
Da queste due, se tu ti rechi a mente
  Lo Genesì dal principio, conviene
  Prender sua vita ed avanzar la gente.
E perchè l' usuriere altra via tiene,
  Per sè natura, e per la sua seguace, 110
  Dispregia, poichè in altro pon la spene.
Ma seguimi oramai, chè il gir mi piace:
  Chè i Pesci guizzan su per l' orizzonta,
  E il Carro tutto sopra il Coro giace,
E il balzo via là oltra si dismonta.' 115

103. 'That human industry follows nature, as far as it can.'

105. 'So that human industry is, so to speak, the grandchild of God.'

106. *Queste due:* nature and industry.

108. 'Mankind must derive its sustenance and progress.' See Gen. ii, 15, and iii, 19: 'And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it;' 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread . . .'

110. He despises nature both directly and indirectly (through its follower, human industry).

111. The money-lender sets his hope on gain derived neither from nature nor from toil.

113. Virgil, as usual, indicates the hour (in Jerusalem) by a description of the sky, which, of course, is not visible from Hell. The Fishes are wriggling on the horizon (*orizzonta = orizonte*), i. e., the constellation of Pisces, which precedes Aries, is just rising; the wain, or Great Bear, lies wholly in the quarter of Caurus, the northwest wind. The time is three hours or more after midnight.

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

THROUGHOUT this episode, either by accident or by design, Dante does not speak. The canto deals with the descent into the seventh circle — the abode of the violent — and the description of the first of the three concentric rings that compose it. This first *girone* consists of a river of hot blood, a picture of sanguinary relations to one's fellow-men. The *Visio Alberici* also tells of homicides in a lake of boiling blood; and the *Visio Sancti Pauli* shows different kinds of sinners immersed to varying depths in a fiery stream. In the *Inferno*, too, the degree of immersion varies between eyebrows and feet, according to the wickedness of the offence. Along the narrow bank run centaurs, whose business it is to keep the other souls in their proper place. These half-human guardians are not depicted as hateful or repulsive: they do not seem to be demons, although their function is similar to that of the devils beside the ditch of barrators in the eighth circle; they appear to be rather the spirits of real centaurs, creatures whose semi-equine character made their excesses more natural and consequently less blameworthy. They may be intended also to serve as illustrations of Aristotle's doctrine of bestiality.

A still stronger suggestion of bestiality is conveyed by the presiding genius of the whole seventh circle, the Minotaur, half man and half bull, whose blind fury ('quell' ira *bestial*') defeats its own end and affords the travellers a chance to pass him. This monster — '*bestia*,' Virgil calls him — was the offspring of a bull and Pasiphae, wife of King Minos of Crete, who satisfied her abnormal passion (inflicted by Venus as a curse) by enclosing herself in a wooden cow —

'colei
Che s' *imbestiò* nelle '*mbestiate* schegge,'

as Dante says in *Purg.* XXVI, 86–7. The Athenian hero Theseus slew him in the Labyrinth, guided by Ariadne, the daughter of Pasiphae and Minos. Dante, to avoid placing him in any one of the three *gironi*, puts him on the cliff that overlooks them all. So he represents Geryon, the image of Fraud, as hovering over the eighth circle.

The poets' way down the precipice lies in a huge landslide made by the earthquake which, when Christ died and descended into Hell,

shook also a part of the wall between the unbaptized and the lustful (V, 34), and likewise damaged the hypocrites' valley in the eighth circle. In each case Dante uses the word *ruina*. This vast slide our poet compares with one in northeastern Italy, the Slavini di Marco, described by Albertus Magnus.

For the passage from Albertus Magnus, see Torraca.

Era lo loco, ove a scender la riva
  Venimmo, alpestro e, per quel ch' ivi er' anco,
  Tal ch' ogni vista ne sarebbe schiva.
Qual è quella ruina che nel fianco
  Di qua da Trento l' Adice percosse, 5
  O per tremuoto o per sostegno manco,
Chè da cima del monte, onde si mosse,
  Al piano è sì la roccia discoscesa
  Ch' alcuna via darebbe a chi su fosse,
Cotal di quel burrato era la scesa. 10
  E in su la punta della rotta lacca
  L' infamïa di Creti era distesa,
Che fu concetta nella falsa vacca;
  E quando vide noi, sè stesso morse
  Sì come quei cui l' ira dentro fiacca. 15
Lo Savio mio inver lui gridò: 'Forse
  Tu credi che qui sia il duca d' Atene,
  Che su nel mondo la morte ti porse?
Partiti, bestia, chè questi non viene
  Ammaestrato dalla tua sorella, 20
  Ma vassi per veder le vostre pene.'

2. *Quel ch' ivi er' anco* is the Minotaur.
11. *Lacca:* cf. VII, 16.
12. *Creti* was in use beside *Creta*. Cf. XIV, 95.
13. Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 133-4.
15. *Fiacca*, 'weakens,' 'subdues.'
17. Theseus: so called by Boccaccio and Chaucer.
20. Ariadne.

Qual è quel toro che si slaccia in quella
  Che ha ricevuto già 'l colpo mortale,
  Che gir non sa, ma qua e là saltella,
Vid' io lo Minotauro far cotale. 25
  E quegli accorto gridò : 'Corri al varco !
  Mentre ch' è in furia è buon che tu ti cale.'
Così prendemmo via giù per lo scarco
  Di quelle pietre, che spesso moviensi
  Sotto i miei piedi per lo nuovo carco. 30
Io gìa pensando ; e quei disse : 'Tu pensi
  Forse a questa rovina, ch' è guardata
  Da quell' ira bestial ch' io ora spensi.
Or vo' che sappi che l' altra fïata
  Ch' io discesi quaggiù nel basso inferno, 35
  Questa roccia non era ancor cascata.
Ma certo poco pria, se ben discerno,
  Che venisse Colui che la gran preda
  Levò a Dite del cerchio superno,
Da tutte parti l' alta valle feda 40
  Tremò sì ch' io pensai che l' universo
  Sentisse amor, per lo quale è chi creda
Più volte il mondo in Caos converso ;

22. *In quella*, sc., *ora :* cf. VIII, 16. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 223-4.

> 'Quales mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
> Taurus, et incertam excussit cervice securim.'

28. *Scarco*, 'dump.'
31. *Gìa = giva*, i. e., *andava*.
40. *Feda*, 'foul.' Cf. Mat. xxvii, 50-1 : 'Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost. And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent.'
42. According to Empedocles, the four elements, mixed together, produced chaos; hate, separating the seeds, brought forth from chaos all the things of the universe; love, by drawing the seeds together, can restore chaos. Dante probably got his idea of Empedocles (whom he mentioned in *Inf.* IV, 138) from Aristotle.

Ed in quel punto questa vecchia roccia
Qui ed altrove tal fece riverso. 45
Ma ficca gli occhi a valle ; chè s' approccia
La riviera del sangue, in la qual bolle
Qual che per vïolenza in altrui noccia.'
O cieca cupidigia, e ria e folle,
Che sì ci sproni nella vita corta, 50
E nell' eterna poi sì mal c' immolle !
Io vidi un' ampia fossa in arco torta,
Come quella che tutto il piano abbraccia,
Secondo ch' avea detto la mia scorta :
E tra il piè della ripa ed essa, in traccia 55
Correan Centauri armati di saette,
Come solean nel mondo andare a caccia.
Vedendoci calar ciascun ristette,
E della schiera tre si dipartiro
Con archi ed asticciuole prima elette ; 60
E l' un gridò da lungi : 'A qual martiro
Venite voi che scendete la costa?
Ditel costinci ; se non, l' arco tiro.'
Lo mio Maestro disse : 'La risposta
Farem noi a Chiron costà di presso. 65
Mal fu la voglia tua sempre sì tosta.'

45. *Altrove :* in the circle of the lustful, V, 34. The same earthquake shook down the bridges over the ditch of the hypocrites in the eighth circle, but of this Virgil is not yet aware; cf. XXI, 106 and XXIII, 136.

49. The motives of violence to our fellow-man are greed and wrath.

51. *C' immolle*, 'dost steep us': cf. V, 19.

53. 'As if encircling all the plain.' So it does, but of course Dante can see only a small section, or arc, of it at once.

55. *Traccia*, 'file.'

60. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, VII, 142: 'Cura fuit lectis pharetras implere sagittis.'

63. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 389: 'Fare age, quid venias; jam istinc et comprime gressum.'

65. Chiron, son of Saturn, skilled in surgery, was the preceptor of Achilles.

Poi mi tentò, e disse: 'Quegli è Nesso,
Che morì per la bella Deianira,
E fe' di sè la vendetta egli stesso.
E quel di mezzo, che al petto si mira, 70
È il gran Chirone, il qual nudrì Achille.
Quell' altro è Folo, che fu sì pien d' ira.
D' intorno al fosso vanno a mille a mille,
Saettando quale anima si svelle
Del sangue più che sua colpa sortille.' 75
Noi ci appressammo a quelle fiere snelle.
Chiron prese uno strale, e con la cocca
Fece la barba indietro alle mascelle.
Quando s' ebbe scoperta la gran bocca,
Disse ai compagni: 'Siete voi accorti 80
Che quel di retro muove ciò ch' ei tocca?
Così non soglion fare i piè de' morti.'
E il mio buon Duca, che già gli era al petto
Dove le duo nature son consorti,
Rispose: 'Ben è vivo, e sì soletto 85
Mostrarli mi convien la valle buia.
Necessità 'l conduce, e non diletto.
Tal si partì da cantare alleluia
Che mi commise quest' officio nuovo.
Non è ladron, nè io anima fuia. 90
Ma per quella virtù per cui io muovo

67. *Tentò*, 'nudged.' Nessus, while trying to carry off Dejanira through the water, was struck by an arrow from Hercules, her husband. To avenge himself, he left with Dejanira his bloody shirt, which afterwards caused the death of Hercules. Cf. *Met.*, IX.

72. Pholus figured in the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ: Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 563–4.

75. *Sortille*, 'allotted it.'

84. *Consorti*, 'joined.'

85. *Sì soletto*: cf. II, 3.

88. Beatrice.

Li passi miei per sì selvaggia strada,
Danne un de' tuoi a cui noi siamo a pruovo,
Che ne dimostri là dove si guada
E che porti costui in su la groppa ; 95
Chè non è spirto che per l' aer vada.'
Chiron si volse in sulla destra poppa,
E disse a Nesso : 'Torna, e sì li guida,
E fa cansar, s' altra schiera v' intoppa.'
Noi ci movemmo colla scorta fida 100
Lungo la proda del bollor vermiglio,
Ove i bolliti facean alte strida.
Io vidi gente sotto infino al ciglio ;
E il gran Centauro disse : 'Ei son tiranni
Che dier nel sangue e nell' aver di piglio. 105
Quivi si piangon li spietati danni.
Quivi è Alessandro, e Dionisio fero,
Che fe' Cicilia aver dolorosi anni.
E quella fronte ch' ha il pel così nero
È Azzolino ; e quell' altro ch' è biondo 110
È Opizzo da Esti, il qual per vero
Fu spento dal figliastro su nel mondo.'

93. *A pruovo*, 'near.'
99. *Cansar*, 'turn out.'—*Intoppa*, 'meets.'
105. *Dier*=*diedero*. *Dare di piglio* means 'to lay hold.'
107. It is not known whether Dante meant Alexander the Great (described as bloodthirsty by Paulus Orosius) or Alexander of Pheræ, who was coupled with Dionysius as a typical tyrant by Valerius Maximus, and by Cicero in *De Officiis*, II, vii, 25. Dionysius ruled Syracuse from 407 to 367 B. C. *Cicilia* for *Sicilia* was common in mediæval times, and is still in use.
110. Azzolino or Ezzelino da Romano, who held extensive dominions in northeastern Italy in the first half of the 13th century, a notoriously cruel tyrant; he was called a son of Satan.
111. Obizzo or Opizzo da Este, Marquis of Ferrara in the second half of the 13th century, was a hard ruler. L. 112 seems to refer to an incident little known or disputed in Dante's day, so that the poet hears it with incredulity. Virgil, to whom he turns in doubt, tells him that in this matter the centaur is the best authority. *Figliastro* regularly means 'stepson'; Dante apparently uses it here in the sense of 'unnatural child,' or possibly 'bastard.'

Allor mi volsi al Poeta, e quei disse :
'Questi ti sia or primo, ed io secondo.'
Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse 115
Sopra una gente che infino alla gola
Parea che di quel bulicame uscisse.
Mostrocci un' ombra dall' un canto sola,
Dicendo : 'Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cor che in sul Tamigi ancor si cola.' 120
Poi vidi gente che di fuor del rio
Tenea la testa ed ancor tutto il casso :
E di costoro assai riconobb' io.
Così a più a più si facea basso
Quel sangue, sì che cocea pur li piedi ; 125
E quivi fu del fosso il nostro passo.
'Sì come tu da questa parte vedi
Lo bulicame che sempre si scema,'
Disse il Centauro, 'voglio che tu credi,
Che da quest' altra a più a più giù prema 130
Lo fondo suo, infin ch' ei si raggiunge
Ove la tirannia convien che gema.
La divina giustizia di qua punge
Quell' Attila che fu flagello in terra,
E Pirro, e Sesto ; ed in eterno munge 135

117. *Bulicame*, 'boiling stream': cf. XIV, 79.

119. The solitary soul, apparently shunned by all the others, is that of Guy of Montfort, who, in church at Viterbo, during mass, to avenge the death of his father (Simon, Earl of Leicester), stabbed Prince Henry, the son of Richard Plantagenet (Earl of Cornwall). Guy was vicar of Charles of Anjou in Tuscany in 1270. Henry's heart, it is said, was placed in a golden urn in Westminster Abbey; cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 127. — *Tamigi*, 'Thames.' — *Si cola*, 'is honored.'

122. *Casso*, 'chest.'

134. Attila, King of the Huns, was called the 'Scourge of God.'

135. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, a fearful enemy of the Romans. — For Sextus, son of Pompey, see Lucan, *Pharsalia*, VI, 420–2 :

> 'Sextus erat, magno proles indigna parente,
> Qui mox, Scylleis exsul grassatus in undis,
> Polluit æquoreos Siculus pirata triumphos.'

Le lagrime che col bollor disserra
 A Rinier da Corneto, a Rinier Pazzo,
 Che fecero alle strade tanta guerra.'
Poi si rivolse, e ripassossi il guazzo.

136. 'It milks the tears which it unlocks with the boiling,' a figure which Dante uses again in *Purg.* XIII, 57.

137. Two highwaymen apparently famous in the 13th century. Rinieri de' Pazzi, a powerful lord and head of a Ghibelline company, declared himself an independent sovereign: see Emilia Regis in *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, XLVII.

139. *Guazzo* = *guado*, 'ford.'

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

The Church Fathers, from St. Augustine down, put suicide on a par with murder. Each is an attempt to cut short the term of life allotted by God, a crime of insubordination against the Creator. Neither can be justified by any excuse save the direct command of Heaven: thus Abraham was divinely bidden to sacrifice Isaac, and Samson destroyed himself in accordance with the Lord's will. It is perhaps worth noting that Dante mentions no pagan in this place; but as he cites only two examples, a Capuan and an unnamed Florentine, the significance of the omission is small — or would be so, had he not assigned several heathen suicides (Lucretia, Dido, Cato) to different parts of the other world.

The Capuan is Pier delle Vigne, who, after studying, in all probability, at Bologna, entered the court of Frederick II as a notary, and so won the confidence and affection of his sovereign that for over twenty years he was entrusted with the most important affairs of the realm. He was one of the foremost poets of the Sicilian school; many of his verses, as well as some of his Latin letters, are preserved. In 1248 or 1249 he was accused and convicted of treason; his eyes were put out, and according to one account he was condemned by the Emperor to be led in derision, on an ass, from town to town. To escape dishonor, he killed himself by dashing his head against a wall. It was no doubt with a view of emphasizing the inexorableness of God's canon that Dante selected the most sympathetic case he could find, one in which cruel injustice might seem to condone the offence. Piero, as Dante conceived him, is loyal, magnanimous, courtly, and most pathetic in his unshaken devotion to the master who wronged him.

The style of this canto abounds in curious conceits, such as the

'Io credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse'

of l. 25, the 'infiammati infiammar' of l. 68, the double antithesis of l. 69, and the involved paradoxes of the following tiercet. It would seem that meditation over Pier delle Vigne, who dominates the canto, had filled our poet with the spirit of the older school, so that, either purposely or unconsciously, he imitated its artistic processes.

The suicide uses his freedom of bodily movement only to deprive himself of it, robbing himself, by his own act, of that which cor-

poreally distinguishes him from a plant. Such a sinner, then, his wicked deed eternalized, may aptly be figured as a tree or bush. Dante's self-slaughterers form a thick, wild forest in the second ring of the seventh circle. There, upon hearing their sentence from Minos, they fall at random, in no predestined spot: they have put themselves outside of God's law, rebelling against his eternal plan. On the Day of Judgment they will return, with the rest, for their earthly remains; but, instead of putting on the flesh again, they will drag their corpses through Hell and hang them on their boughs, where the poor bodies will dangle forever, a torment to the souls that slew them. The pent-up agony of these spirits finds no means of expression until they are broken in leaf or branch; then the voice issues forth, with tears of blood.

The like had been seen and heard by Æneas in a Thracian grove, when, to deck an altar, he unwittingly plucked shrubs from the grave of Polydorus: blood trickled from the severed roots, and a voice came forth — not from the tree, as in Dante, but from the mound (*Æn.*, III, 39 ff.): —

> 'Gemitus lacrimabilis imo
> Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures:
> Quid miserum, Ænea, laceras? Jam parce sepulto,
> Parce pias scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troja
> Externum tulit. Haud cruor hic de stipite manat.'

In the suicides' wood, an outlet for the mournful voice is afforded by harpies, voracious, filthy birds with maidens' faces, which rend the foliage. They may well represent misgiving or fear of the hereafter — 'tristo annunzio di futuro danno.' Virgil describes them in the *Æneid*, III, 216–8: —

> 'Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdissima ventris
> Proluvies, uncæque manus, et pallida semper
> Ora fame.'

Their appearance in the same book of the *Æneid* with Polydorus may have led Dante to associate them with his speaking trees. On the Strophades islands, off Messenia, where they dwelt, their foul presence repeatedly interrupted the Trojans' repast; and finally one of them, Celæno, perched on a high rock, uttered so threatening a prophecy that the warriors hastily departed.

> 'Dixit, et in silvam pinnis ablata refugit.'

Thus in Virgil, as in Dante, the harpy is connected with a wood.

With the suicides are the reckless squanderers, those who rush madly through life pursued by the black hounds of Ruin and Death. Their sudden irruption is the more effective for its brevity and unexpectedness. The episode reminds one of legends of the Wild

Hunt, and of the ghostly chase described by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*, V, 8. It resembles also the story of Actæon, torn to pieces by his own dogs, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III, 138 ff.; this tale, furthermore, had been rationistically explained by Fulgentius as meaning that the luckless hunter spent all his substance upon dogs.

See *Æn.*, III: for Polydorus, 22-43; for the harpies, 209-69; for Celæno, 245 ff. Cf. D' Ovidio[3], 179-82. For the collocation of the squanderers with the suicides, see the argument to XI. For the Wild Hunt, R. Serra in *Giorn. stor.*, XLIII, 278; cf. *Bull.*, XI, 234. For Actæon, D' Ovidio[3], 196-9. For Pier delle Vigne, see Novati, 67 ff.; D' Ovidio[3], 143 ff.; F. De Sanctis in his *Saggi critici*, 1874. For the Latin style of Pier delle Vigne, see F. Novati, *Con Dante e per Dante*, 17-8, 31.

Non era ancor di là Nesso arrivato,
Quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco
Che da nessun sentiero era segnato.
Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco;
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e involti; 5
Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con tosco.
Non han sì aspri sterpi nè sì folti
Quelle fiere selvagge che in odio hanno
Tra Cècina e Corneto i luoghi colti.
Quivi le brutte Arpïe lor nidi fanno, 10
Che cacciar delle Stròfade i Troiani
Con tristo annunzio di futuro danno.
Ali hanno late, e colli e visi umani,
Piè con artigli, e pennuto il gran ventre;
Fanno lamenti in su gli alberi strani. 15
E 'l buon Maestro: 'Prima che più entre,
Sappi che se' nel secondo girone,'

1. On his return trip.
7. The subject of *han* is *fiere; che* is the subject of the following *hanno*.
9. The Cècina, a stream near Volterra, and Corneto, a town close to Civitavecchia, denote the northern and southern limits of the woody, swampy district known as the Maremma. In Dante's time it was covered with dense forest. Rinier da Corneto has just been mentioned.
11. *Cacciar = cacciarono.*
15. *Strani* probably modifies *alberi.*
16. *Entre = entri*: cf. V, 19.

Mi cominciò a dire, 'e sarai, mentre
Che tu verrai nell' orribil sabbione.
Però riguarda bene, e sì vedrai 20
Cose che torrien fede al mio sermone.'
Io sentia da ogni parte traer guai,
E non vedea persona che il facesse;
Perch' io tutto smarrito m' arrestai.
Io credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse 25
Che tante voci uscisser tra que' bronchi
Da gente che per noi si nascondesse.
Però disse il Maestro: 'Se tu tronchi
Qualche fraschetta d' una d' este piante,
Li pensier ch' hai si faran tutti monchi.' 30
Allor porsi la mano un poco avante
E colsi un ramicel da un gran pruno;
E il tronco suo gridò: 'Perchè mi schiante?'
Da che fatto fu poi di sangue bruno,
Ricominciò a gridar: 'Perchè mi scerpi? 35
Non hai tu spirto di pietate alcuno?
Uomini fummo, ed or sem fatti sterpi.
Ben dovrebb' esser la tua man più pia,
Se state fossim' anime di serpi.'
Come d' un stizzo verde, che arso sia 40
Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,

19. The third *girone* consists of a waste of sand, upon which falls a rain of fire.
21. Things that thou wouldst not believe, if I should tell thee. *Torrien*=*torrebbero*.
22. *Traer*=*trarre*. Cf. V, 48.
26. *Bronchi*, 'trunks.'
30. *Monchi*, 'cut short.'
33. *Schiante*=*schianti*, 'breakest': cf. V, 19.
34. *Da che*, 'when.'
37. *Sem*=*siamo*: cf. IV, 41.
40. *Stizzo*=*tizzone*, 'fire-log.'
41. *Geme*, 'drips.'

E cigola per vento che va via ;
Sì della scheggia rotta usciva insieme
Parole e sangue ; ond' io lasciai la cima
Cadere, e stetti come l' uom che teme. 45
'S' egli avesse potuto creder prima,'
Rispose il Savio mio, 'anima lesa,
Ciò ch' ha veduto pur con la mia rima,
Non averebbe in te la man distesa ;
Ma la cosa incredibile mi fece 50
Indurlo ad opra che a me stesso pesa.
Ma dilli chi tu fosti, sì che in vece
D' alcuna ammenda tua fama rinfreschi
Nel mondo su, dove tornar gli lece.'
E il tronco : 'Sì con dolce dir m' adeschi 55
Ch' io non posso tacere ; e voi non gravi
Perch' io un poco a ragionar m' inveschi.
Io son colui che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cor di Federigo, e che le volsi
Serrando e disserrando sì soavi 60
Che dal secreto suo quasi ogni uom tolsi.
Fede portai al gloriöso uffizio,
Tanto ch' io ne perdei le vene e i polsi.

42. *Cigola*, 'sputters.'
48. 'What he has never seen, save in my verses,' i. e., in the story of Polydorus in *Æn.*, III, 22–43.
51. *Che a me stesso pesa*, 'which pains me myself.'
54. *Gli lece*, 'he is allowed.' *Lece*=Lat. *licet.*
55. *Adeschi*, 'allurest.'
56. *Voi non gravi perchè*, 'be not annoyed if.'
57. *M' inveschi*, 'I stick,' i. e., 'I am constrained,' like a bird caught in lime. This word continues the bird-hunting figure begun with *adeschi.*
58. Cf. Isaiah xxii, 22 : 'And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so that he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open.'
61. *Secreto*, 'secrecy,' 'confidence.'
63. *Le vene e i polsi:* cf. I, 90. Other texts have *il sonno* (or *i sonni*) *e i polsi.*

La meretrice che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti, 65
Morte comune, e delle corti vizio,
Infiammò contra me gli animi tutti,
E gl' infiammati infiammar sì Augusto
Che i lieti onor tornaro in tristi lutti.
L' animo mio per disdegnoso gusto, 70
Credendo col morir fuggir disdegno,
Ingiusto fece me contra me giusto.
Per le nuove radici d' esto legno
Vi giuro che giammai non ruppi fede
Al mio signor, che fu d' onor sì degno. 75
E se di voi alcun nel mondo riede,
Conforti la memoria mia, che giace
Ancor del colpo che invidia le diede.'
Un poco attese, e poi : 'Da ch' ei si tace,'
Disse il Poeta a me, 'non perder l' ora ; 80
Ma parla e chiedi a lui se più ti piace.'
Ond' io a lui : 'Dimandal tu ancora
Di quel che credi che a me satisfaccia ;
Ch' io non potrei, tanta pietà m' accora.'
Perciò ricominciò : 'Se l' uom ti faccia 85
Liberamente ciò che il tuo dir prega,
Spirito incarcerato, ancor ti piaccia
Di dirne come l' anima si lega
In questi nocchi ; e dinne, se tu puoi,

64. The harlot is Envy, and the house of Cæsar is the Imperial court.
68. *Infiammar* = *infiammarono*.
69. *Tornaro* = *tornarono*.
70. *Gusto*, 'temper.'
82. *Dimandal* = *dimandalo*, 'ask him.'
84. *M' accora*, 'saddens me': a favorite word with the older poets.
85. *L' uom*, like French *l'on*, means 'one.' The clause with *se* is a formula of adjuration: 'As thou hopest that . . .' Cf. X, 82, 94.

S' alcuna mai da tai membra si spiega.' 90
Allor soffiò lo tronco forte, e poi
Si convertì quel vento in cotal voce :
'Brevemente sarà risposto a voi.
Quando si parte l' anima feroce
Dal corpo, ond' ella stessa s' è disvelta, 95
Minòs la manda alla settima foce.
Cade in la selva, e non l' è parte scelta ;
Ma là dove fortuna la balestra,
Quivi germoglia come gran di spelta.
Surge in vermena, ed in pianta silvestra ; 100
L' Arpíe, pascendo poi delle sue foglie,
Fanno dolore, ed al dolor finestra.
Come l' altre verrem per nostre spoglie,
Ma non però ch' alcuna sen rivesta ;
Chè non è giusto aver ciò ch' uom si toglie. 105
Qui le strascineremo, e per la mesta
Selva saranno i nostri corpi appesi,
Ciascuno al prun dell' ombra sua molesta.'
Noi eravamo ancora al tronco attesi,
Credendo ch' altro ne volesse dire, 110
Quando noi fummo d' un romor sorpresi,
Similemente a colui che venire
Sente il porco e la caccia alla sua posta,
Ch' ode le bestie e le frasche stormire.
Ed ecco duo dalla sinistra costa, 115
Nudi e graffiati, fuggendo sì forte,

96. *Foce*, 'gulf,' i. e., the seventh circle.
99. *Spelta*, 'spelt,' a kind of grain.
100. *Vermena*, 'sprout.'
102. By breaking the leaves, they provide an outlet.
108. *Molesta*, 'harmful' to the body.
115. *Costa*, 'side.'

Che della selva rompieno ogni rosta.
Quel dinanzi : 'Ora accorri, accorri, morte.'
E l' altro, a cui pareva tardar troppo,
Gridava : 'Lano, sì non furo accorte 120
Le gambe tue alle giostre del Toppo.'
E poichè forse gli fallía la lena,
Di sè e d' un cespuglio fece un groppo.
Diretro a loro era la selva piena
Di nere cagne, bramose e correnti, 125
Come veltri che uscisser di catena.
In quel che s' appiattò miser li denti,
E quel dilaceraro a brano a brano ;
Poi sen portar quelle membra dolenti.
Presemi allor la mia scorta per mano 130
E menommi al cespuglio che piangea,
Per le rotture sanguinenti, invano.
'O Jacomo,' dicea, 'da sant' Andrea,
Che t' è giovato di me fare schermo?
Che colpa ho io della tua vita rea?' 135
Quando il Maestro fu sopr' esso fermo,
Disse : 'Chi fusti, che per tante punte
Soffi con sangue doloroso sermo?'
Ed egli a noi : 'O anime che giunte

117. *Rompieno = rompevano.* — *Rosta*, 'brush.'
120. The spendthrift Lano of Siena perished in the battle of Pieve del Toppo, where the Sienese in 1289 were defeated by the Aretines. — *Giostre*, 'tilts.' — The speaker is Jacomo da Sant' Andrea.
123. 'He tied himself up in a bush.'
129. *Sen portar = se ne portarono.* — *Dolenti*, 'aching.'
133. The bush addresses the second of the two runners, a mad prodigal, who, it is said, was put to death by Ezzelino IV da Romano in 1239. Who the soul in the bush was, is not known for certain; Jacopo della Lana, one of the earliest commentators, declares that it was a certain Lotto degli Agli, a prior of Florence in 1285.
138. *Sermo*, 'speech'; cf. *sermone* in l. 21.

Siete a veder lo strazio disonesto 140
Ch' ha le mie fronde sì da me disgiunte,
Raccoglietele al piè del tristo cesto.
Io fui della città che nel Batista
Mutò 'l primo padrone, ond' ei per questo
Sempre con l' arte sua la farà trista ; 145
E se non fosse che in sul passo d' Arno
Rimane ancor di lui alcuna vista,
Quei cittadin, che poi la rifondarno
Sopra il cener che d' Attila rimase,
Avrebber fatto lavorare indarno. 150
Io fei giubbetto a me delle mie case.'

140. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 497 : 'inhonesto vulnere.'

142. *Cesto*, 'bush.' In accordance with the law of retaliation, these sinners, who ruthlessly destroyed their fleshly bodies on earth, care tenderly for their wooden bodies in Hell.

143. According to tradition, the first patron of Florence was Mars; the lower part of an old statue, supposed to represent the God of War, stood at the head of the Ponte Vecchio until 1333, when it was carried away by a flood. The new patron was John the Baptist, whose image adorned the florin. The Florentines gave up martial valor for money making.

145. *L' arte sua :* warfare.

147. *Alcuna vista*, 'some vestige': the fragmentary statue above mentioned.

148. *Rifondarno = rifondarono.*

149. It was believed that Attila, King of the Huns, or Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, had destroyed Florence. Attila and Totila were often confounded. The latter was in Tuscany in the 6th century.

151. *Giubbetto*, 'gibbet' or 'place of execution.' Two of the earliest commentators say that Lotto hanged himself with a girdle in his house.

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

THE third and innermost ring of the seventh circle consists of a sandy plain upon which falls a rain of fire. It stands for the experience of those who directly and wittingly defy God and live in his wrath, of which fire is the symbol. 'Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven,' says Gen. xix, 24. And in Ezekiel xxxviii, 22, we read: 'I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone.' The blasphemers, who did violence to God himself, lie prostrate; the sodomites, sinners against God's minister, Nature, run incessantly; the usurers, outragers of human industry, the child of Nature, sit crouching. Of these classes, the second is largest.

Rather curiously, the first class is represented by a pagan, the tall Capăneus, who, 'scornful and twisted,' maintains his arrogant pose and 'seems not to be ripened by the rain.' His futile pride is more shocking to Reason than any offence yet encountered; his own rage is his worst punishment. St. Thomas says, in his commentary on Aristotle (quoted in Flam., I, 143): 'Est aliquis qui non est vere audax, sed videtur: scilicet superbus, quoniam fingit se esse fortem; unde, sicut fortis vel audax se habet circa terribilia, ita superbus quærit apparere.' The story of Capaneus is told by Statius in the *Thebaid*, X, 870–939: he was one of the seven kings who attacked Thebes; scaling the walls, whence his gigantic shadow frightened the city, he mocked at the gods and challenged Jove, who thereupon slew him with a thunderbolt.

> 'Ille jacet laceræ complexus fragmina turris,
> Torvus adhuc visu.' — *Thebaid*, XI, 9–10.

So he lies in Hell, taunting Jove with his labors at the battle against the giants. Statius, too, recalls this conflict, saying that at the downfall of Capaneus the other gods rejoiced with Jupiter, 'as if he were wearily toiling in the fight at Phlegra.'

Traversing the plain, from the wood to the great precipice, is a raised channel built like a dike, through which runs a torrent of boiling blood. This brook issues from the river of the first ring and falls over the cliff into the circle below. All the rivers of Hell,

in fact, are connected, forming a single stream, which assumes different shapes in the various circles. Its source is now described. In the island of Crete, between the old world and the new, is the figure of an aged man, fashioned like the 'great image' in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel ii, 32-3: 'This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.' Daniel interprets the image as a prophecy of four kingdoms. But Dante's statue evidently represents humanity in its successive ages, as they are depicted, for instance, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I, 89 ff. The clay foot signifies the weak and unstable condition of man. Ever since the Golden Age (the state of Adam and Eve before the fall) mankind has been imperfect; therefore all the statue except the head is split by a crack, St Thomas's 'vulneratio naturæ.' From this fissure flow the tears of the sinful generations of men; descending into Hell, they make the infernal streams. The torments of the human soul, in whatsoever form they appear, really consist in sorrow over its own imperfections.

The bed of the connecting brook is all of stone, bottom and sides; and so are the high, flat, narrow banks on either hand. On one of these — the nearer, right-hand one — the poets mount to pursue their way across the desert; for no fire falls upon the duct. With great solemnity Virgil directs his disciple's attention to the stream, 'which deadens all the flamelets above it.' Nothing so noteworthy has been seen, he declares, since they entered the open gate of Hades. The unclosed door seems to figure our predisposition to sin. Does the quenching of the fire by boiling blood signify the appeasing of God's anger by human suffering? A symbol of atonement is manifestly out of place in the literal Hell; but allegorically Dante's lower world stands for the sinful life of man.

For the *vulneratio naturæ* see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxxv, Art. 3; cf. Flam., II, 31.

Poichè la carità del natio loco
  Mi strinse, raünai le fronde sparte,
  E rende' le a colui ch' era già fioco.
Indi venimmo al fine, ove si parte
  Lo secondo giron dal terzo, e dove 5
  Si vede di giustizia orribil arte.
A ben manifestar le cose nuove,

3. *Fioco*, 'faint'; cf. I, 63.

Dico che arrivammo ad una landa
Che dal suo letto ogni pianta rimuove.
La dolorosa selva l' è ghirlanda 10
Intorno, come il fosso tristo ad essa.
Quivi fermammo i passi a randa a randa.
Lo spazzo era un' arena arida e spessa,
Non d' altra foggia fatta che colei
Che fu da' piè di Caton già soppressa. 15
O vendetta di Dio, quanto tu dei
Esser temuta da ciascun che legge
Ciò che fu manifesto agli occhi miei!
D' anime nude vidi molte gregge,
Che piangean tutte assai miseramente, 20
E parea posta lor diversa legge.
Supin giaceva in terra alcuna gente,
Alcuna si sedea tutta raccolta,
Ed altra andava continüamente.
Quella che giva intorno era più molta, 25
E quella men che giaceva al tormento,
Ma più al duolo avea la lingua sciolta.
Sopra tutto il sabbion d' un cader lento
Piovean di foco dilatate falde,
Come di neve in alpe senza vento. 30

8. *Landa*, 'plain.'
12. *A randa a randa*, 'at the very edge.'
13. *Spazzo* (=*spazio*), 'floor.'
15. Cato led the remnants of Pompey's army across the Libyan desert in 47 B. C. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, IX, 371 ff., particularly 378 and 394-6:

'Atque ingressurus steriles, sic fatur, arenas:
. . . .
. . . . Dum primus arenas
Ingrediar, primusque gradus in pulvere ponam,
Me calor æthereus feriat.'

16. *Dei*=*devi*.
30. Dante repeatedly uses *alpe* for mountains in general, sometimes for Apennines.

Quali Alessandro in quelle parti calde
  D' India vide sopra lo suo stuolo
  Fiamme cadere infino a terra salde;
Per ch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo
  Con le sue schiere, a ciò che il vapore 35
  Me' si stingueva mentre ch' era solo:
Tale scendeva l' eternale ardore;
  Onde l' arena s' accendea, com' esca
  Sotto focile, a doppiar lo dolore.
Senza riposo mai era la tresca 40
  Delle misere mani, or quindi or quinci
  Iscotendo da sè l' arsura fresca.
Io cominciai: 'Maestro, tu che vinci
  Tutte le cose, fuor che i Demon duri
  Che all' entrar della porta incontro uscinci, 45
Chi è quel grande, che non par che curi
  L' incendio, e giace dispettoso e torto
  Sì che la pioggia non par che il maturi?'
E quel medesmo, che si fue accorto
  Ch' io domandava il mio duca di lui, 50
  Gridò: 'Qual io fui vivo, tal son morto.
Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro, da cui
  Crucciato prese la folgore acuta
  Onde l' ultimo dì percosso fui;
O s' egli stanchi gli altri a muta a muta 55

31. Dante apparently got this story from Albertus Magnus. It is a fusion of two episodes from the so-called Epistle of Alexander to Aristotle, where we find a heavy fall of snow, trampled down by the soldiers, and later a rain of fire.
35. *A ciò che*, 'inasmuch as.' — *Vapore*, 'flame.'
36. *Me'* = *meglio*.
45. *Uscinci* = *ci uscirono*.
52. *Se*, 'though'; so in l. 55. Even though Jove should labor as he did in the battle against the giants, in the valley of Phlegra in Thessaly, he could not subdue the spirit of Capaneus.
55. *Gli altri:* the cyclops, assistants of Vulcan. — *A muta a muta*, 'in relays'; Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 599–600, has the phrase *mutata . . . fulmina*.

In Mongibello alla fucina negra,
Chiamando: "Buon Vulcano, aiuta aiuta,"
Sì com' ei fece alla pugna di Flegra,
E me saetti con tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra.' 60
Allora il Duca mio parlò di forza
Tanto, ch' io non l' avea sì forte udito:
'O Capaneo, in ciò che non s' ammorza
La tua superbia, se' tu più punito;
Nullo martirio, fuor che la tua rabbia, 65
Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito.'
Poi si rivolse a me con miglior labbia,
Dicendo: 'Quel fu l' un de' sette regi
Ch' assiser Tebe; ed ebbe e par ch' egli abbia
Dio in disdegno, e poco par che il pregi; 70
Ma, come io dissi a lui, li suoi dispetti
Sono al suo petto assai debiti fregi.
Or mi vien dietro, e guarda che non metti
Ancor li piedi nell' arena arsiccia,
Ma sempre al bosco li ritieni stretti.' 75
Tacendo divenimmo là ove spiccia
Fuor della selva un picciol fiumicello,
Lo cui rossore ancor mi raccapriccia.
Quale del Bulicame esce il ruscello
Che parton poi tra lor le peccatrici, 80
Tal per l' arena giù sen giva quello.
Lo fondo suo ed ambo le pendici

56. *Mongibello* is a Sicilian name for Ætna.
67. *Labbia*, 'countenance.'
68. *Regi* = *re*.
73. *Metti* = *metta*.
79. *Bulicame*: a hot spring near Viterbo, frequented as a bath. The stream issuing from it was divided into separate baths for prostitutes, who were compelled to stay apart from the others.

Fatt' eran pietra, e i margini da lato;
Per ch' io m' accorsi che il passo era lici.
'Tra tutto l' altro ch' io t' ho dimostrato, 85
Poscia che noi entrammo per la porta
Lo cui sogliare a nessuno è negato,
Cosa non fu dagli tuoi occhi scorta
Notabil come lo presente rio,
Che sopra sè tutte fiammelle ammorta.' 90
Queste parole fur del Duca mio;
Per che il pregai che mi largisse il pasto
Di cui largito m' aveva il disio.
'In mezzo mar siede un paese guasto,'
Diss' egli allora, 'che s' appella Creta, 95
Sotto il cui rege fu già il mondo casto.
Una montagna v' è, che già fu lieta
D' acqua e di fronde, che si chiamò Ida;
Ora è diserta come cosa vieta.
Rea la scelse già per cuna fida 100
Del suo figliuolo; e per celarlo meglio,
Quando piangea vi facea far le grida.
Dentro dal monte sta dritto un gran veglio,
Che tien volte le spalle inver Damiata,
E Roma guarda sì come suo speglio. 105

84. *Lici*=*lì*.
87. *Sogliare*=*soglia*, 'threshold.' The gate is the entrance to Hell.
90. *Ammorta*=*ammorza* (l. 63), 'quenches.'
94. *Guasto*, 'waste.'
96. In the golden age, under Saturn.
99. *Vieta*, 'aged.'
100. Rhea, wife of Saturn, to save the infant Jupiter from his father, who devoured his sons, entrusted him to the Curetes, or Corybantes, in Crete; and when he cried, she had them drown the sound with noise. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 150–2; Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 197–210.
104. Damietta, an important city on the Egyptian shore, represents the East, the ancient, pagan world; Rome stands for the modern, Christian world.
105. *Speglio*=*specchio*.

La sua testa è di fin' oro formata,
E puro argento son le braccia e il petto,
Poi è di rame infino alla forcata ;
Da indi in giuso è tutto ferro eletto,
Salvo che il destro piede è terra cotta, 110
E sta in su quel, più che in sull' altro, eretto.
Ciascuna parte, fuor che l' oro, è rotta
D' una fessura che lagrime goccia,
Le quali accolte foran quella grotta.
Lor corso in questa valle si diroccia : 115
Fanno Acheronte, Stige e Flegetonta ;
Poi sen va giù per questa stretta doccia
Infin là dove più non si dismonta :
Fanno Cocito ; e qual sia quello stagno,
Tu il vederai : però qui non si conta.' 120
Ed io a lui : 'Se il presente rigagno
Si deriva così dal nostro mondo,
Perchè ci appar pure a questo vivagno?'
Ed egli a me : 'Tu sai che il luogo è tondo,
E tutto che tu sii venuto molto, 125
Pur a sinistra, giù calando al fondo,
Non se' ancor per tutto il cerchio volto ;
Per che, se cosa n' apparisce nuova,
Non dee addur maraviglia al tuo volto.'

109. *Eletto*, 'choice.'
115. *Si diroccia*, 'precipitates itself.'
116. Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus all belong to the classic underworld. The *Visio Sancti Pauli* gives the four rivers as 'Cochiton, Styx, Acheron, Flegeton.'
117. *Doccia*, 'duct.'
119. The frozen Cocytus forms the bottom of Dante's Hell, beyond which 'there is no descending,' because it is at the earth's centre.
123. 'Why do we see it only at this edge?': that is, why have we not crossed it in our spiral descent? Virgil replies that they have not made the whole circuit of the circumference of Hell.
129. *Dee = deve.*

Ed io ancor: 'Maestro, ove si trova 130
Flegetonta e Letè, chè dell' un taci,
E l' altro di' che si fa d' esta piova?'
'In tutte tue question certo mi piaci,'
Rispose; 'ma il bollor dell' acqua rossa
Dovea ben solver l' una che tu faci. 135
Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,
Là dove vanno l' anime a lavarsi
Quando la colpa pentuta è rimossa.'
Poi disse: 'Omai è tempo da scostarsi
Dal bosco; fa che diretro a me vegne. 140
Li margini fan via, che non son arsi,
E sopra loro ogni vapor si spegne.'

132. *Piova = pioggia*, the rain of tears that forms the stream. — *Di' = dici.*
135. *Faci = fai.* The heat of this stream proves that it is Phlegethon; see *Æn.*, VI, 550–1:

'Quæ rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon,'

and Statius, *Thebaid*, IV, 523:

'Fumidus atra vadis Phlegethon incendia volvit.'

136. Lethe is in the lower world of the ancients; but Dante puts it in the Garden of Eden, at the top of the mountain of Purgatory.
138. *Pentuta = pentita.*
140. *Vegne = venga.*

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

Brunetto Latini, who fills this canto, was one of the leading figures in the Florence of the generation just before Dante. Born about 1220, of an illustrious family, he distinguished himself for ability, culture, and vast erudition. His profession of notary gave him the title of *Ser*. In 1260 he was sent as ambassador to the court of Alfonso X of Castile. On his way back he learned of the overthrow of the Guelf party, to which he belonged, at Montaperti, and deemed it best to stay in France. There he wrote in French his great encyclopædia, *Li livres dou Trésor;* he later composed in Italian verse a shorter didactic work, allegorical in form, known as the *Tesoretto*. In 1266, after the overthrow of the Ghibellines at Benevento, he returned to Florence, where he filled various public offices, and was held in great honor until his death in 1294. Dante addresses him with respectful *voi*.

Two motives, in all probability, induced our author to give Brunetto so conspicuous a place in his poem. The first was gratitude. To the *Tesoretto* Dante owed perhaps his first conception of a grand didactic poem clad in allegory. But there must have been, besides, a warm personal attachment between the gifted youth and the great scholar and statesman who, by his counsel, taught the lad 'how man can make himself eternal.' In the *Trésor*, indeed, Dante may have read (in the Italian version quoted by Torraca): 'E quelli, che delle grandi cose trattano, testimoniano che gloria dà all' uomo valente una seconda vita, ciò è a dire, che dopo la morte sua, la nominanza che rimane delle sue buone opere, fa parere che egli sia tuttora in vita' — an idea which reappears more than once in the *Commedia*. Of their friendship we have no knowledge save the touching picture suggested by this canto. It is by no means unlikely that Brunetto lectured in Florence on the art of Latin composition, and that Dante was among his hearers. Some have supposed that Latini had cast Dante's horoscope: this is unlikely, as both the *Trésor* and the *Tesoretto* ascribe little influence to the stars. The word 'stella,' as he uses it in l. 55, signifies no more than destiny or natural disposition.

Another reason for giving prominence to Latini was that which we noted in the case of Pier delle Vigne — the desire to furnish an extreme example. In Brunetto we have a man endowed with

fine intellectual and most endearing moral qualities, yet tainted with one vice, which destroys his soul. It is only through Dante that we know of his sin, but there can be no doubt of its reality; in his day assuredly many were aware of it Thus the doctrine is again enforced that a single deadly fault, unexpiated, will damn a man otherwise noble. The contrast between his general dignity and his fatal weakness is emphasized at the end of the canto, when the elderly sage is suddenly forced to put aside his gravity and run like a racer to rejoin his fellows.

Few episodes are more startling than the first encounter of Dante and his old master in Hell; few are more pathetic than their walk together, the younger poet on the dike, the older on the plain below, beside his companion's skirt, his shoulders reaching perhaps to the level of Dante's feet. No nearer approach is lawful. The dusky setting is described (in ll. 18-21) with a couple of swift similes, which it is interesting to compare with the more leisurely style of Virgil in the *Æneid*, VI, 268-72 and 450-4:

'Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,
Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna;
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in silvis, ubi cælum condidit umbra
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.'

'Inter quas Phœnissa recens a vulnere Dido
Errabat silva in magna, quam Troius heros
Ut primum juxta stetit, agnovitque per umbram
Obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.'

See Novati, 334 ff.

Ora cen porta l' un de' duri margini,
E il fummo del ruscel di sopra aduggia
Sì che dal foco salva l' acqua e gli argini.
Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante e Bruggia,
Temendo il fiotto che ver lor s' avventa, 5

1. *Margini* and *argini* form a trisyllabic or dactyllic rhyme, and the two verses really have twelve syllables each. Such lines are called *versi sdruccioli;* Dante occasionally substitutes them for the ordinary *versi piani*. Cf. IV, 56.

2. *Fummo=fumo:* cf. VII, 123. *Aduggia*, 'overshadows.'

4. *Fiamminghi*, 'Flemings.' *Guizzante*, 'Wissant,' between Boulogne and Calais, was once a well-known port. *Bruggia*, 'Bruges,' in eastern Flanders, had extensive commercial relations with Italy.

5. *Fiotto*, 'tide.'

Fanno lo schermo perchè il mar si fuggia;
E quale i Padovan lungo la Brenta,
Per difender lor ville e lor castelli,
Anzi che Chiarentana il caldo senta;
A tale imagine eran fatti quelli, 10
Tutto che nè sì alti nè sì grossi,
Qual che si fosse, lo maestro felli.
Già eravam dalla selva rimossi
Tanto, ch' io non avrei visto dov' era,
Perch' io indietro rivolto mi fossi, 15
Quando incontrammo d' anime una schiera
Che venia lungo l' argine, e ciascuna
Ci riguardava come suol da sera
Guardar l' un l' altro sotto nuova luna;
E sì ver noi aguzzavan le ciglia 20
Come 'l vecchio sartor fa nella cruna.
Così adocchiato da cotal famiglia,
Fui conosciuto da un, che mi prese
Per lo lembo e gridò: 'Qual maraviglia!'
Ed io, quando il suo braccio a me distese, 25
Ficcai gli occhi per lo cotto aspetto
Sì che il viso abbruciato non difese
La conoscenza sua al mio intelletto;
E chinando la mia alla sua faccia,
Risposi: 'Siete voi qui, ser Brunetto?' 30
E quegli: 'O figliuol mio, non ti dispiaccia

6. *Fuggia*=*fugga*.
7. *Padovan*='Paduans.' The Brenta is a stream in northeastern Italy.
9. *Chiarentana*, or Carinzia, is a mountainous region north of the Brenta. Its melting snows swell the river.
12. *Felli*=*li fece*. 'The master-workman, whoever he was, made them . . .': cf. XXXI, 85.
15. *Perchè*, 'though.'
29. *La mia:* some texts have *la mano*.

Se Brunetto Latini un poco teco
Ritorna indietro, e lascia andar la traccia.'
Io dissi a lui: 'Quanto posso ven preco;
E se volete che con voi m' asseggia, 35
Faròl, se piace a costui, chè vo seco.'
'O figliuol,' disse, 'qual di questa greggia
S' arresta punto, giace poi cent' anni
Senza arrostarsi quando il fuoco il feggia.
Però va oltre: io ti verrò a' panni, 40
E poi rigiugnerò la mia masnada,
Che va piangendo i suoi eterni danni.'
Io non osava scender della strada
Per andar par di lui: ma il capo chino
Tenea, come uom che reverente vada. 45
Ei cominciò: 'Qual fortuna o destino
Anzi l' ultimo dì quaggiù ti mena?
E chi è questi che mostra il cammino?'
'Lassù di sopra in la vita serena,'
Rispos' io lui, 'mi smarri' in una valle, 50
Avanti che l' età mia fosse piena.
Pur ier mattina le volsi le spalle.
Questi m' apparve, tornand' io in quella,
E riducemi a ca' per questo calle.'
Ed egli a me: 'Se tu segui tua stella, 55
Non puoi fallire a glorïoso porto,

33. *Traccia:* cf. XII, 55.
34. *Ven=ve ne.*
35. *Asseggia=segga* or *sieda.*
36. *Faròl=lo farò.—Seco,* 'with him.'
39. *Arrostare,* 'brushing.' *Feggia:* present subjunctive of *fiedere,* 'to strike.'
41. *Masnada,* 'band.'
46. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 531–3: '. . . qui . . . casus, . . . quæ . . . fortuna . . .'
53. Dante avoids mentioning Virgil by name in Hell.
54. *A ca'=a casa,* 'home'; the expression is still used by country people.

Se ben m' accorsi nella vita bella;
E s' io non fossi sì per tempo morto,
Veggendo il cielo a te così benigno,
Dato t' avrei all' opera conforto. 60
Ma quell' ingrato popolo maligno
Che discese di Fiesole *ab antico*,
E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno,
Ti si farà, per tuo ben far, nimico;
Ed è ragion, chè tra li lazzi sorbi 65
Si disconvien fruttare al dolce fico.
Vecchia fama nel mondo li chiama orbi:
Gente avara, invidiosa e superba.
Da' lor costumi fa' che tu ti forbi.
La tua fortuna tanto onor ti serba 70
Che l' una parte e l' altra avranno fame
Di te, ma lungi fia dal becco l' erba.
Faccian le bestie Fiesolane strame
Di lor medesme, e non tocchin la pianta,
S' alcuna surge ancor nel lor letame, 75
In cui riviva la semente santa
Di quei Roman che vi rimaser quando
Fu fatto il nido di malizia tanta.'

58. *Per tempo*, 'early.'
59. *Veggendo* = *vedendo*.
61. The Florentines. *Fiesole*, Latin *Fæsulæ*, is at the top of a steep hill near Florence. Catiline, driven from Rome, took refuge there with his followers. When the place was finally taken, tradition has it that the surviving inhabitants, combining with a Roman colony, founded Florence, 'which still smacks of the mountain and the rock.' Cf. G. Villani, *Croniche*, I, xxxviii. — *Ab antico*, 'of old,' is a Latin phrase that had become current in Italian.
65. *È ragion*, 'that is right.' — *Lazzi sorbi*, 'sour sorb-trees.' Cf. Mat. vii, 16: 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'
67. *Orbi*, 'blind.' Various stories were told to account for the 'old report.'
71. 'Each party will hunger for thee,' i. e., 'wish to devour thee.'
72. 'The grass shall be far from the goat': thou shalt escape.
73. *Strame*, 'fodder.' Cf. *Bull.*, XVIII. 7.
78. Dante believed that his own family belonged to the old Roman stock of Florence.

'Se fosse tutto pieno il mio dimando,'
  Risposi lui, 'voi non sareste ancora 80
  Dell' umana natura posto in bando.
Chè in la mente m' è fitta ed or mi accora
  La cara e buona imagine paterna
  Di voi, quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora
M' insegnavate come l' uom s' eterna. 85
  E quant' io l' abbia in grado, mentre io vivo
  Convien che nella mia lingua si scerna.
Ciò che narrate di mio corso scrivo,
  E serbolo a chiosar con altro testo
  A donna che saprà, se a lei arrivo. 90
Tanto vogl' io che vi sia manifesto:
  Pur che mia coscïenza non mi garra,
  Che alla fortuna, come vuol, son presto.
Non è nuova agli orecchi miei tale arra;
  Però giri fortuna la sua rota, 95
  Come le piace, e il villan la sua marra.'
Lo mio Maestro allora in sulla gota
  Destra si volse indietro, e riguardommi;
  Poi disse: 'Bene ascolta chi la nota.'

79. 'If my prayer were quite fulfilled.'
81. 'Exiled from humanity,' i. e., dead.
82. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 4: 'hærent infixi pectore vultus.' *Accora*, 'saddens': cf. XIII, 81.
86. 'How grateful I am for it . . .'
88. Cf. Prov. vii, 3: 'write them upon the table of thine heart.'
89. *A chiosar*, 'to be glossed . . . by a lady . . .' The 'other texts' are the prophecies of Ciacco and Farinata: VI, 64 ff.; X, 79 ff. Cf. X, 127 ff.; also *Par.* XVII, 19–27.
94. *Arra*, 'earnest,' i. e., 'foretaste.'
96. *Marra*, 'mattock.' Let fate and men pursue their thoughtless course: this sounds like a proverbial phrase.
97. Virgil, who was walking ahead, turned his head back to the right. Dante was following, with Brunetto below him on the plain at his right.
99. 'He who takes heed is a good listener.' Dante's words to Brunetto prove that he remembers Virgil's speech at the end of X.

Nè per tanto di men parlando vommi 100
Con ser Brunetto, e domando chi sono
Li suoi compagni più noti e più sommi.
Ed egli a me : 'Saper d' alcuno è buono :
Degli altri fia laudabile tacerci,
Chè il tempo saria corto a tanto suono. 105
In somma sappi che tutti fur cherci
E letterati grandi e di gran fama,
D' un peccato medesmo al mondo lerci.
Priscian sen va con quella turba grama,
E Francesco d' Accorso ; anco vedervi, 110
S' avessi avuto di tal tigna brama,
Colui potei che dal servo de' servi
Fu trasmutato d' Arno in Bacchiglione,
Dove lasciò li mal protesi nervi.
Di più direi ; ma il venir e il sermone 115
Più lungo esser non può, però ch' io veggio
Là surger nuovo fummo dal sabbione.
Gente vien con la quale esser non deggio.
Siati raccomandato il mio Tesoro,
Nel quale io vivo ancora ; e più non cheggio.' 120
Poi si rivolse, e parve di coloro

100. *Nè per tanto di men*, 'none the less.' *Vommi=mi vado.*
106. *Cherci*, 'clerks.'
108. *Lerci*, 'fouled.'
109. *Grama*, 'dismal.' Priscian, the great Latin grammarian of the 6th century. Francesco d' Accorso, son of a still more famous father, was renowned as a jurist; he lived in Bologna and in England, in the 13th century.
111. 'Hadst thou hankered for such scurf.'
112. *Potei=potevi.* Andrea di Mozzi was deposed in 1295 from the bishopric of Florence and transferred to the less important one of Vicenza, through which town the Bacchiglione runs. The Pope (or 'servus servorum Dei') who removed him was Boniface VIII.
114. 'Where he left his sinfully distended muscles,' i. e., he died.
117. *Fummo*, 'reek': cf. VII, 123.
118. *Deggio=devo* or *debbo.*
120. *Cheggio=chiedo.*

Che corrono a Verona il drappo verde
Per la campagna ; e parve di costoro
Quegli che vince e non colui che perde.

122. In the annual games held in Verona in the 13th century the first prize in the foot-race was a green cloth. Cf. G. Biadego, *Per le corse dei palii a Verona*, 1911.

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

At the close of this canto poetic ingenuity does its utmost to intensify the effect of mystery and suspense. Virgil's reading of his companion's unspoken thought, the eager expectancy of both travellers, the strange and unexplained casting of a girdle into the abyss, Dante's reluctance to impart to us an event too marvellous for our belief — all this leads up to the final shadow of a weird form looming into sight, with which the narrative stops.

Arriving at the edge of the cliff, the boundary of the seventh circle, Dante, who hitherto has worn 'una corda intorno cinta,' takes off this girdle and hands it, 'knotted and coiled,' to his guide. Virgil throws it out into the darkness — a signal (so we afterwards learn) for the huge flying monster Geryon, the embodiment of Fraud and keeper of the eighth circle, who is to carry them down on his back. With this cord, we are told, Dante had once thought 'to catch the leopard with the painted hide,' which in the first canto represented the habit of Fraud. Henceforth Dante goes ungirded until he is about to begin the ascent of the mountain of Purgatory; then, at the bidding of Cato, he is girt with a rush, the emblem of humility. It should be remembered that in the Bible a girdle symbolizes strength.

The significance of the cord has been variously interpreted, and there is now no agreement among commentators. This rope must stand for something upon which Dante at one time built false hopes, but now, at the command of Reason, discards; something, moreover, to be appropriately replaced by humility; and, lastly, something which shall attract Geryon and bring him to view. This something may well be self-confidence, the opposite of humility; a seeming strength, which the poet formerly deemed adequate for the mastery of his faults; a delusion, and therefore a lure to the genius of Deceit. The coiled and knotted rope itself suggests a snare; in *Par.* XXVIII, 12, indeed, Dante uses the word *corda* in this sense — 'a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda.' Geryon, when he appears, has his breast and sides decorated with 'knots and rings,' corresponding to the shape of the cast-off belt. While girt with self-confidence, Dante contended vainly against Fraud; but no sooner is this deceptive girdle put aside than Fraud becomes amenable to Reason.

See U. Cosmo in *Giorn. dant.*, IX, 47; P. Chistoni in *Bull.*, X, 325.

Già era in loco ove s' udia il rimbombo
  Dell' acqua che cadea nell' altro giro,
  Simile a quel che l' arnie fanno rombo,
Quando tre ombre insieme si partiro
  Correndo d' una torma che passava 5
  Sotto la pioggia dell' aspro martiro.
Venian ver noi, e ciascuna gridava:
  'Sostati tu, che all' abito ne sembri
  Essere alcun di nostra terra prava.'
Aimè, che piaghe vidi ne' lor membri 10
  Recenti e vecchie dalle fiamme incese!
  Ancor men duol, pur ch' io me ne rimembri.
Alle lor grida il mio Dottor s' attese,
  Volse il viso ver me, ed: 'Ora aspetta,'
  Disse; 'a costor si vuole esser cortese. 15
E se non fosse il foco che saetta
  La natura del loco, io dicerei
  Che meglio stesse a te, che a lor, la fretta.'
Ricominciar, come noi ristemmo, ei
  L' antico verso; e quando a noi fur giunti, 20
  Fenno una rota di sè tutti e trei.
Qual soleno i campion far nudi ed unti,
  Avvisando lor presa e lor vantaggio,
  Prima che sien tra lor battuti e punti:

2. The 'next circle' is the eighth, separated from the seventh by a mighty precipice.

12. *Men* = *me ne*.

19. *Ricominciar* = *ricominciarono*. *Ei* is the pronoun, 'they.' They resumed their eternal lament.

21. *Fenno* = *fecero*. *Trei* = *tre*.

22. The *campioni* are the wrestlers and boxers of ancient times. *Soleno* = *sole(v)ano* (cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beiheft XV, 26); other texts have *soleano* or *sogliono*: this verb was in early Italian, as in Provençal, used in the present with the sense of the imperfect (cf. XVI, 68; XXVII, 48; etc.). Cf. *Æn.*, III, 281-2:

> 'Exercent patrias oleo labente palæstras
> Nudati socii.'

Così, rotando, ciascuno il visaggio 25
Drizzava a me, sì che in contrario il collo
Faceva a' piè continüo viaggio.
'E se miseria d' esto loco sollo
Rende in dispetto noi e nostri preghi,'
Cominciò l' uno, 'e il tinto aspetto e brollo; 30
La fama nostra il tuo animo pieghi
A dirne chi tu se', che i vivi piedi
Così sicuro per lo inferno freghi.
Questi, l' orme di cui pestar mi vedi,
Tutto che nudo e dipelato vada, 35
Fu di grado maggior che tu non credi.
Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada:
Guido Guerra ebbe nome, ed in sua vita
Fece col senno assai e con la spada.
L' altro che appresso me l' arena trita, 40
È Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, la cui voce
Nel mondo su dovria esser gradita.
Ed io, che posto son con loro in croce,
Jacopo Rusticucci fui; e certo

25. The three circled around and around in front of Dante, as if they were dancing in a ring. All kept their faces turned toward him.

28. *Sollo* seems to mean 'soft' or 'sandy.'

30. *Aspetto* is, like *miseria* above, subject of *rende*. *Brollo* probably means 'bare,' i. e., hairless; it appears to be the same word as the *brullo* of *Inf.* XXXIV, 60 and *Purg.* XIV, 91.

35. *Tutto che*, 'albeit.'

37. Gualdrada, renowned for her beauty and modesty, a sister-in-law of Dante's great-grandfather, was the daughter of the Bellincion Berti of *Par.* XV, 112. Her grandson, Guido Guerra (or Guidoguerra), was a distinguished Florentine soldier, who died in 1272.

40. *Trita*, 'treads.'

41. Tegghiaio, of the Adimari family, was an illustrious citizen of Florence in the middle part of the 13th century. If his counsel had been heeded, his countrymen would have escaped the defeat of Montaperti in 1260; that is why 'his voice should be welcome.' Dante had inquired of Ciacco (VI, 79–80) concerning Tegghiaio and Rusticucci.

44. Of Rusticucci, a contemporary of the other two, comparatively little is recorded. Nothing is known of his wife.

La fiera moglie più ch' altro mi nuoce.' 45
S' io fussi stato dal foco coperto,
Gittato mi sarei tra lor disotto,
E credo che il Dottor l' avria sofferto.
Ma perch' io mi sarei bruciato e cotto,
Vinse paura la mia buona voglia, 50
Che di loro abbracciar mi facea ghiotto.
Poi cominciai: 'Non dispetto, ma doglia
La vostra condizion dentro mi fisse
Tanto che tardi tutta si dispoglia,
Tosto che questo mio Signor mi disse 55
Parole, per le quali io mi pensai
Che qual voi siete, tal gente venisse.
Di vostra terra sono; e sempre mai
L' opre di voi e gli onorati nomi
Con affezion ritrassi ed ascoltai. 60
Lascio lo fele, e vo per dolci pomi
Promessi a me per lo verace Duca;
Ma fino al centro pria convien ch' io tomi.'
'Se lungamente l' anima conduca
Le membra tue,' rispose quegli ancora, 65
'E se la fama tua dopo te luca,
Cortesia e valor di' se dimora
Nella nostra città sì come suole,
O se del tutto se n' è gita fuora?
Chè Guglielmo Borsiere, il qual si duole 70
Con noi per poco, e va là coi compagni,

61. *Pomi:* cf. *Purg.* XXVII, 115.
63. First I must descend, or 'fall,' to the centre of the earth.
64. We have here, as in l. 66, the familiar formula of adjuration: 'as thou hopest that . . .' or 'so may . . .': cf. X, 82.
68. *Suole:* for the use of the present, see l. 22.
70. The newly arrived Guglielmo Borsiere is known to us only through a story in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, I, 8. — *Per poco = da poco tempo.*

Assai ne cruccia con le sue parole.'
'La gente nuova e i subiti guadagni
Orgoglio e dismisura han generata,
Fiorenza, in te, sì che tu già ten piagni.' 75
Così gridai colla faccia levata;
E i tre, che ciò inteser per risposta,
Guatar l' un l' altro, come al ver si guata.
'Se l' altre volte sì poco ti costa,'
Risposer tutti, 'il satisfare altrui, 80
Felice te, che sì parli a tua posta.
Però se campi d' esti lochi bui
E torni a riveder le belle stelle,
Quando ti gioverà dicere: "Io fui,"
Fa' che di noi alla gente favelle.' 85
Indi rupper la rota, ed a fuggirsi
Ali sembiar le gambe loro snelle.
Un *ammen* non saria potuto dirsi
Tosto così, com' ei furo spariti;
Per che al Maestro parve di partirsi. 90
Io lo seguiva, e poco eravam iti,
Che il suon dell' acqua n' era sì vicino
Che per parlar saremmo appena uditi.
Come quel fiume ch' ha proprio cammino

73. Dante ascribes the degeneracy of Florence to sudden prosperity and to deterioration of the stock through immigration from the country. Instead of replying directly to his questioner, he lifts up his face toward the city and apostrophizes it. The three listeners look at one another, nodding, as people do when they hear the manifest truth.

79. *Sì poco ti costa*, 'it is so easy for thee.'

81. *A tua posta*, 'at will.' The spirits admire not only Dante's knowledge of the present, which they have lost, but his clear understanding and freedom of utterance. Perhaps they dimly foresee a time when it will not be so easy for him to 'satisfare altrui.'

84. Cf. *Æn.*, I, 203: 'forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.'

85. 'Pray speak of us to people.' *Favelle = favelli*: cf. V, 19.

90. *Parve*, 'it seemed well.'

93. *Per parlar*, 'had we spoken.'

94. The roaring cataract in Hell is compared to the noisy falls of the

Prima da monte Veso in ver levante 95
Dalla sinistra costa d' Apennino,
Che si chiama Acquacheta suso, avante
Che si divalli giù nel basso letto,
Ed a Forlì di quel nome è vacante,
Rimbomba là sopra san Benedetto 100
Dell' Alpe, per cadere ad una scesa,
Ove dovria per mille esser ricetto;
Così, giù d' una ripa discoscesa,
Trovammo risonar quell' acqua tinta,
Sì che in poc' ora avria l' orecchia offesa. 105
Io aveva una corda intorno cinta,
E con essa pensai alcuna volta
Prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta.
Poscia che l' ebbi tutta da me sciolta,
Sì come il Duca m' avea comandato, 110
Porsila a lui aggroppata e ravvolta.
Ond' ei si volse inver lo destro lato,
Ed alquanto di lungi dalla sponda
La gittò giuso in quell' alto burrato.
'E pur convien che novità risponda,' 115
Dicea fra me medesmo, 'al nuovo cenno
Che il Maestro con l' occhio sì seconda.'

Montone, the first river on the left of the Apennines (as one descends into Italy) that has a course of its own to the Adriatic; the other streams run into the Po. *Monte Veso*, the Latin *Mons Vesulus*, is Monviso. One of the three upper branches of the Montone is the Acquacheta; at Forlì, Dante says, it gives up that name, and merges into the Montone.

100. *Rimbomba:* the subject of this verb is *quel fiume* in l. 94. S. Benedetto dell' Alpe is a little village, named after an ancient Benedictine abbey. The river roars because it falls over a single ledge, when it ought to be caught (*ricetto*) by a thousand. In dry weather the water trickles over a long series of steps at the side; when the stream is full, it pours straight down in the centre. This explanation of l. 102, sustained by Tor., is not the usual one, but it seems on the whole the most satisfactory.

112. Virgil swings to the right, as one does to make a long throw.

Ahi quanto cauti gli uomini esser denno
Presso a color che non veggon pur l' opra,
Ma per entro i pensier miran col senno! 120
Ei disse a me: 'Tosto verrà di sopra
Ciò ch' io attendo, e che il tuo pensier sogna;
Tosto convien ch' al tuo viso si scopra.'
Sempre a quel ver ch' ha faccia di menzogna
De' l' uom chiuder le labbra finch' ei puote, 125
Però che senza colpa fa vergogna;
Ma qui tacer nol posso, e per le note
Di questa commedìa, lettor, ti giuro,
S' elle non sien di lunga grazia vote,
Ch' io vidi per quell' aer grosso e scuro 130
Venir notando una figura in suso,
Maravigliosa ad ogni cor sicuro;
Sì come torna colui che va giuso
Talora a solver àncora ch' aggrappa
O scoglio od altro che nel mare è chiuso, 135
Che in su si stende e da piè si rattrappa.

118. *Denno* = *devono*.
125. *Dee* = *deve*. *Puote* = *può*.
126. It causes one to be unjustly suspected of falsehood.
127. *Le note:* Dante speaks of his poem as if it were a song. The names *commedia* and *tragedia* (which Dante accented on the *i*) were applied to non-dramatic poems composed respectively in a simple or a grand style; *tragedia*, according to the Letter to Cran Grande, also has an unhappy ending.
129. 'As I hope they may not want lasting favor': cf. X, 82.
136. To the observer above, a diver, returning to the surface, is foreshortened and magnified by the intervening water.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

In the description of the usurers, squatting on the edge of the chasm, now brushing off the flakes of fire, now lifting themselves on their hands from the hot sand, we are shown guilty souls in a state of abominable degradation. Their faces have lost all human likeness; they can be recognized only by their money-bags, decked out with their coats of arms. To such a pass man can be brought by inordinate love of gold, which consumes his humanity and his very individuality. Doglike, bovine, disgusting as these creatures are, they came of noble stock. No poor Jews, but illustrious Italian Christians, are selected by the poet to point his moral.

The descent into the darkness, on Geryon's back, is suggestively pictured in quick, realistic touches. At first nothing but the monster himself is visible, and Dante's only consciousness of motion comes from the upward rush of the air. Gradually, at various points below, the fires of the eighth circle begin to glimmer, and lamentations reach his ear; but all is dim and mysterious.

In classical mythology Geryon, son of Chrysaor and Callirrhoë, was a three-headed giant king in Spain, who was killed by Hercules.

> 'Tergemini nece Geryonis spoliisque superbus
> Alcides aderat.' — *Æn.*, VIII, 202-3.

A passing reference to his shade, as a 'forma tricorporis umbræ,' is made in *Æn.*, VI, 289. To the mediæval scholar this triple nature apparently symbolized deceit. Boccaccio says, in his *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, I, 21, speaking of Dante's Fraud: 'Et inde Gerion dicta est, quia regnans apud Baleares insulas Gerion miti vultu blandisque verbis et omni comitatu consueverit hospites suscipere et demum sub hac benignitate sopitos occidere.' He discusses the classic Geryon in XIII, 1 (numbered also 38).

The monstrous form ascribed to him by Dante was doubtless suggested in part by the locusts of Rev. ix, 7-11: 'And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle . . . and their faces were as the faces of men. . . . And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails. . . . And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit. . . .' St. Thomas, in his commentary on this passage, tells us that the scorpion has a smooth and gentle countenance, to induce people to touch it. The belief that scorpions have attractive faces seems

to have been prevalent. Dante's image was profoundly modified, however, by Pliny's description — followed by Solinus — of a strange beast called Mantichora (*Historia Naturalis*, VIII, 30), which has the face of a man, the body of a lion, and a tail ending in a sting like a scorpion's. Similar creatures are portrayed by Albertus Magnus (*De Animalibus*, Lib. XXII, Tr. ii, Cap. 1) and Brunetto Latini (*Trésor*, V, Ch. 59); all of these eat human flesh, and of one of them it is said that 'deceptos homines devorat.' On the appropriateness of an upright human face combined with a scorpion's sting, as an emblem of fraud, there is no need to dwell.

See F. Cipolla, *Il Gerione di Dante*, 1895; B. Soldati in *Giorn. stor.*, XLI, 84; R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 64. There are dragons with human faces on the 11th century façade of the Duomo in Assisi.

'Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza,
  Che passa i monti e rompe i muri e l' armi;
  Ecco colei che tutto il mondo appuzza.'
Sì cominciò lo mio Duca a parlarmi,
  Ed accennolle che venisse a proda 5
  Vicino al fin de' passeggiati marmi.
E quella sozza imagine di froda
  Sen venne, ed arrivò la testa e il busto;
  Ma in su la riva non trasse la coda.
La faccia sua era faccia d' uom giusto, 10
  Tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle;
  E d' un serpente tutto l' altro fusto.
Due branche avea pilose infin l' ascelle;
  Lo dosso e il petto ed ambedue le coste
  Dipinte avea di nodi e di rotelle. 15
Con più color, sommesse e soprapposte,

3. *Appuzza*, 'infects.'
6. Near the end of the stony edge of the dike, upon which the poets had walked.
8. *Arrivò* is used in its most literal sense, 'brought ashore.'
12. *Fusto*, 'trunk.' *Serpente*: cf. Gen. iii, 1, 'Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field.'
15. In mediæval pictures, dragons often have their whole bodies covered with little rings: cf. R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 63, 65.
16. *Sommesse*, 'woof' (the groundwork). *Soprapposte*, 'warp' (the embroidery).

Non fer mai drappo Tartari nè Turchi,
Nè fur tai tele per Aragne imposte.
Come talvolta stanno a riva i burchi
Che parte sono in acqua e parte in terra, 20
E come là tra li Tedeschi lurchi
Lo bevero s' assetta a far sua guerra,
Così la fiera pessima si stava
Sull' orlo che, di pietra, il sabbion serra.
Nel vano tutta sua coda guizzava, 25
Torcendo in su la venenosa forca,
Che a guisa di scorpion la punta armava.
Lo Duca disse: 'Or convien che si torca
La nostra via un poco infino a quella
Bestia malvagia che colà si corca.' 30
Però scendemmo alla destra mammella,
E dieci passi femmo in sullo stremo,
Per ben cessar la rena e la fiammella.
E quando noi a lei venuti semo,
Poco più oltre veggio in su la rena 35
Gente seder propinqua al loco scemo.

17. *Fer = fecero:* the object is *drappo*, the subject *Tartari nè Turchi.* The Tartars and Turks were famous for their cloths: cf. P. Toynbee in *Rom.*, XXIX, 559.

18. *Imposte*, 'designed.' Arachne was the famous weaver who challenged Minerva to a contest, and was turned into a spider: *Met.*, VI, 5 ff.

19. *Burchi*, 'skiffs.'

21. *Lurchi*, 'gluttonous.'

22. It was believed that the beaver caught fish with its tail, by dangling it in the water.

24. The sandy desert has an edge of rock, along the top of the cliff.

31. The poets, on leaving the wood, had mounted the nearer or right side of the embankment, and had walked on the right side of the stream; now, therefore, they must come down on the right side, else they would have to cross the boiling blood.

32. *Dieci* is probably used for an indefinite moderate number. — *Stremo*, 'verge.'

33. *Cessar*, 'avoid.'

36. The usurers, who did violence to human industry, are seated on the sand, close to the abyss.

Quivi il Maestro : 'Acciocchè tutta piena
  Esperïenza d' esto giron porti,'
  Mi disse, 'va, e vedi la lor mena.
Li tuoi ragionamenti sian là corti. 40
  Mentre che torni parlerò con questa,
  Che ne conceda i suoi omeri forti.'
Così ancor su per la strema testa
  Di quel settimo cerchio tutto solo
  Andai, ove sedea la gente mesta. 45
Per gli occhi fuori scoppiava lor duolo ;
  Di qua, di là soccorrien con le mani,
  Quando a' vapori, e quando al caldo suolo.
Non altrimenti fan di state i cani,
  Or col ceffo, or col piè, quando son morsi 50
  O da pulci o da mosche o da tafani.
Poi che nel viso a certi gli occhi porsi,
  Ne' quali il doloroso foco casca,
  Non ne conobbi alcun ; ma io m' accorsi
Che dal collo a ciascun pendea una tasca, 55
  Che avea certo colore e certo segno ;
  E quindi par che il loro occhio si pasca.
E com' io riguardando tra lor vegno,
  In una borsa gialla vidi azzurro,
  Che d' un leone avea faccia e contegno. 60
Poi, procedendo di mio sguardo il curro,
  Vidine un' altra, come sangue rossa,
  Mostrare un' oca bianca più che burro.
Ed un, che d' una scrofa azzurra e grossa

39. *Mena*, 'mien.'
60. A lion *azure* in *or* (*gold*): the arms of the Gianfigliazzi of Florence.
61. *Curro*, 'course.'
63. A goose *argent* ('whiter than butter') in *gules* (red): the arms of the Ubriachi of Florence.
64. A sow in brood *azure* in *argent :* the arms of the Scrovigni of Padua.

Segnato avea lo suo sacchetto bianco, 65
Mi disse: 'Che fai tu in questa fossa?
Or te ne va; e perchè se' vivo anco,
Sappi che il mio vicin Vitalïano
Sederà qui dal mio sinistro fianco.
Con questi Fiorentin son Padovano; 70
Spesse fïate m' intronan gli orecchi,
Gridando: "Vegna il cavalier sovrano,
Che recherà la tasca con tre becchi."'
Qui distorse la bocca e di fuor trasse
La lingua, come bue che il naso lecchi. 75
Ed io, temendo no 'l più star crucciasse
Lui che di poco star m' avea monito,
Torna' mi indietro dall' anime lasse.
Trovai lo Duca mio ch' era salito
Già su la groppa del fiero animale, 80
E disse a me: 'Or sii forte ed ardito!
Omai si scende per sì fatte scale.
Monta dinanzi, ch' io voglio esser mezzo,
Sì che la coda non possa far male.'
Qual è colui, ch' ha sì presso il riprezzo 85
Della quartana ch' ha già l' unghie smorte,
E trema tutto pur guardando il rezzo,
Tal divenn' io alle parole porte.
Ma vergogna mi fer le sue minacce,

68. Of Vitaliano, the only one of the usurers mentioned by name, we have no certain information.

73. Three eagles' beaks were the arms of the Buiamonte family of Florence. It is thought that the 'sovereign knight' of usurers is Gianni Buiamonte, who was of some prominence in the second half of the 13th century.

74. Cf. Isaiah lvii, 4: 'against whom make ye a wide mouth and draw out the tongue?'

76. *No*, 'lest.'

85. *Riprezzo*, 'chill.'

87. 'And is all of a shiver when he so much as looks at the shade.'

89. *Minacce* seems here to mean nothing more than 'exhortations.'

Che innanzi a buon signor fa servo forte. 90
Io m' assettai in su quelle spallacce;
Sì volli dir, ma la voce non venne
Com' io credetti: 'Fa' che tu m' abbracce.'
Ma esso che altra volta mi sovvenne
Ad altro forse, tosto ch' io montai, 95
Con le braccia m' avvinse e mi sostenne;
E disse: 'Gerïon, moviti omai.
Le rote larghe, e lo scender sia poco.
Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai.'
Come la navicella esce del loco 100
In dietro in dietro, sì quindi si tolse;
E poi ch' al tutto si sentì a giuoco,
Là ov' era il petto la coda rivolse,
E quella tesa, come anguilla, mosse,
E con le branche l' aria a sè raccolse. 105
Maggior paura non credo che fosse
Quando Fetòn abbandonò li freni,
Per che il ciel, come pare ancor, si cosse,
Nè quando Icaro misero le reni
Sentì spennar per la scaldata cera, 110
Gridando il padre a lui: 'Mala via tieni,'
Che fu la mia, quando vidi ch' i' era
Nell' aer d' ogni parte, e vidi spenta

95. *Forse*, 'doubt,' 'peril.'
102. *A giuoco*, 'at large.'
107. Phaeton, son of Phœbus, was carried away by the horses of the chariot of the sun, which he tried to drive: *Met.*, II, 150 ff., especially l. 200:

'Mentis inops gelida formidine lora remisit.'

108. The sky, scorched by the runaway chariot, still shows traces of it in the Milky Way. See *Conv.*, II, xv, 44–55.
109. Dædalus, to escape from Crete, fashioned wings for his son Icarus and himself and fastened them on with wax. In spite of his father's warning, the boy flew so high that the sun melted the wax, and, losing his wings, he fell into the sea. See *Met.*, VIII, 183 ff.

Ogni veduta fuor che della fiera.
Ella sen va nuotando lenta lenta; 115
Ruota e discende, ma non me n' accorgo,
Se non ch' al viso e disotto mi venta.
Io sentia già dalla man destra il gorgo
Far sotto noi un orribile stroscio;
Per che, con gli occhi in giù, la testa sporgo. 120
Allor fu' io più timido allo scoscio;
Però ch' io vidi fochi e sentii pianti,
Ond' io tremando tutto mi raccoscio.
E vidi poi, chè nol vedea davanti,
Lo scendere e il girar, per li gran mali 125
Che s' appressavan da diversi canti.
Come il falcon ch' è stato assai su l' ali,
Che senza veder logoro o uccello
Fa dire al falconiere: 'Oimè, tu cali,'
Discende lasso onde si mosse snello, 130
Per cento rote, e da lungi si pone
Dal suo maestro, disdegnoso e fello:
Così ne pose al fondo Gerïone
A piè a piè della stagliata rocca,
E discarcate le nostre persone, 135
Si dileguò, come da corda cocca.

118. *Gorgo*, 'rapids': the water of Phlegethon, at the foot of the cataract.
119. *Stroscio*, 'roar.'
121. *Allo scoscio* probably means 'in my straddle,' astride of Geryon.
123. *Mi raccoscio*, 'I crouch.'
125. *Mali*, 'torments.'
128. *Logoro*, 'lure.'
134. *A piè a piè*, 'at the very foot.' *Stagliata*, 'scarped.'
136. *Come da corda cocca*, 'like an arrow-notch from the bowstring.'

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

To form an idea of the general structure of the eighth and ninth circles, one may think of a funnel with a shallow mouth and a thick spout. The upper part will represent the eighth circle, sloping down to the edge of a central hole ('un pozzo assai largo e profondo'), at the bottom of which is the ninth circle. Now let one imagine this upper part, the mouth of the funnel, horizontally corrugated, so that ten deep grooves run around it, one below the other. These are the ditches (*bolge* or *valli*) in which the various types of Fraud are punished. Furthermore, let one picture a number of strips running down the inside of the funnel from the outer edge to the beginning of the neck, like spokes converging upon a hub; and these strips should be conceived, not as flat, but as undulating, arching up over the grooves. The strips will correspond to certain sharp ridges of natural rock that traverse the circle, at intervals, from top to bottom, rising into high, steep bridges over the valleys, and resting on the intervening banks. These *scogli*, as they are called, form a set of embankments on which wayfarers — if such there be — may cross the circle without descending into the ditches. Dante gives to this circle the fantastic name of *Malebolge*, or 'Evil Pouches.' He compares the *bolge* and the *scogli* to a series of moats, with drawbridges, surrounding a castle in concentric rings.

In describing the double march of the lost souls in the first *bolgia*, Dante recalls a scene witnessed by many thousands in Rome in the Jubilee year of 1299–1300. The following account is borrowed from C. E. Norton's translation of the *Hell*, pp. 112–3: 'The Jubilee was instituted by Boniface VIII, who issued a Bull granting plenary indulgence for a year from Christmas, 1299, to all pilgrims to Rome who should spend fifteen days in the city, visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and should confess and repent their sins. The throng of pilgrims from all parts of Europe was enormous, and among other precautions for their safety was that here alluded to, a barrier erected lengthwise along the bridge of Sant' Angelo, in order that the crowd going to and coming from St. Peter's might pass in opposite directions without interference.'

The fraudulent are divided into ten categories, and some of these are subdivided. In the first *bolgia* are betrayers of women, who fall into two classes, panders (*ruffiani*) and seducers. They walk cease-

lessly around the bottom of their ditch, in two files, moving in opposite directions (like the pilgrims on the bridge), the panders on the outer, the seducers on the inner side. Horned devils scourge them with whips as they pass. Thus are sinners of this sort constantly goaded on by their mean passions. In Malebolge demons abound — not mere guardians, similar to those of the classic underworld, but malignant, tormenting fiends. There are no such spirits, however, in the second valley, where the punishment is simply nauseous filth and stench, a symbol of the unclean life of flatterers. To portray their abject vileness, the author deems no terms too gross.

Loco è in inferno detto Malebolge,
  Tutto di pietra e di color ferrigno,
  Come la cerchia che d' intorno il volge.
Nel dritto mezzo del campo maligno
  Vaneggia un pozzo assai largo e profondo, 5
  Di cui *suo loco* dicerò l' ordigno.
Quel cinghio che rimane adunque è tondo
  Tra il pozzo e il piè dell' alta ripa dura,
  Ed ha distinto in dieci valli il fondo.
Quale, dove per guardia delle mura 10
  Più e più fossi cingon li castelli,
  La parte dov' ei son rende figura :
Tale imagine quivi facean quelli.
  E come a tai fortezze dai lor sogli
  Alla ripa di fuor son ponticelli, 15
Così da imo della roccia scogli

3. The *cerchia* is the circular precipice between the 7th circle and the 8th.
5. *Vaneggia*, 'yawns.'
6. *Suo loco* (Latin), 'in the fitting place.' *Ordigno*, 'structure.'
7. *Cinghio*, 'belt,' i. e., the 8th circle, a wide ring between the surrounding precipice and the well.
10. In this involved passage *quale* modifies *figura*, the object of *rende ;* the subject is *parte*.
14. *Sogli*=*soglie*, 'thresholds.'
15. *Alla ripa di fuor*, 'to the outermost bank,' i. e., to the further bank of the outermost moat.

Movien, che recidean gli argini e fossi
Infino al pozzo, che i tronca e raccògli.
In questo loco, dalla schiena scossi
Di Gerïon, trovammoci ; e il Poeta 20
Tenne a sinistra, ed io retro mi mossi.
Alla man destra vidi nuova pieta,
Nuovi tormenti e nuovi frustatori,
Di che la prima bolgia era repleta.
Nel fondo erano ignudi i peccatori : 25
Dal mezzo in qua ci venian verso il volto,
Di là con noi, ma con passi maggiori;
Come i Roman, per l' esercito molto,
L' anno del Giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo colto, 30
Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso il castello, e vanno a santo Pietro,
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso il monte.
Di qua, di là, su per lo sasso tetro
Vidi Demon cornuti con gran ferze, 35
Che li battean crudelmente di retro.
Ahi come facean lor levar le berze
Alle prime percosse ! Già nessuno
Le seconde aspettava nè le terze.
Mentr' io andava, gli occhi miei in uno 40

17. *Movien=movevano.* — *Recidean*, 'traversed.'
18. *Raccògli=li raccoglie*, 'gathers them in.' They all converge, like the spokes of a wheel, upon the *pozzo*, at the edge of which they stop.
26. On the nearer side of the bottom of the ditch, the sinners, in their circling course, were coming towards us; on the further side, they were going with us, but faster than we walked.
28. *Esercito*, 'host.'
30. *Modo colto*, 'adopted a measure.'
32. *Castello :* Sant' Angelo.
33. *Monte :* Monte Giordano, a slight eminence on the left of the river.
35. *Ferze=sferze*, 'whips.'
37. *Berze*, 'heels.'

Furo scontrati; ed io sì tosto dissi:
'Di già veder costui non son digiuno.'
Perciò a figurarlo i piedi affissi;
E il dolce Duca meco si ristette,
Ed assentì ch' alquanto indietro gissi. 45
E quel frustato celar si credette
Bassando il viso, ma poco gli valse;
Ch' io dissi: 'Tu che l' occhio a terra gette,
Se le fazion che porti non son false,
Venedico se' tu Caccianimico; 50
Ma che ti mena a sì pungenti Salse?'
Ed egli a me: 'Mal volentier lo dico;
Ma sforzami la tua chiara favella,
Che mi fa sovvenir del mondo antico.
Io fui colui che la Ghisolabella 55
Condussi a far la voglia del Marchese,
Come che suoni la sconcia novella.
E non pur io qui piango Bolognese:
Anzi n' è questo loco tanto pieno
Che tante lingue non son ora apprese 60
A dicer *sipa* tra Sàvena e Reno.

41. *Furo scontrati=si scontrarono.*
42. 'I am not fasting for previous sight of him,' i. e., I have seen him before.
49. *Fazion*, 'features.'
50. Venedico Caccianimico, of a prominent family of Bologna, was Podestà of Milan in 1275, of Pistoia in 1283.
51. 'What brings thee to such sharp sauce?' Probably there is a play upon *Salse*, the name of a ravine, three miles from Bologna, where bodies of criminals were thrown.
53. *Chiara favella*, 'plain speech': Dante shows himself well informed.
55. Ghisolabella was Venedico's sister, married to Niccolò Fontana of Ferrara.
56. *Marchese:* Obizzo da Este of Ferrara.
57. 'However the dirty story may be told': we know the incident only from Dante's words.
61. *Sipa* is an old Bolognese word for 'yes.' Bologna lies between the two rivers, Savena and Reno. The number of Bolognese panders in this ditch exceeds the number of all the living people who speak Bolognese.

E se di ciò vuoi fede o testimonio,
Recati a mente il nostro avaro seno.'
Così parlando il percosse un demonio
Della sua scurïada, e disse: 'Via, 65
Ruffian, qui non son femmine da conio.'
Io mi raggiunsi con la scorta mia;
Poscia con pochi passi divenimmo
Là dove un scoglio della ripa uscia.
Assai leggeramente quel salimmo, 70
E volti a destra su per la sua scheggia,
Da quelle cerchie eterne ci partimmo.
Quando noi fummo là dov' ei vaneggia
Di sotto, per dar passo agli sferzati,
Lo Duca disse: 'Attienti, e fa' che feggia 75
Lo viso in te di questi altri mal nati,
A' quali ancor non vedesti la faccia,
Perocchè son con noi insieme andati.'
Dal vecchio ponte guardavam la traccia
Che venia verso noi dall' altra banda, 80
E che la ferza similmente scaccia.
Il buon Maestro, senza mia domanda,
Mi disse: 'Guarda quel grande che viene,

65. *Scuriada*, 'scourge.'
66. *Da conio*, 'to be minted,' coined into money.
71. Up to this point the poets have been walking to the left on the bank between the high precipice and the first *bolgia;* they now turn to the right to cross this ditch. — *Scheggia*, 'ridge.'
72. They now turn their backs upon the upper terraces; and Dante, as he leaves them, reflects that these circles will remain forever unchanged.
73. *Dov' ei vaneggia:* where the ridge, as it crosses the ditch, has an opening beneath.
75. *Attienti:* 'take hold.' — *Fa' che feggia*, etc., 'let the sight of these . . . strike thee': *feggia* is the present subjunctive of *fiedere*. Dante is now to look down, at the right, on the seducers, whose faces he has not been able to see from the bank.
79. *Traccia*, 'file': cf. XII, 55.
80. *Banda*, 'side': the further, or inner, side of the ditch.

E per dolor non par lagrima spanda:
Quanto aspetto reale ancor ritiene! 85
Quelli è Jason, che per core e per senno
Li Colchi del monton privati fene.
Egli passò per l'isola di Lenno,
Poi che le ardite femmine spietate
Tutti li maschi loro a morte dienno. 90
Ivi con segni e con parole ornate
Isifile ingannò, la giovinetta,
Che prima avea tutte l' altre ingannate.
Lasciolla quivi gravida e soletta:
Tal colpa a tal martiro lui condanna; 95
Ed anco di Medea si fa vendetta.
Con lui sen va chi da tal parte inganna.
E questo basti della prima valle
Sapere, e di color che in sè assanna.'
Già eravam là 've lo stretto calle 100
Con l' argine secondo s' incrocicchia,
E fa di quello ad un altro arco spalle.
Quindi sentimmo gente che si nicchia
Nell' altra bolgia, e che col muso sbuffa,
E sè medesma con le palme picchia. 105

87. The 'tall' Jason despoiled the Colchians of the golden fleece: *Met.*, VII, 1–158. — *Fene*=*fece*.

90. *Dienno*=*diedero*. The women of Lemnos, forsaken by their husbands on account of a curse put upon them by Venus, agreed to murder all the males on the island.

91. *Segni*, 'tokens' of affection.

93. Hypsipyle had saved her father, King Thoas, by pretending to have killed him. See Statius, *Thebaid*, IV, V, VI.; Ovid, *Heroides*, VI.

96. For the story of Medea, beguiled by Jason, see *Met.*, VII.

97. *Da tal parte*, 'in that quarter,' i. e., in such a way.

99. *In sè assanna*, 'it holds in its fangs.'

100. The narrow ridge crosses the second bank (the further bank of the first ditch), and makes of this bank a buttress for a second arch. The ridge arches up over each ditch.

103. *Nicchiare* probably means 'to whimper.'

104. *Sbuffa*, 'snorts.'

Le ripe eran grommate d' una muffa
Per l' alito di giù che vi si appasta,
Che con gli occhi e col naso facea zuffa.
Lo fondo è cupo sì, che non ci basta
Loco a veder senza montare al dosso 110
Dell' arco, ove lo scoglio più soprasta.
Quivi venimmo, e quindi giù nel fosso
Vidi gente attuffata in uno sterco
Che dagli uman privati parea mosso:
E mentre ch' io laggiù con l' occhio cerco, 115
Vidi un col capo sì di merda lordo
Che non parea s' era laïco o cherco.
Quei mi sgridò: 'Perchè se' tu sì ingordo
Di riguardar più me che gli altri brutti?'
Ed io a lui: 'Perchè, se ben ricordo, 120
Già t' ho veduto coi capelli asciutti,
E sei Alessio Interminei da Lucca;
Però t' adocchio più che gli altri tutti.'
Ed egli allor, battendosi la zucca:
'Quaggiù m' hanno sommerso le lusinghe, 125
Ond' io non ebbi mai la lingua stucca.'
Appresso ciò lo Duca: 'Fa' che pinghe,'
Mi disse, 'il viso un poco più avante,

106. *Grommate*, 'coated.' *Muffa*, 'mould.'
107. *Si appasta*, 'sticks.'
108. *Facea zuffa*, 'quarrelled.'
109. *Cupo*, 'hollowed out.' *Non ci basta loco a veder*, 'there is not room enough to see,' because the bank overhangs.
111. *Più soprasta*, 'rises highest above.' From the middle of the bridge they can look in under the bank.
114. *Privati*, 'privies.'
122. Alessio Interminei (or Interminelli) belonged to a noble family of Lucca; we know nothing in particular about him, although his name occurs in several documents of the second half of the 13th century.
124. *Zucca*, 'pate,' a slang word.
126. *Stucca*, 'cloyed.'
127. *Pinghe*=*pinga*, i. e., *spinga*, 'thou push.'

Sì che la faccia ben con gli occhi attinghe
Di quella sozza e scapigliata fante 130
Che là si graffia con l' unghie merdose,
Ed or s' accoscia, ed ora è in piede stante.
Taïde è, la puttana, che rispose
Al drudo suo, quando disse : "Ho io grazie
Grandi appo te?" "Anzi meravigliose." 135
E quinci sien le nostre viste sazie.'

129. *Attinghe*=*attinga*, i. e., *raggiunga*, 'thou mayest reach.'
130. *Fante*, 'wench.'
132. *S' accoscia*, 'squats.'
133. Thais, the harlot, is a character in Terence's *Eunuchus*, to whom her lover, Thraso, has sent a present (III, 1). Dante, however, who presumably had not read Terence, got the incident from Cicero's *De Amicitia*, XXVI: 'Nulla est igitur hæc amicitia, cum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comœdiis assentatio nobis faceta videtur, nisi essent miles gloriosi. "Magnas vere agere gratias Thais mihi?" Satis erat respondere "magnas"; "ingentes" inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cujus ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum.' In reality it was the parasite, Gnatho, who said 'ingentes'; but Dante from this passage evidently supposed that it was Thais.

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

The sin punished in the third *bolgia* is simony, the use of ecclesiastical office for private gain. Dante classifies it as Fraud, but it was generally regarded as an offence against the Holy Ghost. It derives its name from the Simon Magus of Acts viii, 9–24: 'But there was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery. . . . And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power. . . . But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.' Inasmuch as this offence is one of perversion, it is symbolized by the culprit being turned upside down; and as the perverted trust is a holy one, God's anger falls upon the incumbent in the shape of fire, which, owing to his distorted attitude, burns not his head but his feet. The bottom and sides of this ditch are perforated with little round holes, from each of which project the writhing feet and ankles of a sinner. Somewhat similarly, in the *Visio Alberici*, XI, simonists are confined in a fiery well. Dante's flame, however, merely plays upon the surface of the soles, from which it seems to suck its food. This grotesque penalty is inflicted even upon mercenary Popes, all of whom appear to be sunk in one hole. The latest comer is at the top, 'planted like a stake,' with his feet in the air; the others, with each new arrival, are pushed further and further down, to flatten in the crevices of the rock. Dante and Virgil descend into this *bolgia* to converse with Pope Nicholas III. To him our traveller addresses, with the approval of Reason, though with some misgiving, a stinging rebuke, made all the more impressive by Dante's professed reluctance to show disrespect to a former wearer of the papal mantle.

The burrows of the simonists are compared to the pits for baptizers in the Baptistery of Florence, which Dante lovingly calls 'his beautiful San Giovanni.' Here all the new-born children of the city were baptized by immersion, most of them on June 24th, the day of St. John the Baptist. It would seem that to protect the priests from the throng, they were stationed in four cylindrical holes in the waist-high marble wall that surrounded the large circular font in the middle of the church. Dante takes this occasion to declare that

he once broke down one of these receptacles to save some one who was drowning inside, and adds:

'E questo sia suggel ch' ogni uomo sganni,'

'And let this be a seal — i. e., a document, an authoritative, final statement — that shall undeceive every one.' Apparently he introduces the subject in order to put a stop to false rumors concerning his act. We really know nothing about the curious incident, although Benvenuto da Imola, one of the early commentators, relates a circumstantial story of boys playing on the wall and one of them falling into one of the holes, from which he could not be extricated until rescued by Dante. Many such tales were quickly invented to explain obscure references in the poem. It may be surmised that the *dentro* refers, not to the baptizer's hole, but to the tank itself, from which the water had to be drawn to save a drowning baby that had slipped in.

For a comprehensive discussion of this canto, see D'Ovidio [3], 338.

O Simon mago, o miseri seguaci,
  Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
  Deono essere spose, e voi rapaci
Per oro e per argento adulterate;
  Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba, 5
  Però che nella terza bolgia state.
Già eravamo alla seguente tomba
  Montati, dello scoglio in quella parte
  Che appunto sopra mezzo il fosso piomba.
O somma Sapïenza, quanta è l' arte 10
  Che mostri in cielo, in terra e nel mal mondo,
  E quanto giusto tua virtù comparte!

3. *Deono = devono*. The construction is broken: *voi* repeats the *che* at the beginning of l. 2. The *e* is superfluous and untranslatable; it is often idiomatically so used to introduce the principal clause when a dependent clause has preceded.
4. *Adulterate*, 'prostitute.'
5. Judicial sentences were proclaimed with a trumpet.
7. The *tomba* is the rocky bridge curving over the buried simonists in the ditch.
9. *Piomba*, 'hangs.'
12. *Giusto*: adverb.

Io vidi per le coste e per lo fondo
Piena la pietra livida di fori
D' un largo tutti, e ciascuno era tondo. 15
Non mi parean meno ampi nè maggiori
Che quei che son nel mio bel San Giovanni
Fatti per loco de' battezzatori;
L' un delli quali, ancor non è molt' anni,
Rupp' io per un che dentro vi annegava: 20
E questo sia suggel ch' ogni uomo sganni.
Fuor della bocca a ciascun soperchiava
D' un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe
Infino al grosso, e l' altro dentro stava.
Le piante erano a tutti accese intrambe; 25
Per che sì forte guizzavan le giunte
Che spezzate averìan ritorte e strambe.
Qual suole il fiammeggiar delle cose unte
Moversi pur su per l' estrema buccia,
Tal era lì da' calcagni alle punte. 30
'Chi è colui, Maestro, che si cruccia,
Guizzando più che gli altri suoi consorti,'
Diss' io, 'e cui più rossa fiamma succia?'
Ed egli a me: 'Se tu vuoi ch' io ti porti
Laggiù per quella ripa che più giace, 35
Da lui saprai di sè e de' suoi torti.'
Ed io: 'Tanto m' è bel, quanto a te piace.
Tu sei signore, e sai ch' io non mi parto

15. *Largo*=*larghezza*.
26. *Giunte*=*giunture*.
27. *Averìan*=*avrebbero*.—*Ritorte*, 'withes.'—*Strambe*, 'grass ropes.'
29. *Buccia*, 'rind,' i. e., surface.
35. Inasmuch as all Malebolge slopes toward the central well, and the floors of the *bolge* are level, the inner bank of each ditch must be lower than the outer. There are several indications that the inner bank is also less steep than the other.
37. *M' è bel*, 'suits me.'

Dal tuo volere, e sai quel che si tace.'
Allor venimmo in su 'l argine quarto ; 40
Volgemmo, e discendemmo a mano stanca
Laggiù nel fondo foracchiato ed arto.
Lo buon Maestro ancor della sua anca
Non mi dipose, sì mi giunse al rotto
Di quel che sì piangeva con la zanca. 45
'O qual che se', che 'l di su tien di sotto,
Anima trista, come pal commessa,'
Comincia' io a dir, 'se puoi, fa' motto.'
Io stava come il frate che confessa
Lo perfido assassin, che poi ch' è fitto, 50
Richiama lui, per che la morte cessa.
Ed ei gridò : 'Sei tu già costì ritto,
Sei tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio?
Di parecchi anni mi mentì lo scritto.
Se' tu sì tosto di quell' aver sazio 55
Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno
La bella Donna, e poi di farne strazio?'
Tal mi fec' io quai son color che stanno,
Per non intender ciò ch' è lor risposto,
Quasi scornati, e risponder non sanno. 60

41. *Mano stanca*=*sinistra*. After crossing the third *bolgia*, they went down into it from its inner bank.

44. Dante repeatedly uses *sì* in the sense of 'until': cf. l. 128 of this canto. *Rotto*, 'crevice.'

45. *Zanca*, 'shank.'

50. Murderers were planted, head downwards, in a hole, and buried alive. Dante probably recalls some scene actually witnessed, in which the murderer, to put off his death a few minutes, called back the priest, pretending that he had something more to confess. — *Cessa*, 'he postpones.'

53. The speaker, Nicholas III, thinks that his successor in simony, Boniface VIII, has arrived. But as Boniface was not to die until 1303, the book of destiny (*lo scritto*) seems to have lied.

55. *Aver*, 'wealth.'

56. *Torre a inganno*, 'to wed by guile': he was charged with having induced Celestine V to renounce the papacy (cf. III, 60).

57. *La bella Donna* is the Church, the Bride of Christ.

Allor Virgilio disse: 'Digli tosto,
"Non son colui, non son colui che credi."'
Ed io risposi come a me fu imposto.
Per che lo spirto tutti storse i piedi;
Poi sospirando, e con voce di pianto, 65
Mi disse: 'Dunque che a me richiedi?
Se di saper chi io sia ti cal cotanto
Che tu abbi però la ripa corsa,
Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto.
E veramente fui figliuol dell' orsa, 70
Cupido sì, per avanzar gli orsatti,
Che su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa.
Di sotto al capo mio son gli altri tratti
Che precedetter me simoneggiando,
Per le fessure della pietra piatti. 75
Laggiù cascherò io altresì, quando
Verrà colui ch' io credea che tu fossi,
Allor ch' io feci il subito dimando.
Ma più è il tempo già che i piè mi cossi
E ch' io son stato così sottosopra, 80
Ch' ei non starà piantato coi piè rossi;
Chè dopo lui verrà, di più laid' opra,

69. Cf. the *papale ammanto* of II, 27.

70. Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, Pope Nicholas III from 1277 to 1280, was notorious for his nepotism. The she-bear, *orsa*, was the cognizance in his family arms, so Dante calls his relatives *orsatti*, or 'cubs.'

72. 'On earth I pocketed wealth, and here I have pocketed myself.'

79. Nicholas has been there nearly twenty years, from August, 1280, to April, 1300. Boniface's feet will burn only about eleven years, from October, 1303, to April, 1314, when Clement V will die. This passage must have been written after the latter date.

82. After the brief pontificate of the good Benedict XI, Bertrand de Goth of Gascony became Pope in 1305 with the name of Clement V. He was noted for his greed and licentiousness, and became the unscrupulous tool of Philip the Fair of France. In 1309 he transferred the papal see to Avignon; he deceived the Emperor Henry VII, and aided Philip in the suppression of the Templars. Cf. *Par.* XVII, 82. — *Laid' opra*, 'ugly deed.'

Di ver ponente un pastor senza legge,
Tal che convien che lui e me ricopra.
Nuovo Iason sarà, di cui si legge 85
Ne' Maccabei ; e come a quel fu molle
Suo re, così fia a lui chi Francia regge.'
Io non so s' io mi fui qui troppo folle,
Ch' io pur risposi lui a questo metro :
'Deh or mi di', quanto tesoro volle 90
Nostro Signore in prima da san Pietro
Che ponesse le chiavi in sua balìa?
Certo non chiese se non : "Viemmi retro."
Nè Pier nè gli altri tolsero a Mattia
Oro od argento, quando fu sortito 95
Al loco che perdè l' anima ria.
Però ti sta', che tu se' ben punito ;
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito.
E se non fosse che ancor lo mi vieta 100
La riverenza delle somme chiavi
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
I' userei parole ancor più gravi ;
Chè la vostra avarizia il mondo attrista,
Calcando i buoni e sollevando i pravi. 105
Di voi pastor s' accorse il Vangelista,

85. Clement is compared to the Jason of 2 Macc. iv and v, who bought the high-priesthood of King Antiochus. As Antiochus favored Jason, Philip will have Clement made Pope.

92. Mat. xvi, 19.

93. John xxi, 19.

94. Matthias was chosen apostle to fill the place of Judas: Acts i, 23–6.

99. From the beginning of his papacy, Nicholas was hostile to Charles of Anjou.

104. *La vostra avarizia*, 'the avarice of you and your like.'

106. See Rev. xvii: 'I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, . . . and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast,

Quando colei che sïede sopra l' acque
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista :
Quella che con le sette teste nacque
E dalle dieci corna ebbe argomento, 110
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.
Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento ;
E che altro è da voi all' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno e voi n' orate cento?
Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre, 115
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre !'
E mentre io gli cantava cotai note,
O ira o coscïenza che il mordesse,
Forte spingava con ambo le piote. 120
Io credo ben che al mio Duca piacesse,
Con sì contenta labbia sempre attese
Lo suon delle parole vere espresse.
Però con ambo le braccia mi prese,
E poi che tutto su mi s' ebbe al petto, 125
Rimontò per la via onde discese ;
Nè si stancò d' avermi a sè distretto,

full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.' Dante, dealing freely with this passage, combines the woman with the beast, and makes her the symbol of the corrupt Church. She was born with seven heads, the Sacraments, and had as her defence ten horns, the Commandments, as long as her husband, the Papacy, loved virtue.

112. Cf. Hosea viii, 4: 'of their silver and their gold they have made them idols.'

113. The idolater (for instance, those who made the golden calf) worships only one idol, but you worship everything that is of gold.

115. The Emperor Constantine was thought to have donated the Western Empire to St. Sylvester, the first Pope to hold temporal possessions. The document of this donation was preserved, and was generally considered authentic until the middle of the 15th century. Dante did not doubt its genuineness, but disputed the right of Constantine to give and of Sylvester to receive. — *Matre = madre ; patre*, in l. 117, is for *padre*.

120. *Spingava*, 'kicked.' *Piote*, 'soles.'

122. *Labbia*, 'countenance.'

Sì mi portò sopra il colmo dell' arco
Che dal quarto al quinto argine è tragetto.
Quivi soavemente spose il carco — 130
Soave per lo scoglio sconcio ed erto,
Che sarebbe alle capre duro varco.
Indi un altro vallon mi fu scoperto.

128. *Sì:* cf. l. 44.
131. *Soave=soavemente:* 'gently, because of the steep, rugged ridge.'

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

In the fourth *bolgia* we have another instance of perversion — this time perversion of mental sight — symbolized by bodily distortion. The souls of soothsayers, who misused their great gift of intelligence to beguile their credulous fellows, have their heads twisted to the rear, so that they are obliged to walk backwards. They suffer constantly all the agony one would feel in the instant of neck-wringing; unable to make a sound, they pour forth their anguish in tears that flow down their backs. The aspect of this strange affliction makes Dante weep, before he recognizes any of the sinners; in other words, he is sorry for the penalty itself, and in so far rebels against God's will. For this, Reason chides him. 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance,' says Ps. lviii, 10; and theologians aver that the fate of the damned should be contemplated, not with pain, but with satisfaction, as a manifestation of divine justice. In the *Visio S. Pauli* (ed. H. Brandes, p. 66), when St. Paul weeps at the sight of the infernal torments, his angelic guide remonstrates: 'Quid ploras? Vis plus esse misericors filio Dei?' So Virgil rebukes Dante, declaring:

'Qui vive la pietà quando è ben morta,'

which probably means: 'Here, in thy grief, pity shows life when by rights it is dead'; that is, in Hell there should be no such thing as compassion for punishment, and there is none, save for thy silly tears. See D'Ovidio, 77–80.

A meeting with the prophetess Manto, daughter of the Theban Tiresias, leads Virgil to launch forth into a lengthy account of the founding of Mantua, his native place. The town, he affirms, was named after this same woman, who, leaving Thebes, ended her long wanderings on the spot where it was afterwards built. Dante represents himself as listening respectfully but with only indifferent interest to the narrative, at the close of which he eagerly asks about the other souls. Now, the peculiar feature of this incident is that Dante here ascribes to Virgil quite another story from that indicated in the *Æneid*, X, 198–200:

'Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris
Fatidicæ Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.'

According to this passage, then, it was Ocnus, son of a river-god and an entirely different Manto, who built and named Mantua. Dante knew of the Theban Manto from Statius; and he may have read in St. Isidore's *Origines*, XV, i, 59, or heard from local tradition, that it was she who founded Mantua. At any rate, he was convinced that the version of the tale in the *Æneid* was wrong and should be corrected, the correction he courteously put into the mouth of Virgil himself. But that is not all: the 'cruel virgin' involves us in a problem still more perplexing. In *Purg.* XXII, 113, Virgil assigns 'la figlia di Tiresia' to the Limbus, where he himself dwells. It is incredible that our poet should have forgotten where he had put Manto, after all the talk about her. We are almost forced to the conclusion that the passage in *Inf.* XX was written after the line in *Purg.* XXII, and that Dante neglected to alter the latter in accordance with the former. It is likely that in his first draft of *Inf.* XX he introduced the Etruscan Manto, and attributed to her the name of Mantua, as the *Æneid* does; but later, changing his view, substituted the Theban Manto, and wrote the verses as we have them.

For the time-reference at the end of the canto, see the general note at the beginning of the *Inferno*. — For an ingenious view of Virgil's attitude toward soothsayers, see D' Ovidio, 92–112, 118–46; cf. *Bull.*, X, 225. — For Manto and Mantua, see Moore, I, 173; F. Cipolla in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LXI, 159; *Bull.*, XII, 84.

Di nuova pena mi convien far versi,
  E dar materia al ventesimo canto
  Della prima canzon, ch' è de' sommersi.
Io era già disposto tutto quanto
  A riguardar nello scoperto fondo, 5
  Che si bagnava d' angoscioso pianto;
E vidi gente per lo vallon tondo
  Venir tacendo e lagrimando, al passo
  Che fanno le letane in questo mondo.
Come il viso mi scese in lor più basso, 10
  Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto

3. *Prima canzon:* the first *cantica* of the *Commedia*, dealing with souls 'sunk' in Hell.

9. *Letane=litanie*, slow-moving religious processions chanting litanies.

Ciascun tra 'l mento e 'l principio del casso;
Chè dalle reni era tornato il volto,
Ed indietro venir gli convenia,
Perchè il veder dinanzi era lor tolto. 15
Forse per forza già di parlasìa
Si travolse così alcun del tutto;
Ma io nol vidi, nè credo che sia.
Se Dio ti lasci, lettor, prender frutto
Di tua lezione, or pensa per te stesso, 20
Com' io potea tener lo viso asciutto,
Quando la nostra imagine da presso
Vidi sì torta che il pianto degli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso.
Certo i' piangea, poggiato ad un de' rocchi 25
Del duro scoglio, sì che la mia scorta
Mi disse: 'Ancor sei tu degli altri sciocchi?
Qui vive la pietà quando è ben morta.
Chi è più scellerato che colui
Che al giudizio divin passion porta? 30
Drizza la testa, drizza, e vedi a cui
S' aperse agli occhi de' Teban la terra,
Per ch' ei gridavan tutti: "Dove rui,
Anfiarao? perchè lasci la guerra?"
E non restò di ruinare a valle 35
Fino a Minòs, che ciascheduno afferra.

12. *Casso*, 'chest.'
13. *Dalle reni*, 'toward the reins,' i. e., backwards.
16. *Parlasìa* = *paralisi*.
19. *Se Dio*, etc.: a formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
27. Art thou still a fool like other mortals?
30. *Passion porta*, 'feels compassion.'
33. *Rui*, Latin *ruis*, 'fallest': *Thebaid*, VIII, 84–5, 'Qui . . . præceps . . . per inane ruis.'
34. The story of Amphiaraus, the augur, one of the seven kings who besieged Thebes, is told by Statius in the *Thebaid*, VII, 815 ff. and VIII, 1 ff.
35. *A valle*, 'downward.'

Mira che ha fatto petto delle spalle.
  Perchè volle veder troppo davante,
  Diretro guarda, e fa retroso calle.
Vedi Tiresia, che mutò sembiante, 40
  Quando di maschio femmina divenne,
  Cangiandosi le membra tutte quante ;
E prima poi ribatter gli convenne
  Li duo serpenti avvolti con la verga,
  Che rïavesse le maschili penne. 45
Aronta è quel che al ventre gli s' atterga,
  Che nei monti di Luni, dove ronca
  Lo Carrarese che di sotto alberga,
Ebbe tra bianchi marmi la spelonca
  Per sua dimora ; onde a guardar le stelle 50
  E il mar non gli era la veduta tronca.
E quella che ricopre le mammelle,
  Che tu non vedi, con le trecce sciolte,
  E ha di là ogni pilosa pelle,
Manto fu, che cercò per terre molte, 55
  Poscia si pose là dove nacqu' io ;
  Onde un poco mi piace che m' ascolte.
Poscia che il padre suo di vita uscìo,

39. *Retroso*, 'backward.'

40. Tiresias was a famous soothsayer of Thebes. The incident here referred to is related in *Met.*, III, 324–31: having struck with his stick two snakes that were together, he became a woman; seven years later, striking the same snakes again, he regained his male form.

45. *Le maschili penne*, 'his male plumage.'

46. *S' atterga*, 'backs up' to the belly of Tiresias, i. e., follows him. Aruns was an Etruscan soothsayer of Cæsar's time, of whom Lucan says, in *Phars.*, I, 586

'Aruns incoluit desertæ mœnia Lunæ.'

The mountain cave seems to be an invention of Dante, who was in Lunigiana in 1306.

47. *Ronca*, 'clips' branches on the mountains.

55. Manto was the daughter of Tiresias of Thebes.

58. *Uscìo=uscì;* so *gìo=gì*, i. e., *andò*.

E venne serva la città di Baco,
Questa gran tempo per lo mondo gìo. 60
Suso in Italia bella giace un laco
Appiè dell' alpe che serra Lamagna
Sopra Tiralli, ch' ha nome Benaco.
Per mille fonti, credo, e più si bagna,
Tra Garda e Val Camonica, Apennino 65
Dell' acqua che nel detto lago stagna.
Loco è nel mezzo là, dove il Trentino
Pastore, e quel di Brescia, e il Veronese
Segnar potria, se fesse quel cammino.
Siede Peschiera, bello e forte arnese 70
Da fronteggiar Bresciani e Bergamaschi,
Ove la riva intorno più discese.
Ivi convien che tutto quanto caschi
Ciò che in grembo a Benaco star non può,
E fassi fiume giù per verdi paschi. 75
Tosto che l' acqua a correr mette co,
Non più Benaco, ma Mincio si chiama

59. *Baco* for *Bacco*, an imperfect rhyme: cf. VIII, 17. Bacchus was the son of the Theban Semele. Thebes came under the rule of the tyrant Creon.

61. *Laco*=*lago*.

62. *Lamagna*=*Alemagna*, i. e., *Germania*.

63. *Tiralli*=*Tirolo*, 'Tyrol.' *Benaco* is Lake Garda; Garda rises on the east of it, Val Camonica is a long valley some distance west of it.

65. This very puzzling tiercet seems to mean that a certain Mt. Pennino, sometimes called Apennino, at the west of Benaco, has its lower slopes full of springs coming from the water of the lake.

67. There is a point in or near the lake where the dioceses of Trent, Brescia, and Verona meet, so that any one of the three bishops might *segnar*, make the sign of the cross, in that spot. Lines connecting the towns would make a triangle around the lake.

69. *Fesse*=*facesse*.

70. *Peschiera* is on the south side of the lake, where the shore is low. *Arnese* meant, among other things, 'armor,' that is to say, a shield or bulwark to resist the Brescians and the Bergamasques.

75. *Fassi*=*si fa*.

76. *Mette co*, 'begins.' *Co* is a dialect word for *capo*.

Fino a Governo, dove cade in Po.
Non molto ha corso, che trova una lama,
Nella qual si distende e la impaluda, 80
E suol di state talora esser grama.
Quindi passando la vergine cruda
Vide terra nel mezzo del pantano,
Senza cultura, e d' abitanti nuda.
Lì, per fuggire ogni consorzio umano, 85
Ristette co' suoi servi a far sue arti,
E visse, e vi lasciò suo corpo vano.
Gli uomini poi che intorno erano sparti
S' accolsero a quel loco, ch' era forte
Per lo pantan che avea da tutte parti. 90
Fer la città sopra quell' ossa morte;
E per colei che il loco prima elesse
Mantova l' appellar senz' altra sorte.
Già fur le genti sue dentro più spesse,
Prima che la mattìa di Casalodi 95
Da Pinamonte inganno ricevesse.
Però t' assenno, che se tu mai odi
Originar la mia terra altrimenti,
La verità nulla menzogna frodi.'
Ed io: 'Maestro, i tuoi ragionamenti 100
Mi son sì certi, e prendon sì mia fede,

78. At Governo, or Governolo, the river Mincio empties into the Po.
79. *Lama*, 'flat.'
81. *Grama*, 'noisome.'
91. *Fer* = *fecero*.
93. *Mantova*, 'Mantua.' *Sorte*, 'augury.'
95. The Ghibelline Pinamonte Bonaccorsi treacherously advised the Guelf Count Alberto da Casalodi, lord of Mantua, to exile the nobles so as to win the favor of the people. Stupidly following this counsel, and thus depriving himself of his support, Casalodi was driven from the city, with much slaughter and banishment of the Guelfs.
97. *Assenno*, 'warn.'
99. 'No falsehood shall defraud the truth.'

Che gli altri mi sarian carboni spenti.
Ma dimmi della gente che procede,
Se tu ne vedi alcun degno di nota;
Chè solo a ciò la mia mente rifiede.' 105
Allor mi disse: 'Quel che dalla gota
Porge la barba in sulle spalle brune,
Fu, quando Grecia fu di maschi vota
Sì che appena rimaser per le cune,
Augure, e diede il punto con Calcanta 110
In Aulide a tagliar la prima fune.
Eurìpilo ebbe nome, e così il canta
L' alta mia Tragedìa in alcun loco:
Ben lo sai tu, che la sai tutta quanta.
Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco, 115
Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il gioco.
Vedi Guido Bonatti, vedi Asdente,

102. *Sarian=sarebbero.*
105. *Rifiede*, 'reverts.'
108. All the men of Greece had gone to the Trojan war.
113. *Tragedia:* cf. XVI, 127. The *Æneid*, which, according to l. 114, Dante knew by heart, 'sings' of this man *così*, i. e., with the name Eurypȳlus, in II, 114-5:

'Suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phœbi
Mittimus.'

The Greeks, in their doubt, send him to consult the oracle of Phœbus. In ll. 122-4 the augur Calchas is questioned about the will of the Gods. The two characters being thus associated in the poem, Dante inferred that Eurypylus, like Calchas, was a soothsayer, and that he assisted Calchas in determining 'the right moment for cutting the first cable at Aulis,' when the Greeks set sail for Troy. Cf. D' Ovidio, 147-9.

116. Michael Scot, the Scotch scholar, who lived many years at the court of Frederick II, had great repute as a sorcerer. Where Dante learned that he was 'spare in the flanks,' we do not know. Cf. J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scott*, 1897.

118. Guido Bonatti of Forlì, a famous astrologer of the 13th century, was at the court of Frederick II and several other princes. Asdente, a poor cobbler of Parma, of simple and modest disposition, was known far and wide as a prophet; in *Conv.*, IV, xvi, 59-71, Dante says that if, as some think, *nobile* meant 'essere da molti nominato e conosciuto . . . , Asdente, il calzolaio di Parma, sarebbe più nobile che alcuno suo cittadino.'

Che avere inteso al cuoio ed allo spago
Ora vorrebbe, ma tardi si pente. 120
Vedi le triste che lasciaron l' ago,
La spuola e il fuso, e fecersi indovine;
Fecer malìe con erbe e con imago.
Ma vienne omai, chè già tiene il confine
D' ambedue gli emisperi, e tocca l' onda 125
Sotto Sibilia, Caïno e le spine;
E già iernotte fu la luna tonda:
Ben ten dee ricordar, chè non ti nocque
Alcuna volta per la selva fonda.'
Sì mi parlava, ed andavamo introcque. 130

123. *Imago:* wax or silver images of people were melted, to bring about their death. Tor. cites two trials for this crime in 1317 and 1319; in the latter it was asserted that one of the Visconti had sought, for the working of this spell, the aid of 'Master Dante Alighieri of Florence.'

124. The subject of *tiene* is *Caino.* The Man in the Moon, in Italian folklore, is Cain, who carries a bundle of thorns, 'the fruit of the ground.' The moon is directly over the dividing line between the Hemisphere of Land and the Hemisphere of Water; this circle passes close to Seville on the west and the Ganges on the east. For an observer in Jerusalem, the moon, which is nearly over Seville, is just setting; it is about 6 A. M. To indicate the time of day more precisely, Virgil adds that the moon is one night past the full — 'yesternight the moon was round,' when its light was of some use to Dante in the 'deep wood'; it sets, then, somewhat after sunrise.

130. In *Vulg. El.*, I, xiii, 19, Dante cites *introcque* as a Florentine dialect word; it signifies 'meanwhile.'

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

In nearly all mediæval portrayals of the lower world the grotesque runs riot. Dante, while not discarding this element, has brought it within narrow bounds. In the fifth *bolgia*, however, he gives free rein to the comic spirit, which dominates this canto and the next. Here, too, he reflects, as nowhere else, the popular Christian conception of Hell. As in the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, a devil arrives carrying a lost soul, — although the damned, according to Dante's regular plan, should sink unaided to their proper place by the weight of their own sin. The guardians of this ditch are the roguish fiends of folklore; they are more or less individualized, receiving fantastic names. Their generic designation is *Malebranche*, 'Badpaws'; *Alichino* is perhaps the French *Hallequin*, leader of the Wild Hunt; *Farfarello* seems to be a traditional demon-name; *Barbariccia*, *Cagnazzo*, *Graffiacane*, *Malacoda*, *Rubicante* mean respectively 'Curlybeard,' 'Mean Dog,' 'Dogscratcher,' 'Badtail,' 'Rubicund.' Some of the appellations appear to be ludicrous distortions of the names of real people: there was a prominent Malabranca family in Rome; the Raffacani were numerous in Florence; a Pietro di Malacoda is attested; and Torraca cites, among others, Canasso, Scaldabrina, Ciriolo, Dragonetto, Biccicocco, Scormiglio, which are not unlike *Cagnazzo*, *Calcabrina*, *Ciriatto*, *Draghignazzo*, *Libicocco*, *Scarmiglione*. The whole humorous interlude, characterized by coarseness of incident and language, serves both to express contempt for the sinners and their earthly judges, and to afford a relief from the horrors that precede and follow.

The peculiarity of swindlers is that they do dirty work in the dark; and unless they remain under cover, they are seized by the officers of the law. So Dante's barrators, or grafters, pursue their eternal career beneath the surface of a ditch full of boiling pitch, and demons stand ready to snatch them with hooks, if they attempt to 'air themselves.' Cunning as they were on earth, they still incessantly scheme to cheat and elude their watchers; and these, just as tricky and far more vile and mischievous, are as eager to catch the innocent as the guilty. Dante himself barely evades their wiles, even Reason being temporarily deceived, though human instinct is apprehensive. The poet here introduces a bit of autobiography. It will be remembered that in 1302 he was accused (as a pretext for

banishment) of several crimes, among them barratry committed when he was prior, in 1300; and was condemned to death by fire if taken in Florentine territory. In reality, then, as in the *Comedy*, he had a narrow escape from infernal machinations. The mention of the pitch leads to a lifelike description of the great arsenal, or shipyard, in Venice, famous during and after the Middle Ages, where the sailors, as is the habit of seafaring folk the world over, utilize the enforced idleness of winter to repair their damaged craft.

To entrap Dante and his too confiding guide, the leader of the Malebranche informs them that though the nearest bridge over the following valley is broken, the next ridge will afford them a safe passage. This arch was shattered, he says, when Christ descended into Hell, 1266 years ago yesterday, and five hours later in the day. Now Dante, in *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 92-110, after expressing the opinion that the age of thirty-five is the culminating point of the perfect human life, continues: 'E movemi questa ragione, che ottimamente naturato fue il nostro Salvadore Cristo, il quale volle morire nel trentaquattresimo anno della sua etade; chè non era convenevole la Divinità stare così in discrescere. Nè da credere è ch' Egli non volesse dimorare in questa nostra vita al sommo, poichè stato c' era nel basso stato della puerizia. E ciò ne manifesta l' ora del giorno della sua morte, chè volle quella consomigliare colla vita sua; onde dice Luca che era quasi ora sesta quando morìo, che è a dire lo colmo del dì. Onde si può comprendere per quello quasi che al trentacinquesimo anno di Cristo era il colmo della sua età.' Not only is this argument curiously lame, but its very foundation is false, for Luke does not state that 'era quasi ora sesta' when Christ died. What he does say (xxiii, 44-5), after recording the conversation between Jesus and the thief, is: 'And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.' Matthew (xxvii, 45, 46, 51) and Mark (xv, 33, 34, 38) agree in putting the crucifixion and the beginning of the darkness at the sixth hour (noon), the death and the rending of the veil of the temple at the ninth (3 P. M.); and there is nothing in Luke's vaguer statement that is inconsistent with this. If Dante, when he wrote Canto XXI, still adhered to the opinion set forth in the *Convivio*, the colloquy between Virgil and the fiend occurred at 7 A. M., five hours before noon; if, on the other hand, he had rejected this untenable view, the hour was 10 A. M. It was, in any case, the morning of Saturday, April 9, the day following Good Friday, in the year 1300, counting from the Conception — 1266 years after the death of Christ, who expired, according to Dante's belief, at the age of thirty-three, just thirty-four years after the Conception.

Così di ponte in ponte, altro parlando
Che la mia commedìa cantar non cura,
Venimmo, e tenevamo il colmo, quando
Ristemmo per veder l' altra fessura
Di Malebolge e gli altri pianti vani; 5
E vidila mirabilmente oscura.
Quale nell' Arzanà de' Viniziani
Bolle l' inverno la tenace pece
A rimpalmar li legni lor non sani, —
Chè navicar non ponno, e in quella vece 10
Chi fa suo legno nuovo, e chi ristoppa
Le coste a quel che più vïaggi fece;
Chi ribatte da proda, e chi da poppa;
Altri fa remi, ed altri volge sarte;
Chi terzeruolo ed artimon rintoppa: 15
Tal, non per foco ma per divina arte
Bollia laggiuso una pegola spessa
Che inviscava la ripa da ogni parte.
Io vedea lei, ma non vedeva in essa
Ma' che le bolle che il bollor levava, 20
E gonfiar tutta, e riseder compressa.
Mentr' io laggiù fisamente mirava,
Lo Duca mio, dicendo: 'Guarda, guarda,'
Mi trasse a sè del loco dov' io stava.
Allor mi volsi come l' uom cui tarda 25
Di veder quel che gli convien fuggire,

3. *Colmo:* the summit of the bridge over the fifth *bolgia.*
7. *Quale* connects with the *tal* of l. 16. *Arzanà* (Venetian) = *arsenale.*
10. *In quella vece,* 'instead.'
11. *Ristoppa,* 'caulks.'
15. *Terzeruolo,* 'foresail.' *Artimon,* 'mainsail.' *Rintoppa,* 'patches.'
17. *Pegola,* 'pitch.'
18. *Inviscava,* 'coated.'
20. *Ma'* (Latin *magis*) = *più:* cf. IV, 26.
25. *Cui tarda,* 'who longs': cf. IX, 9.

E cui paura subita sgagliarda,
Che per veder non indugia il partire;
E vidi dietro a noi un diavol nero
Correndo su per lo scoglio venire. 30
Ahi quanto egli era nell' aspetto fiero!
E quanto mi parea nell' atto acerbo,
Con l' ali aperte, e sopra il piè leggiero!
L' omero suo, ch' era acuto e superbo,
Carcava un peccator con ambo l' anche, 35
E quei tenea de' piè ghermito il nerbo.
Del nostro ponte disse, 'O Malebranche,
Ecco un degli anzïan di santa Zita.
Mettetel sotto, ch' io torno per anche
A quella terra ch' i' n' ho ben fornita: 40
Ognun v' è barattier, fuor che Bonturo.
Del *no*, per li denar, vi si fa *ita*.'
Laggiù il buttò, e per lo scoglio duro
Si vòlse, e mai non fu mastino sciolto
Con tanta fretta a seguitar lo furo. 45
Quei s' attuffò, e tornò su convolto;
Ma i demon, che del ponte avean coperchio,
Gridar: 'Qui non ha loco il Santo Volto!

27. *Sgagliarda*, 'dismays.'
34. *Superbo*, 'high.' *Omero* is the object of *carcava*; the subject is *peccator*.
36. *Ghermito*, 'gripped.' *Nerbo*, 'sinew.'
37. *Del* here, as frequently, means *dal*.
38. The chief magistrates of Lucca were called Ancients. Santa Zita, who lived in the 13th century, was the special patron saint of Lucca.
39. *Anche*, 'more.'
41. *Fuor che Bonturo* is ironical: Bonturo Dati, boss of Lucca, was the worst grafter of all; in 1300 he was at the height of his power.
42. The Latin *ita* was used in clerical language for 'yes.'
46. *Convolto*, 'hunched up.' His shape suggests to the humorous demons the attitude of prayer.
48. *Non ha loco*, 'has no business.' The 'Holy Face,' a very ancient image of Christ, ascribed to Nicodemus, was held in great veneration in Lucca, and was invoked in time of need. Cf. W. Foerster in *Mélanges Chabaneau*, 1–56.

Qui si nuota altrimenti che nel Serchio !
  Però se tu non vuoi de' nostri graffi, 50
  Non far sopra la pegola soperchio.'
Poi l' addentar con più di cento raffi ;
  Disser : 'Coperto convien che qui balli,
  Sì che, se puoi, nascosamente accaffi.'
Non altrimenti i cuochi ai lor vassalli 55
  Fanno attuffare in mezzo la caldaia
  La carne cogli uncin, perchè non galli.
Lo buon Maestro : 'Acciocchè non si paia
  Che tu ci sii,' mi disse, 'giù t' acquatta
  Dopo uno scheggio che alcun schermo t' àia ; 60
E per nulla offension che mi sia fatta,
  Non temer tu, ch' io ho le cose conte,
  Perchè altra volta fui a tal baratta.'
Poscia passò di là dal co del ponte,
  E com' ei giunse in su la ripa sesta, 65
  Mestier gli fu d' aver sicura fronte.
Con quel furor e con quella tempesta
  Ch' escono i cani addosso al poverello,
  Che di subito chiede ove s' arresta,
Usciron quei di sotto al ponticello, 70
  E volser contra lui tutti i roncigli ;

49. The Serchio is a stream near Lucca.
50. *Graffi*, 'hooks.'
51. *Far soperchio*, 'project.'
52. *Raffi*, 'prongs.'
54. *Accaffi*, 'grab.'
55. *Vassalli*, 'scullions.'
57. *Galli*, 'float.'
59. *T' acquatta*, 'squat.'
60. *Uno scheggio*, 'a block' of stone on the bridge. — *Aia* = *abbia*.
62. *Conte*, 'known.'
63. *Baratta*, 'wrangle.'
64. *Co* = *capo* : cf. XX, 76.
69. He stops and begs where he is, instead of going up to the house.
71. *Roncigli*, 'grapples.'

Ma ei gridò : 'Nessun di voi sia fello.
Innanzi che l' uncin vostro mi pigli,
Traggasi avanti l' un di voi che m' oda,
E poi d' arroncigliarmi si consigli.' 75
Tutti gridaron : 'Vada Malacoda.'
Per che un si mosse, e gli altri stetter fermi ;
E venne a lui dicendo : 'Che gli approda?'
'Credi tu, Malacoda, qui vedermi
Esser venuto,' disse il mio Maestro, 80
'Sicuro già da tutti vostri schermi,
Senza voler divino e fato destro?
Lasciane andar, chè nel cielo è voluto
Ch' io mostri altrui questo cammin silvestro.'
Allor gli fu l' orgoglio sì caduto, 85
Che si lasciò cascar l' uncino ai piedi,
E disse agli altri : 'Omai non sia feruto.'
E il Duca mio a me : 'O tu, che siedi
Tra gli scheggion del ponte quatto quatto,
Sicuramente omai a me tu riedi.' 90
Per ch' io mi mossi, ed a lui venni ratto ;
E i diavoli si fecer tutti avanti,
Sì ch' io temetti non tenesser patto.
E così vid' io già temer li fanti
Ch' uscivan patteggiati di Caprona, 95
Veggendo sè tra nimici cotanti.
Io m' accostai con tutta la persona
Lungo il mio Duca, e non torceva gli occhi
Dalla sembianza lor, ch' era non buona.

78. *Approda*, 'profits.'
89. *Scheggion*, 'splinters.' *Quatto quatto*, 'all asquat.'
95. *Patteggiati*, 'under safe-conduct.' Caprona, a town on the Arno, surrendered in 1289 to the troops of Lucca and Florence. It is evident from these lines that Dante was serving with the Florentines.

Ei chinavan li raffi, e: 'Vuoi che 'l tocchi,' 100
Diceva l' un con l' altro, 'in sul groppone?'
E rispondean: 'Sì, fa' che gliele accocchi.'
Ma quel demonio che tenea sermone
Col Duca mio, si volse tutto presto
E disse: 'Posa, posa, Scarmiglione.' 105
Poi disse a noi: 'Più oltre andar per questo
Iscoglio non si può, perocchè giace
Tutto spezzato al fondo l' arco sesto.
E se l' andare avanti pur vi piace,
Andatevene su per questa grotta; 110
Presso è un altro scoglio che via face.
Ier, più oltre cinqu' ore che quest' otta,
Mille dugento con sessanta sei
Anni compiè, che qui la via fu rotta.
Io mando verso là di questi miei 115
A riguardar s' alcun se ne sciorina;
Gite con lor, ch' ei non saranno rei.'
'Tratti avanti, Alichino e Calcabrina,'
Cominciò egli a dire, 'e tu, Cagnazzo,
E Barbariccia guidi la decina. 120
Libicocco vegna oltre, e Draghignazzo,
Ciriatto sannuto, e Graffiacane,
E Farfarello, e Rubicante pazzo.

101. *Groppone*, 'rump.'
102. *Gliele accocchi*, 'give it to him.' In early Italian *le* was often used, after *glie*, as an invariable pronoun.
107. *Iscoglio*=*scoglio*.
110. *Grotta*, 'bank.'
112. *Ier* is the subject of *compiè*; the object is *anni*.—*Più oltre*, 'later.' *Otta*=*ora*: cf. V, 53.
116. *Se ne sciorina*, 'is airing himself': whether any of the sinners is emerging from the pitch.
117. *Rei*, 'wicked.'
120. *Decina*, 'squad of ten.'
122. *Sannuto*, 'tusked.'

Cercate intorno le boglienti pane.
  Costor sien salvi insino all' altro scheggio, 125
  Che tutto intero va sopra le tane.'
'O me! Maestro, che è quel che io veggio?'
  Diss' io: 'deh! senza scorta andiamci soli,
  Se tu sai ir, ch' io per me non la chieggio.
Se tu sei sì accorto come suoli, 130
  Non vedi tu ch' ei digrignan li denti,
  E colle ciglia ne minaccian duoli?'
Ed egli a me: 'Non vo' che tu paventi.
  Lasciali digrignar pure a lor senno,
  Ch' ei fanno ciò per li lessi dolenti.' 135
Per l' argine sinistro volta dienno;
  Ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta
  Coi denti, verso lor duca per cenno,
Ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta.

124. *Pane*=*panie*, 'bird-lime,' 'glue.'
129. *Chieggio*=*chiedo.*
132. *Duoli*, 'harm.'
134. *A lor senno*, 'as they will.'
135. *Lessi*, 'boiled': the sinners in the pitch.
136. *Dienno*=*diedero.* They proceed along the bank, at the left of the bridge.

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

Opening in mock heroic continuation of the gross theme immediately preceding, this canto goes on to describe the ways of grafters — who, it would seem, are especially rife in remote dependencies. It relates the capture of one of them by the infernal sleuth-hounds, and his clever escape from the domineering Barbariccia, the suspicious Cagnazzo, the over-confident Alichino, the quarrelsome Calcabrina, and their fierce comrades.

Io vidi già cavalier muover campo,
E cominciare stormo, e far lor mostra,
E talvolta partir per loro scampo ;
Corridor vidi per la terra vostra,
O Aretini, e vidi gir gualdane, 5
Ferir torneamenti, e correr giostra,
Quando con trombe, e quando con campane,
Con tamburi e con cenni di castella,
E con cose nostrali e con istrane :
Nè già con sì diversa cennamella 10
Cavalier vidi muover, nè pedoni,
Nè nave a segno di terra o di stella.
Noi andavam con li dieci dimoni.
Ahi fiera compagnia! ma nella chiesa
Coi santi, ed in taverna coi ghiottoni. 15

2. *Stormo*, 'battle.' *Mostra*, 'muster.'
4. *Corridor*, 'scouts.' Dante was present at the battle of Campaldino, in 1289, when the forces of Arezzo (the 'Aretines') were defeated by those of Florence and Lucca.
5. *Gualdane*, 'foraging parties.'
8. *Cenni*, 'signals.'
9. *Nostrali*, 'native.' *Istrane*, 'foreign.'
10. *Cennamella*, 'pipe.' *Diversa* here, as often, means 'strange.'
15. This sounds like a popular proverb. Cf. Ps. xviii, 26: 'With the pure

Pure alla pegola era la mia intesa,
  Per veder della bolgia ogni contegno,
  E della gente ch' entro v' era incesa.
Come i delfini, quando fanno segno
  Ai marinar con l' arco della schiena, 20
  Che s' argomentin di campar lor legno,
Talor così ad alleggiar la pena
  Mostrava alcun dei peccatori il dosso,
  E nascondeva in men che non balena.
E come all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso 25
  Stanno i ranocchi pur col muso fuori,
  Sì che celano i piedi e l' altro grosso,
Sì stavan d' ogni parte i peccatori;
  Ma come s' appressava Barbariccia,
  Così si ritraean sotto i bollori. 30
Io vidi, ed anco il cor me n' accapriccia,
  Uno aspettar così, com' egli incontra
  Che una rana rimane, ed altra spiccia.
E Graffiacan, che gli era più d' incontra,
  Gli arronciglio le impegolate chiome, 35
  E trassel su, che mi parve una lontra.
Io sapea già di tutti quanti il nome,
  Sì li notai quando furono eletti,
  E poi che si chiamaro, attesi come.
'O Rubicante, fa' che tu gli metti 40

thou wilt shew thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt shew thyself froward'; see also II Sam. xii, 26.

16. *Pure*, 'only.' *Intesa*, 'attention.'

17. *Contegno*, 'condition.'

21. *S' argomentin*, 'take measures.' The belief that dolphins warn sailors of an approaching storm was very common: see Tor.

22. *Alleggiar*, 'alleviate.'

32. *Egli incontra*, 'it happens.'

33. *Spiccia*, 'hurries off.'

37. Dante explains how it is that he knows the name of this demon.

39. 'And when they were called by name, I noticed how.'

Gli unghioni addosso sì che tu lo scuoi,'
Gridavan tutti insieme i maledetti.
Ed io: 'Maestro mio, fa', se tu puoi,
Che tu sappi chi è lo sciagurato
Venuto a man degli avversari suoi.' 45
Lo Duca mio gli s' accostò allato,
Domandollo ond' ei fosse, e quei rispose:
'Io fui del regno di Navarra nato.
Mia madre a servo d' un signor mi pose,
Che m' avea generato d' un ribaldo 50
Distruggitor di sè e di sue cose.
Poi fui famiglio del buon re Tebaldo;
Quivi mi misi a far baratteria,
Di che io rendo ragione in questo caldo.'
E Ciriatto, a cui di bocca uscìa 55
D' ogni parte una sanna come a porco,
Gli fe' sentir come l' una sdrucìa.
Tra male gatte era venuto il sorco;
Ma Barbariccia il chiuse con le braccia,
E disse: 'State in là, mentr' io lo inforco.' 60
Ed al Maestro mio volse la faccia:
'Domanda,' disse, 'ancor, se più desii
Saper da lui, prima ch' altri il disfaccia.'
Lo Duca: 'Dunque or di', degli altri rii

46. *Allato*, 'beside.'
48. Some of the early commentators ascribe to this man from Navarre the name of Ciampolo or Giampolo, but we really know of him only what Dante tells us.
50. *Ribaldo*, 'rogue.'
52. Thibaut V, count of Champagne, son-in-law of Louis IX of France, was king of Navarre in the middle of the 13th century. — *Famiglio*, 'retainer.'
54. *Rendo ragione*, 'pay reckoning.' Cf. Luke xvi, 2: 'redde rationem,' 'give an account.'
58. *Sorco*=*sorcio*.
60. *Lo inforco*, 'hold him forked,' i. e., in my clutches.
64. *Rii*=*rei*.

Conosci tu alcun che sia Latino 65
Sotto la pece?' E quegli: 'Io mi partii
Poco è da un che fu di là vicino;
Così foss' io ancor con lui coperto,
Ch' io non temerei unghia nè uncino.'
E Libicocco: 'Troppo avem sofferto,' 70
Disse, e presegli il braccio col ronciglio,
Sì che, stracciando, ne portò un lacerto.
Draghignazzo anco i volle dar di piglio
Giuso alle gambe; onde il decurio loro
Si volse intorno intorno con mal piglio. 75
Quand' elli un poco rappaciati foro,
A lui, che ancor mirava sua ferita,
Domandò il Duca mio senza dimoro:
'Chi fu colui, da cui mala partita
Di' che facesti per venire a proda?' 80
Ed ei rispose: 'Fu frate Gomita,
Quel di Gallura, vasel d' ogni froda,
Ch' ebbe i nimici di suo donno in mano,
E fe' sì lor, che ciascun se ne loda:

65. *Latino*, 'Italian.'
67. *Poco è*, 'a little while ago.' *Di là vicino*, 'from near there,' i. e., from an island near Italy.
72. *Lacerto*, 'sinew.'
73. *I=gli. Dar di piglio*, 'lay hold': cf. XII, 105.
74. *Decurio*, 'decurion,' leader of the *decina*.
75. *Piglio*, 'look.' In Italian, as in French, words of identical form may rhyme together, if the sense is different.
76. *Rappaciati*, pacified.' *Foro=furono.*
78. *Dimoro*, 'delay.'
79. *Mala partita*, 'luckless parting': cf. ll. 66–8.
82. The Pisans, who conquered Sardinia, divided it into four provinces, or *giudicati*, Gallura, Logudoro, Arborea, and Cagliari, each of which was governed by a *giudice*. The early commentators say that the governor of Gallura, at the time of this Friar Gomita, was Nino Visconti, who appears in *Purg.* VIII, 53. It is said that Gomita was hanged.
83. *Donno*, 'master.'
84. *Se ne loda*, 'is thankful to him for it.'

Denar si tolse, e lasciolli di piano, 85
Sì com' ei dice ; e negli altri offizi anche
Barattier fu non picciol, ma sovrano.
Usa con esso donno Michel Zanche
Di Logodoro ; ed a dir di Sardigna
Le lingue lor non si sentono stanche. 90
O me ! vedete l' altro che digrigna !
Io direi anco ; ma io temo ch' ello
Non s' apparecchi a grattarmi la tigna.'
E il gran proposto, volto a Farfarello,
Che stralunava gli occhi per ferire, 95
Disse : 'Fatti in costà, malvagio uccello.'
'Se voi volete vedere o udire,'
Ricominciò lo spaurato appresso,
'Toschi o Lombardi, io ne farò venire.
Ma stien le male branche un poco in cesso, 100
Sì ch' ei non teman delle lor vendette ;
Ed io, sedendo in questo loco stesso,
Per un ch' io son, ne farò venir sette,
Quand' io sufolerò, com' è nostr' uso
Di fare allor che fuori alcun si mette.' 105
Cagnazzo a cotal motto levò il muso,
Crollando il capo, e disse : 'Odi malizia

85. *Lasciolli di piano*, 'let them go without legal process.' *Di piano* = Latin *de planu :* cf. *Bull.*, IX, 257.
88. *Usa*, 'frequents.' Michel Zanche is not mentioned in any document; he is said to have been vicar of King Enzo of Sardinia, son of Frederick II. From XXXIII, 144, we learn that he was murdered by Branca Doria.
92. *Anco*, 'more.'
94. *Proposto*, 'provost.'
98. *Spaurato*, 'reassured.'
100. *In cesso*, 'aside.'
103. 'Seven times as many as I am.'
104. *Sufolerò*, 'I shall whistle.' He says it is the custom, among these souls, that one shall peep out, and whistle if the coast is clear.
107. *Malizia*, 'trick.'

Ch' egli ha pensata per gittarsi giuso.'
Ond' ei ch' avea lacciuoli a gran divizia,
Rispose : 'Malizioso son io troppo, 110
Quand' io procuro a' miei maggior tristizia.'
Alichin non si tenne, e di rintoppo
Agli altri disse a lui : 'Se tu ti cali,
Io non ti verrò dietro di galoppo,
Ma batterò sopra la pece l' ali. 115
Lascisi il colle, e sia la ripa scudo,
A veder se tu sol più di noi vali.'
O tu che leggi, udirai nuovo ludo !
Ciascun dall' altra costa gli occhi volse ;
Quei prima, ch' a ciò fare era più crudo. 120
Lo Navarrese ben suo tempo colse,
Fermò le piante a terra, ed in un punto
Saltò, e dal proposto lor si sciolse.
Di che ciascun di colpa fu compunto,
Ma quei più, che cagion fu del difetto ; 125
Però si mosse, e gridò : 'Tu se' giunto.'
Ma poco i valse ; chè l' ali al sospetto
Non potero avanzar : quegli andò sotto,

[illegible]. *Lacciuoli*, 'snares,' i. e., wiles. *Divizia*, 'abundance.'
[illegible]. He tries to put the demons off the scent: 'To be sure, I am over tricky, when I get my fellows into worse trouble.'
112. *Di rintoppo*, 'contrary.'
115. That is, 'I shall not run after thee, but fly.'
116. *Il colle* is the high edge of the inner bank of the 5th *bolgia*. The demons are to go a little way down the slope toward the 6th valley, so that the bank will hide them from the sinners in the pitch.
118. *Ludo*, 'sport.'
119. They turned their backs on the 5th *bolgia*, to go toward the slope of the 6th.
120. *Quei :* Cagnazzo. *Crudo*, 'averse.'
123. *Proposto*, 'purpose.'
124. *Di colpa compunto*, 'stung with blame,' i. e., ashamed.
125. *Quei :* Alichino. *Difetto*, 'loss.'
127. *I=gli.* 'Wings could not outfly fear.'
128. *Quegli :* the sinner.

E quei drizzò, volando suso, il petto.
Non altrimenti l' anitra di botto, 130
Quando il falcon s' appressa, giù s' attuffa,
Ed ei ritorna su crucciato e rotto.
Irato Calcabrina della buffa,
Volando dietro gli tenne, invaghito
Che quei campasse, per aver la zuffa. 135
E come il barattier fu disparito,
Così volse gli artigli al suo compagno,
E fu con lui sopra il fosso ghermito.
Ma l' altro fu bene sparvier grifagno
Ad artigliar ben lui, ed ambedue 140
Cadder nel mezzo del bollente stagno.
Lo caldo sghermitor subito fue ;
Ma però di levarsi era niente,
Sì aveano inviscate l' ali sue.
Barbariccia, con gli altri suoi dolente, 145
Quattro ne fe' volar dall' altra costa
Con tutti i raffi, ed assai prestamente,
Di qua, di là, discesero alla posta ;
Porser gli uncini verso gl' impaniati,
Ch' eran già cotti dentro dalla crosta. 150
E noi lasciammo lor così impacciati.

129. *Quei:* Alichino, who plunged after the fugitive, and barely threw back his head and chest in time to escape going under with him.
132. *Rotto*, 'ruffled.'
133. *Buffa*, 'flout.'
134. *Invaghito*, 'eager' that the sinner should escape, so that he might have a 'scuffle' with Alichino.
138. *Fu ghermito*, 'grappled.'
139. *Grifagno*, 'full grown': the term was applied to hawks caught toward the beginning of winter.
142. The heat was an 'ungrappler.'
143. 'But for all that there was no getting out.'
147. *Con tutti i raffi*, 'hooks and all.'
149. *Impaniati*, 'beglued.'
150. *La crosta*, 'their hides.'

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

THE scene just witnessed reminds Dante of a 'favola d' Isopo,' the story of the frog and the rat. The tale exists in Greek; but the name *Ysopus* was given in the Middle Ages to any fable collection, and the story in question occurs in several. A frog, having offered to tow a rat across a stream, ties itself to the animal, jumps in with it, and then treacherously tries to dive to the bottom, expecting to drown its companion. While the rat is struggling to keep afloat, a kite, seeing the disturbance, swoops down and carries off both creatures. The beginning and the end of the fable, Dante says, are exactly like the recent episode: that is, the fall of the two grappling fiends into the pitch is a reproduction of the plunge of the tethered quadrupeds into the water; and their rescue, as they are hooked out by their mates, is a counterpart of the seizure of the frog and the rat by the kite.

Our travellers have a narrow escape from the angry devils. Virgil, taking Dante in his arms, slides on his back down the precipitous bank into the sixth *bolgia*, where they are safe from pursuit. They find themselves in the valley of the hypocrites. 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!' says Mat. xxiii, 27, 'for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.' Such is Dante's conception of hypocrisy. In slow and solemn file the souls march by — 'gente dipinta,' painted people, beautiful outward with bright gold. They are clad in cloaks of the cut affected by the monks of Cologne; and these garments, gilded on the outside, are made of crushing lead. Their cowls hang massive and heavy over their eyes, their heads are bowed down by the weight, they can scarcely drag themselves along. Their enforced decorum, measured pace, and sidelong glances are all in character; and so is the pious platitude which one of them sententiously volunteers when Virgil discovers how he has been tricked by the Malebranche. The exact form of their punishment was probably suggested to Dante by the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, who defines 'ypocrita' as 'superauratus,' taking it from ὑπέρ and χρυσός.

On the floor of the ditch, pegged down at intervals in the pathway, where the heavy procession tramples on them as it passes, are

Caiaphas, Annas, and the other false councillors who favored the sacrifice of Christ. Thinking to destroy him, they really crucified their own souls, exposing themselves to the perpetual obloquy of mankind, and assuming the burden of blame for all subsequent hypocrisy. Over their *bolgia* the bridges are broken down, shattered by the great earthquake that accompanied the Saviour's descent. Here again, in l. 137, the word *ruina* is used. An impressive picture is that of Virgil 'marvelling' over Caiaphas, who was not there at the time of his previous journey through Hell. The crime of this arch-hypocrite passes the comprehnsion of Reason.

For the 'favola d' Isopo,' see K. McKenzie in *The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Dante Society of Cambridge, Massachusetts* (1898), pp. 6–13.

Taciti, soli e senza compagnia,
N' andavam l' un dinanzi e l' altro dopo,
Come frati minor vanno per via.
Volto era in sulla favola d' Isopo
Lo mio pensier per la presente rissa, 5
Dov' ei parlò della rana e del topo:
Chè più non si pareggia *mo* ed *issa*,
Che l' un con l' altro fa, se ben s' accoppia
Principio e fine con la mente fissa.
E come l' un pensier dell' altro scoppia, 10
Così nacque di quello un altro poi,
Che la prima paura mi fe' doppia.
Io pensava così: 'Questi per noi
Sono scherniti, e con danno e con beffa
Sì fatta, ch' assai credo che lor noi. 15
Se l' ira sopra il mal voler s' aggueffa,
Ei ne verranno dietro più crudeli
Che 'l cane a quella lepre ch' egli acceffa.'

3. *Frati minor:* Franciscans.
7. *Mo* and *issa* are synonyms, meaning 'now.'
15. *Noi* is the present subjunctive of *noiare:* 'vexes.'
16. *S' aggueffa*, 'is wound' into the hank, i. e., is added.
18. *Acceffa*, 'snaps up.'

Già mi sentia tutti arricciar li peli
Della paura, e stava indietro intento, 20
Quando io dissi : 'Maestro, se non celi
Te e me tostamente, i' ho pavento
Di Malebranche. Noi gli avem già dietro.
Io gl' immagino sì, che già li sento.'
E quei : 'S' io fossi d' impiombato vetro, 25
L' imagine di fuor tua non trarrei
Più tosto a me, che quella d' entro impetro.
Pur mo venian li tuoi pensier tra i miei
Con simile atto e con simile faccia,
Sì che d' intrambi un sol consiglio fei. 30
S' egli è che sì la destra costa giaccia
Che noi possiam nell' altra bolgia scendere,
Noi fuggirem l' imaginata caccia.'
Già non compiè di tal consiglio rendere,
Ch' io gli vidi venir con l' ali tese, 35
Non molto lungi, per volerne prendere.
Lo Duca mio di subito mi prese,
Come la madre ch' al romore è desta
E vede presso a sè le fiamme accese,
Che prende il figlio e fugge e non s' arresta — 40
Avendo più di lui che di sè cura —
Tanto che solo una camicia vesta.
E giù dal collo della ripa dura
Supin si diede alla pendente roccia,

25. If I were a mirror ('leaded glass'), I should not catch thy bodily reflection more swiftly than I now receive the reflection of thy thought (thine inner image). Cf. Prov. xxvii, 19.

31. *S' egli è*, 'if it be.' The 'right bank' is the declivity leading to the 6th *bolgia*. — *Giaccia*, 'slopes.'

32, 34, 36 are *versi sdruccioli*: cf. XV, 1.

42. *Tanto*, 'long enough,' is to be connected with the *non s' arresta* of l. 40. Fires were not uncommon in Dante's time.

44. *Supin si diede*: he lay on his back and let himself go.

Che l' un dei lati all' altra bolgia tura. 45
Non corse mai sì tosto acqua per doccia
A volger rota di molin terragno,
Quand' ella più verso le pale approccia,
Come il Maestro mio per quel vivagno,
Portandosene me sopra il suo petto, 50
Come suo figlio, non come compagno.
Appena fur li piè suoi giunti al letto
Del fondo giù ch' ei furono in sul colle
Sopresso noi ; ma non gli era sospetto,
Chè l' alta provvidenza, che lor volle 55
Porre ministri della fossa quinta,
Poder di partirs' indi a tutti tolle.
Laggiù trovammo una gente dipinta,
Che giva intorno assai con lenti passi
Piangendo, e nel sembiante stanca e vinta. 60
Egli avean cappe con cappucci bassi
Dinanzi agli occhi, fatti della taglia
Che in Cologna per li monaci fassi.
Di fuor dorate son, sì ch' egli abbaglia ;
Ma dentro tutte piombo, e gravi tanto 65
Che Federico le mettea di paglia.

45. *Tura*, 'stops': the cliff encloses the valley on the outer side.
46. *Doccia*, 'sluice.'
47. *Molin terragno*, 'land mill,' is one situated on the bank of a mill-pond, as opposed to one built on a boat or raft in a river.
48. At the moment when the water pours down on the paddles of the mill-wheel.
49. *Vivagno*, 'border,' i. e., bank.
54. *Sopresso*, or *sovresso*, 'just above': *esso*, originally a pronoun or pronominal adjective, came to be attached to prepositions as an intensive particle. —*Non gli era sospetto*, 'there was no fear': *gli=vi*.
57. *Poder=potere*, 'power.' *Tolle=toglie*.
64. *Egli*, 'it.'
66. That those which Frederick II put upon criminals were, in comparison with these, as light as straw. The old commentators say that Frederick had offenders against the throne dressed in leaden cloaks, which were then melted upon them; this statement is not corroborated by any documentary evidence.

O in eterno faticoso manto!
Noi ci volgemmo ancor pure a man manca
Con loro insieme, intenti al tristo pianto;
Ma per lo peso quella gente stanca 70
Venia sì pian, che noi eravam nuovi
Di compagnia ad ogni muover d' anca.
Per ch' io al Duca mio: 'Fa' che tu trovi
Alcun ch' al fatto o al nome si conosca,
E gli occhi sì andando intorno muovi.' 75
Ed un che intese la parola Tosca
Diretro a noi gridò: 'Tenete i piedi,
Voi che correte sì per l' aura fosca.
Forse ch' avrai da me quel che tu chiedi.'
Onde il Duca si volse e disse: 'Aspetta, 80
E poi secondo il suo passo procedi.'
Ristetti, e vidi duo mostrar gran fretta
Dell' animo, col viso, d' esser meco;
Ma tardavagli il carco e la via stretta.
Quando fur giunti, assai con l' occhio bieco 85
Mi rimiraron senza far parola;
Poi si volsero in sè, e dicean seco:
'Costui par vivo all' atto della gola.
E s' ei son morti, per qual privilegio
Vanno scoperti della grave stola?' 90
Poi disser me: 'O Tosco, ch' al collegio
Degl' ipocriti tristi se' venuto,

83. Their 'haste of spirit' could be manifested only by the expression of their faces.
84. Some of the *bolge* are evidently very much narrower than others: cf. XXX, 87.
85. *Bieco*, 'sidelong': their heavy, lowered hoods prevented them from looking directly.
91. *Collegio*, 'college,' i. e., company.
92. *Ipocriti tristi:* cf. Mat. vi, 16: 'be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance' — 'sicut *hypocritæ tristes*.'

Dir chi tu sei non avere in dispregio.'
Ed io a loro : 'Io fui nato e cresciuto
Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno alla gran villa, 95
E son col corpo ch' i' ho sempre avuto.
Ma voi chi siete, a cui tanto distilla,
Quant' io veggio, dolor giù per le guance?
E che pena è in voi che sì sfavilla?'
E l' un rispose a me : 'Le cappe rance 100
Son di piombo sì grosse che li pesi
Fan così cigolar le lor bilance.
Frati Godenti fummo, e Bolognesi,
Io Catalano e questi Loderingo
Nomati, e da tua terra insieme presi, 105
Come suole esser tolto un uom solingo
Per conservar sua pace, e fummo tali
Ch' ancor si pare intorno dal Gardingo.'
Io cominciai: 'O frati, i vostri mali . . .'

93. *Non avere in dispregio*, 'scorn not.'
95. *Villa*, 'city': cf. I, 109.
97. The subject of *distilla*, 'distils,' is *tanto dolor*.
100. *Rance*, 'orange.'
102. The heavily burdened sinners, as they moan, are compared to scales so overweighted that they creak.
103. The brethren of the lay order of Beata Maria, defenders of the faith and of justice, were not required to lead an ascetic life, and were nicknamed 'Jolly Friars.'
104. Catalano de' Malavolti was a Guelf, Loderingo degli Andalò was a Ghibelline. Both were men of great authority, mayors of several cities. The second was one of the founders of the order of Beata Maria.
106. It was customary in Florence, as in many other cities, to choose as mayor for a term of one year some distinguished outsider, who was called *podestà* or *conservator pacis*. In 1266, however, instead of 'a single man,' two mayors, one from each party, were elected as a compromise. It was believed that they conspired to advance their own interests and to favor the Guelfs, who were returning to power after the battle of Benevento. It is now known that they were placed in office and controlled by Pope Clement IV. See *Bull.*, X, 356.
108. *Gardingo* was the name of an old Longobard fortress in Florence. Near it were the houses of the Uberti, which were destroyed in 1266, when the Ghibellines left the city, and their site was turned into a public square.
109. The movement of this line is exactly like that of V, 116, and VI, 58,

Ma più non dissi ; ch' all' occhio mi corse 110
Un, crocifisso in terra con tre pali.
Quando mi vide, tutto si distorse,
Soffiando nella barba coi sospiri.
E il frate Catalan, ch' a ciò s' accorse,
Mi disse : 'Quel confitto che tu miri 115
Consigliò i Farisei che convenia
Porre un uom per lo popolo a' martiri.
Attraversato e nudo è nella via,
Come tu vedi, ed è mestier ch' ei senta
Qualunque passa com' ei pesa pria. 120
Ed a tal modo il suocero si stenta
In questa fossa, e gli altri del concilio
Che fu per li Giudei mala sementa.'
Allor vid' io maravigliar Virgilio
Sopra colui ch' era disteso in croce 125
Tanto vilmente nell' eterno esilio.
Poscia drizzò al frate cotal voce :
'Non vi dispiaccia, se vi lece, dirci
Se alla man destra giace alcuna foce
Onde noi ambedue possiamo uscirci 130
Senza costringer degli angeli neri
Che vegnan d' esto fondo a dipartirci.'

in which Dante voices his compassion for Francesca and Ciacco. We may infer that he was about to express pity, probably ironical, for the *Frati godenti.* See D' Ovidio, 86–7.

112. *Si distorse:* he writhed with shame at being seen by a living man.

114. Catalano, who could not see so far ahead, 'took notice from that,' i. e., from the puffing.

117. John xi, 49, 50: 'And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.' So xviii, 14.

121. *Il suocero*, Annas: John xviii, 13, 24. *Si stenta*, 'is racked.'

122. *Il concilio:* John xi, 47–53.

123. 'Seed of ill for the Jews,' as Jesus had prophesied: Luke xxiii, 27–31.

Rispose adunque: 'Più che tu non speri
S' appressa un sasso che dalla gran cerchia
Si muove, e varca tutti i vallon feri, 135
Salvo ch' a questo è rotto, e nol coperchia.
Montar potrete su per la ruina
Che giace in costa e nel fondo soperchia.'
Lo Duca stette un poco a testa china,
Poi disse: 'Mal contava la bisogna 140
Colui che i peccator di là uncina.'
E il frate: 'Io udi' già dire a Bologna
Del Diavol vizii assai, tra i quali udi'
Ch' egli è bugiardo e padre di menzogna.'
Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gì, 145
Turbato un poco d' ira nel sembiante;
Ond' io dagl' incarcati mi parti'
Dietro alle pôste delle care piante.

134. *Un sasso:* a ridge, similar to the one they have followed as far as this *bolgia*. *La gran cerchia*, 'the great belt': the circular precipice that encloses all Malebolge.

138. *Soperchia*, 'heaps up.'

140. *Bisogna*, 'business.' *Colui* is Malacoda.

143, 145, 147 are *versi tronchi:* see IV, 56.

144. John viii, 44.

148. *Poste*, 'prints.' *Piante*, 'feet.'

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

For a moment, thanks to the dainty simile of the frost with which this canto opens, we are lifted out beneath the open sky into the bracing air of winter. Then the horrors redouble. In this seventh *bolgia* we are shown the most weird and blood-curdling sights that Hell affords. The thief, when he plies his trade, abdicates his human nature and transforms himself into a sly, creeping snake. The serpent, then, is the symbol of thievery; and so this sin is depicted, through two cantos, with an astounding variety of gruesome detail.

For the shortening nights, see Moore, III, 53 and 150. For Vanni Fucci, see A. Chiappelli, *Dalla Trilogia di Dante*, 1905, 226. For the prophecy at the end of the canto, see F. Torraca in *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana*, VIII, 1; and, for a different interpretation, A. Bassermann in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 97; cf. Chiappelli, 270–275.

In quella parte del giovinetto anno
  Che il sole i crin sotto l' Aquario tempra
  E già le notti al mezzodì sen vanno,
Quando la brina in sulla terra assempra
  L' imagine di sua sorella bianca, — 5
  Ma poco dura alla sua penna tempra, —
Lo villanello, a cui la roba manca,
  Si leva e guarda, e vede la campagna
  Biancheggiar tutta, ond' ei si batte l' anca,

2. The sun is in Aquarius (cooling his locks in the spray) approximately from January 21 to February 21.

3. From December 21 (the winter solstice) to June 21 (the summer solstice) the nights grow shorter in the northern hemisphere, longer in the southern. In January and February, then, the nights are beginning to 'pass to the south.' As the sun moves northward, the night moves southward.

4. *Assempra*, 'copies': cf. *V. N.*, I, 6. The 'white sister' of the hoar frost is the snow.

6. 'The temper of her pen lasts but a little while,' i. e., she cannot long continue her copying: in other words, the frost soon melts.

7. *Villanello*, 'rustic.' *Roba*, 'provision.'

9. *Si batte l' anca*, 'smites his thigh,' thinking the ground is covered with snow. Smiting the thigh was a common expression of grief in ancient times (*percutere femur*) and in the Middle Ages.

Ritorna in casa, e qua e là si lagna, 10
Come il tapin che non sa che si faccia;
Poi riede, e la speranza ringavagna,
Veggendo il mondo aver cangiata faccia
In poco d' ora, e prende suo vincastro
E fuor le pecorelle a pascer caccia: 15
Così mi fece sbigottir lo Mastro,
Quand' io gli vidi sì turbar la fronte,
E così tosto al mal giunse lo impiastro.
Chè come noi venimmo al guasto ponte,
Lo Duca a me si volse con quel piglio 20
Dolce ch' io vidi prima a piè del monte.
Le braccia aperse, dopo alcun consiglio
Eletto seco, riguardando prima
Ben la ruina, e diedemi di piglio.
E come quei che adopera ed estima, 25
Che sempre par che innanzi si proveggia,
Così, levando me su ver la cima
D' un ronchion, avvisava un' altra scheggia,
Dicendo: 'Sopra quella poi t' aggrappa;
Ma tenta pria s' è tal ch' ella ti reggia.' 30
Non era via da vestito di cappa,
Chè noi a pena, ei lieve, ed io sospinto,
Potevam su montar di chiappa in chiappa.
E se non fosse che da quel precinto

11. *Tapin*, 'wretch.'
12. *Ringavagna*, 'puts into his basket again,' i. e., picks up.
14. *Vincastro*, 'crook.'
16. *Mastro = maestro*.
20. *Piglio*, 'look': cf. XXII, 75. The *monte* is that of the first canto.
28. *Ronchion*, 'rock.' *Scheggia*, 'fragment.' These are pieces of the broken bridge.
30. *Reggia = regga*.
33. *Chiappa*, 'jut.'
34. *Precinto*, 'quarter.' They are climbing up the inner bank, which is lower than the outer.

Più che dall' altro era la costa corta, 35
Non so di lui, ma io sarei ben vinto.
Ma perchè Malebolge in ver la porta
Del bassissimo pozzo tutta pende,
Lo sito di ciascuna valle porta
Che l' una costa surge e l' altra scende. 40
Noi pur venimmo alfine in sulla punta
Onde l' ultima pietra si scoscende.
La lena m' era del polmon sì munta,
Quando fui su, ch' io non potea più oltre,
Anzi mi assisi nella prima giunta. 45
'Omai convien che tu così ti spoltre,'
Disse il Maestro, 'chè sedendo in piuma
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre,
Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra di sè lascia, 50
Qual fummo in aer ed in acqua la schiuma.
E però leva su, vinci l' ambascia
Con l' animo che vince ogni battaglia,
Se col suo grave corpo non s' accascia.
Più lunga scala convien che si saglia ; 55
Non basta da costoro esser partito.
Se tu m' intendi, or fa' sì che ti vaglia.'

38. *Pende*, 'slants.'
39. *Porta*, 'requires.'
40. 'That one bank (the outer) be high, the other (the inner) be low.'
42. *Si scoscende*, 'is split off': where the top of the heap of fragments joins the solid rock of the ridge.
43. *Munta*, 'milked,' i. e., pumped: cf. XII, 136.
46. *Ti spoltre*, 'cast off sloth.'
49. *La qual*, sc., *fama*.
51. Cf. Wisdom v, 14.
52. *Ambascia*, 'panting."
54. *S' accascia*, 'is crushed.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 731: 'quantum non noxia corpora tardant.'
55. The climb from the centre of the earth to the top of Purgatory. It is not enough to quit sin: we must attain virtue.

Leva' mi allor, mostrandomi fornito
  Meglio di lena ch' io non mi sentia ;
  E dissi : 'Va', ch' io son forte ed ardito.' 60
Su per lo scoglio prendemmo la via,
  Ch' era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole,
  Ed erto più assai che quel di pria.
Parlando andava per non parer fievole,
  Onde una voce uscìo dall' altro fosso, 65
  A parole formar disconvenevole.
Non so che disse, ancor che sopra il dosso
  Fossi dell' arco già che varca quivi ;
  Ma chi parlava ad ira parea mosso.
Io era volto in giù, ma gli occhi vivi 70
  Non potean ire al fondo per l' oscuro ;
  Per ch' io : 'Maestro, fa' che tu arrivi
Dall' altro cinghio, e dismontiam lo muro ;
  Chè com' i' odo quinci e non intendo,
  Così giù veggio, e niente affiguro.' 75
'Altra risposta,' disse, 'non ti rendo,
  Se non lo far ; chè la domanda onesta
  Si dee seguir coll' opera tacendo.'
Noi discendemmo il ponte dalla testa
  Dove s' aggiunge coll' ottava ripa, 80
  E poi mi fu la bolgia manifesta ;

62. *Ronchioso*, 'craggy.' Ll. 62, 64, 66 are *versi sdruccioli ;* see XV, 1.
63. This ridge is much higher than the one they followed as far as the 5th *bolgia*.
64. *Fievole*, 'feeble.'
65. One would expect *quando* rather than *onde*.
66. *Disconvenevole*, 'unsuited.'
67. *Ancor che*, 'although.'
73. *Cinghio*, 'belt' : the inner bank of the *bolgia* just crossed. *Muro :* the descent from the ridge to the top of the bank. This inner bank being low, they will be comparatively near the bottom of the ditch.
75. *Affiguro = raffiguro*.
79. *Dalla testa*, 'at the end.'

E vidivi entro terribile stipa
  Di serpenti, e di sì diversa mena
  Che la memoria il sangue ancor mi scipa.
Più non si vanti Libia con sua rena ; 85
  Chè, se chelidri, iaculi e faree
  Produce, e cencri con amfisibena,
Nè tante pestilenzie nè sì ree
  Mostrò giammai con tutta l' Etiopia,
  Nè con ciò che di sopra il mar rosso èe. 90
Tra questa cruda e tristissima copia
  Correvan genti nude e spaventate,
  Senza sperar pertugio o elitropia.
Con serpi le man dietro avean legate ;
  Quelle ficcavan per le ren la coda 95
  E il capo, ed eran dinanzi aggroppate.
Ed ecco ad un ch' era da nostra proda
  S' avventò un serpente, che il trafisse
  Là dove il collo alle spalle s' annoda.
Nè O sì tosto mai nè I si scrisse 100

82. *Stipa*, 'pack': cf. XI, 3.
83. *Diversa mena*, 'strange kind': cf. XXII, 10.
84. *Scipa*, 'curdles.'
85. The Libyan sands were familiar to Dante through Lucan and Ovid: *Phars.*, I, 367; II, 417; IX, 705; *Met.*, IV, 617. The following snakes, and others, are mentioned by Lucan in his account of Cato's march through the desert: *Phars.*, IX, 700 ff. The *jaculi* and *cenchres* are described by Pliny and Solinus. The *chelȳdri* make their path smoke, the *jacŭli* are swift as darts, the *phareæ* furrow the ground with their tails, the *cenchres* never follow a straight course, the *amphisbæna* has two heads.
90. *Ee=è.* Not all Libya, Ethiopia, and Arabia can show so many serpents as the 7th *bolgia.*
93. The heliotrope is a precious stone that makes its bearer invisible. Cf. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, VIII, 3.
96. The snakes that bound the hands behind had their heads and tails thrust right through the bodies (from back to front) and tied in front.
97. *Da nostra proda*, 'by our bank': just below the bank on which we stood.
100. *O* and undotted *i* are written with a single stroke. Lucan, *Phars.*, IX, 761 ff., tells of a soldier who, bitten by a snake, melts entirely away. Cf. XXV, 95.

Com' ei s' accese ed arse, e cener tutto
Convenne che cascando divenisse ;
E poi che fu a terra sì distrutto,
La polver si raccolse per sè stessa,
E in quel medesmo ritornò di butto. 105
Così per li gran savi si confessa
Che la Fenice more e poi rinasce,
Quando al cinquecentesimo anno appressa.
Erba nè biado in sua vita non pasce,
Ma sol d' incenso lagrime ed amomo ; 110
E nardo e mirra son l' ultime fasce.
E qual è quei che cade, e non sa como,
Per forza di demon ch' a terra il tira,
O d' altra oppilazion che lega l' uomo,
Quando si leva, che intorno si mira 115
Tutto smarrito dalla grande angoscia
Ch' egli ha sofferta, e guardando sospira,
Tal era il peccator levato poscia.
O potenza di Dio, quant' è severa,
Che cotai colpi per vendetta croscia ! 120
Lo Duca il domandò poi chi egli era :
Per ch' ei rispose : 'Io piovvi di Toscana,
Poco tempo è, in questa gola fera.
Vita bestial mi piacque, e non umana,

105. *Di butto*=*di botto*, 'instantly.'
106. *Savi*, 'poets': particularly Ovid, *Met.*, IX, 392 ff. The phœnix was described also by Pliny and Brunetto Latini.
109. *Biado*, 'grain.'
110. *Amomo*, 'balsam.'
111. 'And nard and myrrh are its winding-sheet.'
112. *Como*=*come.*
113. Epileptics were thought to be possessed by devils. See Mark ix, 17–26.
114. *Oppilazion*, 'stoppage' of the passages between heart and brain.
120. *Croscia*, 'pours forth.'

Sì come a mul ch' io fui. Son Vanni Fucci, 125
Bestia, e Pistoia mi fu degna tana.'
Ed io al Duca : 'Digli che non mucci,
E domanda qual colpa quaggiù il pinse ;
Ch' io il vidi uomo di sangue e di crucci.'
E il peccator, che intese, non s' infinse, 130
Ma drizzò verso me l' animo e il volto,
E di trista vergogna si dipinse ;
Poi disse : 'Più mi duol che tu m' hai colto
Nella miseria dove tu mi vedi,
Che quando fui dell' altra vita tolto. 135
Io non posso negar quel che tu chiedi.
In giù son messo tanto, perch' io fui
Ladro, alla sacrestia, de' belli arredi ;
E falsamente già fu apposto altrui.
Ma perchè di tal vista tu non godi, 140
Se mai sarai di fuor de' lochi bui,
Apri gli orecchi al mio annunzio, ed odi :

125. *Mul:* Vanni Fucci was a bastard, a natural son of one of the Lazzari family of Pistoia. He was a notorious ruffian, robber, and party leader.

127. *Mucci*, 'give us the slip.'

129. *Crucci*, 'wrath.' Dante — who, it appears from this line, had known Vanni — is surprised to find him here rather than in the first ring of the 7th circle, among the violent. In 1295 Vanni was condemned for theft and murder by a judge who was later one of Dante's fellow-exiles.

130. *Non s' infinse*, 'did not fail': cf. Old-French *feindre.*

138. In January, 1293, or a little earlier, some silver statues were stolen from the altar of a chapel in the cathedral of Pistoia.

139. The crime was attributed to several, especially to a certain Rampino Ranucci, who came near being hanged for it. Probably the truth had come out not long before April, 1300. Vanni died shortly before that year.

142. The following prophecy, couched in oracular style, is purposely obscure, and no perfectly satisfactory interpretation has been found. That of Tor., the most consistent, is as follows: Pistoia was thinned of Blacks (adherents of the Black party) after May, 1301; Florence renewed her people (banishing the Whites and restoring the Blacks) and changed her government, after the entry of Charles of Valois, November 4, 1301; in 1302, Moroello Malaspina, chosen captain of an expedition of Lucchese and Florentines against Pistoia, while besieging the neighboring stronghold of Serravalle, was suddenly attacked by the Pistoiese, but, tearing down the palisades of his camp, issued forth and dispersed the enemy. Note the meteorological style.

Pistoia in pria di Negri si dimagra,
Poi Fiorenza rinnuova genti e modi.
Tragge Marte vapor di val di Magra 145
Ch' è di torbidi nuvoli involuto,
E con tempesta impetuosa ed agra
Sopra Campo Picen fia combattuto;
Ond' ei repente spezzerà la nebbia,
Sì ch' ogni Bianco ne sarà feruto. 150
E detto l' ho, perchè doler ten debbia.'

145. The 'vapor' that Mars draws forth is Moroello Malaspina, lord of Lunigiana in the valley of the Magra. Dante was his guest in 1306, and was believed to have dedicated the *Purgatorio* to him.

148. It seems that the name *Campo Piceno* was applied to the territory of Pistoia.

150. *Feruto*=*ferito*. Serravalle surrendered soon after. This insignificant incident was probably of great importance to the White party, and therefore looked big to Dante.

151. *Ten debbia*=*te ne debba*.

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

In a lair on Mt. Aventine dwelt the bloody monster Cacus, son of Vulcan, whose story Virgil tells in the *Æneid*, VIII, 193-267. When Hercules returned from the west with Geryon's herd, Cacus stole a part of it, dragging the cattle by their tails, that their footprints might point away from his den. Warned by their bellowing, Hercules followed them; and although the fire-belching Cacus filled the cave with flame and smoke, the hero boldly entered and strangled him — according to Dante's version, slew him with his club. Virgil nowhere calls Cacus a centaur, but he does use the phrase (VIII, 194): 'Semihominis Caci facies.' A centaur Dante makes him, and puts upon his neck a mane of serpents, and on his back a fiery dragon. Inasmuch as he was guilty of theft, he is separated from the centaurs of the Circle of Violence and incarcerated in the seventh *bolgia* of the Circle of Fraud. Presumably he is, like his fellows, a sort of guardian as well as a culprit.

Five other thieves claim our attention — Agnello, Buoso, Puccio, Cianfa, Guercio, all Florentines of whom we know little or nothing. The first three are introduced in the aspect of human beings. Cianfa darts in as a snake, twists himself about Agnello, and combines with him into an indescribable monster — 'e tal sen gìa con lento passo.' Guercio then appears in serpent form, bites Buoso, and gradually exchanges shapes with him, the one becoming a man, the other a snake. Puccio remains intact. Some strange effects of snake-bites Dante learned from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, IX, 761 ff. Certain details of his transformations he evidently drew from Ovid's *Metamorphoses:* in IV, 576 ff., Cadmus is turned into a serpent; in V, 451 ff., a boy who laughs at Ceres becomes a lizard; in IV, 356 ff., a youth and a naiad are fused into an Hermaphrodite. But the sustained realism, the atmosphere of mystery and horror, the uncanny yawn, stare, and smoke are Dante's own.

Al fine delle sue parole il ladro
Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche,
Gridando : 'Togli, Iddio, chè a te le squadro.'

2. *Le fiche*, 'the figs' : *la fica* is a coarse, insulting gesture made by holding out the fist with the thumb between the fore and the middle finger.
3. *Togli*, 'take that.' *Squadro*, 'square,' i. e., direct.

Da indi in qua mi fur le serpi amiche,
Perch' una gli s' avvolse allora al collo, 5
Come dicesse : 'Io non vo' che più diche';
Ed un' altra alle braccia, e rilegollo,
Ribadendo sè stessa sì dinanzi
Che non potea con esse dare un crollo.
Ahi Pistoia, Pistoia, chè non stanzi 10
D' incenerarti, sì che più non duri,
Poi che in mal far lo seme tuo avanzi?
Per tutti i cerchi dell' inferno oscuri
Non vidi spirto in Dio tanto superbo,
Non quel che cadde a Tebe giù da' muri. 15
Ei si fuggì, che non parlò più verbo.
Ed io vidi un Centauro pien di rabbia
Venir chiamando : 'Ov' è, ov' è l' acerbo?'
Maremma non cred' io che tante n' abbia
Quante bisce egli avea su per la groppa, 20
Infin dove comincia nostra labbia.
Sopra le spalle, dietro dalla coppa,
Con l' ali aperte gli giacea un draco,
E quello affoca qualunque s' intoppa.
Lo mio Maestro disse : 'Quegli è Caco, 25
Che sotto il sasso di monte Aventino

6. *Diche=dica.*
8. *Ribadendo*, 'clinching.'
9. *Esse:* the arms.
10. *Stanzi*, 'decree.'
12. *Avanzi*, 'thou surpassest.' Pistoia, according to tradition, was founded by the remnants of Catiline's army.
15. Capaneus: XIV, 63. Note the rhyme in *-uri* here and in XIV, 46.
18. *L' acerbo*, 'the callous one': Vanni Fucci.
19. *Maremma:* a wild and swampy part of Tuscany: cf. XIII, 8–9, XXIX, 46–9.
21. *Labbia*, 'countenance': the human part of the centaur.
22. *Coppa*, 'nape.'
23. *Draco=drago* or *dragone*. The dragon of folklore breathes fire.
24. *S' intoppa*, 'it meets.'

Di sangue fece spesse volte laco.
Non va co' suoi fratei per un cammino,
Per lo furar che frodolente fece
Del grande armento ch' egli ebbe a vicino; 30
Onde cessar le sue opere biece
Sotto la mazza d' Ercole, che forse
Gliene diè cento, e non sentì le diece.'
Mentre che sì parlava, ed ei trascorse
E tre spiriti venner sotto noi, 35
De' quai nè io nè il Duca mio s' accorse,
Se non quando gridar: 'Chi siete voi?'
Per che nostra novella si ristette,
Ed intendemmo pure ad essi poi.
Io non gli conoscea; ma ei seguette, 40
Come suol seguitar per alcun caso,
Che l' un nomare un altro convenette,
Dicendo: 'Cianfa dove fia rimaso?'
Perch' io, acciocchè il Duca stesse attento,
Mi posi il dito su dal mento al naso. 45
Se tu sei or, Lettore, a creder lento
Ciò ch' io dirò, non sarà maraviglia,
Chè io che il vidi appena il mi consento.
Com' io tenea levate in lor le ciglia,

28. *Fratei=fratelli. Per un cammino*, 'the same path.' The other centaurs are in the first ring of the 7th circle.

31. *Biece=bieche*, 'crooked.'

33. *Cento*, sc., blows: Hercules kept on striking him long after he was dead.

34. *Ed* is here redundant and untranslatable: cf. XIX, 3.

35. Virgil and Dante are looking down from the bank. The three spirits turn out to be Agnolo Brunelleschi, Buoso de' Donati (or degli Abati), and Puccio Sciancato. Two more come presently in the form of snakes.

38. *Novella*, 'discourse.'

40. *Ei seguette*, 'it happened.'

43. Cianfa Donati was a Florentine of some distinction; we know nothing of his thefts. He appears, in l. 50, as a serpent.

48. *Consento*, 'admit.'

Ed un serpente con sei piè si lancia 50
Dinanzi all' uno, e tutto a lui s' appiglia.
Coi piè di mezzo gli avvinse la pancia,
E con gli anterior le braccia prese;
Poi gli addentò e l' una e l' altra guancia.
Gli diretani alle cosce distese, 55
E miseli la coda tra ambedue
E dietro per le ren su la ritese.
Ellera abbarbicata mai non fue
Ad arbor sì, come l' orribil fiera
Per l' altrui membra avviticchiò le sue. 60
Poi s' appiccar, come di calda cera
Fossero stati, e mischiar lor colore;
Nè l' un nè l' altro già parea quel ch' era:
Come procede innanzi dall' ardore
Per lo papiro suso un color bruno, 65
Che non è nero ancora, e il bianco more.
Gli altri due riguardavano, e ciascuno
Gridava: 'O me, Agnèl, come ti muti!
Vedi che già non sei nè due nè uno.'
Già eran li due capi un divenuti, 70
Quando n' apparver due figure miste
In una faccia, ov' eran due perduti.

50. *Ed:* once more the redundant use.
51. *Uno:* named, in l. 68, Agnello. The old commentators call him Agnolo Brunelleschi; we know nothing more of him.
54. The snake spreads its open mouth over Agnello's face.
55. *Gli diretani*, 'its hind feet.'
60. *Avviticchiò*, 'twisted.' Cf. *Met.*, IV, 365: 'Utve solent hederæ longos intexere truncos.'
61. *S' appiccar*, 'grew together.'
64. The figure is that of a piece of cotton paper burning on the lower edge; a streak of brown precedes the advancing flame.
72. Cf. *Met.*, IV, 373–5 (Hermaphroditus and Salmacis):

'Nam mixta duorum
Corpora junguntur, faciesque inducitur illis
Una.'

Fersi le braccia due di quattro liste ;
Le cosce con le gambe, il ventre e il casso
Divenner membra che non fur mai viste. 75
Ogni primaio aspetto ivi era casso :
Due e nessun l' imagine perversa
Parea, e tal sen gìa con lento passo.
Come il ramarro, sotto la gran fersa
De' dì canicular cangiando siepe, 80
Folgore par, se la via attraversa :
Così parea, venendo verso l' epe
Degli altri due, un serpentello acceso,
Livido e nero come gran di pepe.
E quella parte, donde prima è preso 85
Nostro alimento, all' un di lor trafisse ;
Poi cadde giuso innanzi lui disteso.
Lo trafitto il mirò, ma nulla disse ;
Anzi coi piè fermati sbadigliava,
Pur come sonno o febbre l' assalisse. 90
Egli il serpente, e quei lui riguardava ;
L' un per la piaga, e l' altro per la bocca
Fumavan forte, e il fummo si scontrava.
Taccia Lucano omai, là dove tocca
Del misero Sabello e di Nassidio, 95
Ed attenda ad udir quel ch' or si scocca !
Taccia di Cadmo e d' Aretusa Ovidio !

73. *Fersi*=*si fecero*. *Liste*, 'strips.'
76. *Casso*, 'obliterated.'
79. *Ramarro*, 'lizard.' *Fersa*, 'scourge,' i. e., the hot summer sun.
82. *Epe*, 'bellies.'
85. The navel.
95. *Phars.*, IX, 763 ff. and 790 ff. Sabellus, bitten by a little snake in the desert, melts away like snow. Nasidius, poisoned by another serpent, swells into a shapeless globe and bursts his armor.
96. *Si scocca*, 'is shot forth,' i. e., related.
97. *Met.*, IV, 576 ff.; V, 572 ff.

Chè se quello in serpente, e quella in fonte
Converte poetando, io non l' invidio;
Chè due nature mai a fronte a fronte 100
Non trasmutò, sì ch' ambedue le forme
A cambiar lor materia fosser pronte.
Insieme si risposero a tai norme,
Che il serpente la coda in forca fesse,
E il feruto ristrinse insieme l' orme. 105
Le gambe con le cosce seco stesse
S' appiccar sì, che in poco la giuntura
Non facea segno alcun che si paresse.
Togliea la coda fessa la figura
Che si perdeva là, e la sua pelle 110
Si facea molle, e quella di là dura.
Io vidi entrar le braccia per l' ascelle,
E i due piè della fiera, ch' eran corti,
Tanto allungar quanto accorciavan quelle.
Poscia li piè diretro, insieme attorti, 115
Diventaron lo membro che l' uom cela,
E il misero del suo n' avea due porti.
Mentre che il fummo l' uno e l' altro vela
Di color nuovo, e genera il pel suso
Per l' una parte, e dall' altra il dipela, 120
L' un si levò, e l' altro cadde giuso,
Non torcendo però le lucerne empie,
Sotto le quai ciascun cambiava muso.

101. *Forme* is used in the scholastic sense of 'natures': two individuals, in Dante's narrative, exchange their substance.
103. *A tai norme*, 'in the following order.'
105. *Feruto = ferito.* — *Orme*, 'feet.'
107. *S' appiccar:* cf. l. 61. The legs grow together into a tail.
117. *Porti*, 'extended,' to make two hind feet.
122. *Lucerne*, 'lights,' i. e , glaring eyes.

Quel ch' era dritto, il trasse ver le tempie,
E di troppa materia che in là venne 125
Uscir gli orecchi delle gote scempie;
Ciò che non corse indietro, e si ritenne
Di quel soperchio, fe' naso alla faccia,
E le labbra ingrossò quanto convenne.
Quel che giacea il muso innanzi caccia, 130
E gli orecchi ritira per la testa,
Come face le corna la lumaccia:
E la lingua, che avea unita e presta
Prima a parlar, si fende, e la forcuta
Nell' altro si richiude, e il fummo resta. 135
L' anima ch' era fiera divenuta
Si fuggì sufolando per la valle,
E l' altro dietro a lui parlando sputa.
Poscia gli volse le novelle spalle,
E disse all' altro: 'Io vo' che Buoso corra, 140
Com' ho fatt' io, carpon, per questo calle.'
Così vid' io la settima zavorra

124. *Quel:* the one that has been changed from a snake to a man. — *Il*, sc., *muso*, his snout.
126. *Scempie*, 'smooth.'
127. *Ciò:* that part of the snout.
132. *Lumaccia* = *lumaca*, 'snail.'
133. Cf. *Met.*, IV, 586–9 (Cadmus changed into a serpent):

> 'Ille quidem vult plura loqui, sed lingua repente
> In partes est fissa duas, nec verba volenti
> Sufficiunt, quotiensque aliquos parat edere questus,
> Sibilat; hanc illi vocem natura reliquit.'

135. 'The smoke stops,' bringing the transformation to an abrupt close. With similar abruptness the preceding metamorphosis ended, in l. 78.
137. *Sufolando*, 'hissing.'
138. Human saliva was thought to be poisonous to snakes.
140. The man turns his 'new back' upon the serpent, and addresses *l' altro*, the third of the original three and the only one that has not been transformed. *Buoso* is the new snake: according to some of the old commentators he is Buoso de' Donati (cf. XXX, 44); according to others, Buoso degli Abati.
142. *Zavorra*, 'ballast.' The transmutation of shapes in this 7th hollow reminds the poet of the shifting of ballast to and fro in the hold of a ship.

Mutare e trasmutare ; e qui mi scusi
La novità, se fior la penna abborra.
Ed avvegnachè gli occhi miei confusi 145
Fossero alquanto, e l' animo smagato,
Non poter quei fuggirsi tanto chiusi
Ch' io non scorgessi ben Puccio Sciancato ;
Ed era quei che sol, de' tre compagni
Che venner prima, non era mutato. 150
L' altro era quel che tu, Gaville, piagni.

144. *Fior*, 'at all.' *Abborra*, 'wanders': cf. XXXI, 24.
146. *Smagato*, 'exhausted.'
147. *Chiusi*, 'covertly.'
148. As the two run away, Dante recognizes the unchanged one as Puccio Sciancato de' Galigai, a Ghibelline, banished from Florence in 1268.
151. 'The other,' originally the second snake, was Guercio de' Cavalcanti, killed for his misdeeds by the people of Gaville, a village on the upper Arno. Gaville mourns because of the vengeance taken for his death.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

Once more a respite is afforded from the oppressiveness of Malebolge. Ulysses tells of his last journey, and his sea-story breaks in upon the grim nightmare like a whiff of fresh breeze. This 'mad flight' of the Ithacan out into the great waters seems to be essentially an invention of our poet. Although Solinus records an old tradition that Ulysses sailed into the Atlantic and founded Lisbon, and Claudian mentions a voyage to a land of shades in that part of Gaul which projects furthest into the ocean, their tales have almost nothing in common with his. Dante's imagination must have been stirred by the adventures of St. Brendan in his search for the Isles of the Blest, and by other yarns of wondrous voyages and expeditions to the Earthly Paradise; but he imitates none of them in this narrative Homer he had not read.

Ulysses is found in the eighth *bolgia*, among evil counsellors, those who applied their burning eloquence to the concealment of their real mind. They are completely enveloped in tongues of fire, which 'steal' them from sight, just as in life their flaming speech cunningly hid their thought. Fire, the symbol of divine anger, is an appropriate punishment, because their sin consists in the misuse of superior mental power, the direct gift of God, who breathes into men at birth the intellective soul endowed with greater or less keenness of intelligence according to his grace. Dante, one of the most favored in this respect, manifests particular interest in the fate of his intellectual compeers, and warns himself against falling into the error that wrought their destruction.

Godi, Fiorenza, poi che sei sì grande
  Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,
  E per l' inferno il tuo nome si spande.
Tra li ladron trovai cinque cotali
  Tuoi cittadini, onde mi vien vergogna,   5
  E tu in grande onranza non ne sali.
Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna,

7. It was an ancient and popular belief that dreams occurring just before dawn would come true: cf. *Purg.* IX, 16–18. The poet seems to regard the

Tu sentirai di qua da picciol tempo
Di quel che Prato, non ch' altri, t' agogna.
E se già fosse, non saria per tempo. 10
Così foss' ei, da che pure esser dee;
Chè più mi graverà, com' più m' attempo.
Noi ci partimmo, e su per le scalee
Che n' avean fatte i borni a scender pria
Rimontò il mio Maestro, e trasse mee. 15
E proseguendo la solinga via
Tra le schegge e tra' rocchi dello scoglio,
Lo piè senza la man non si spedia.
Allor mi dolsi, ed ora mi ridoglio,
Quand' io drizzo la mente a ciò ch' io vidi; 20
E più lo ingegno affreno ch' io non soglio,
Perchè non corra che virtù nol guidi;
Sì che se stella buona o miglior cosa
M' ha dato il ben, ch' io stesso nol m' invidi.
Quante il villan, ch' al poggio si riposa, 25

present time of depravity as a dark night, to be followed ere long (as he repeatedly attests) by a better day. His prophecy is conceived just as the new morrow is about to dawn.

8. *Di qua da picciol tempo*, 'within a short time.'

9. *Prato* is a little town near Florence: thou shalt feel the grief which even thy nearest neighbors wish thee, not to mention thine enemies.

10. *Per tempo*, 'too early.'

11. *Così foss' ei*, 'would it were so,' i. e., would that the blow had already fallen!

12. The poet's mood changes from vindictiveness to tenderness.

13. The 'stairs' lead from the bank to the top of the ridge; they consist of 'bourns,' or rocky projections. Having climbed the ridge, the travellers pursue their way over the 8th arch.

15. *Mee*=*me*.

17. *Rocchi*, 'crags': cf. XX, 25.

18. *Si spedia*, 'proceeded.'

22. 'That it (my genius) may not run without the guidance of virtue.'

23. The 'something better' is divine grace.

24. The *che* in this line is superfluous. — *Invidi*, 'begrudge,' i. e., deprive myself of it by misuse, as these souls have done.

25. *Quante* modifies *lucciole* in l. 29. In this pretty simile of the fireflies, the season indicated (ll. 26–7) is the summer solstice, the hour (l. 28) is dusk.

Nel tempo che colui che il mondo schiara
La faccia sua a noi tien meno ascosa,
Come la mosca cede alla zanzara,
Vede lucciole giù per la vallea,
Forse colà dove vendemmia ed ara : 30
Di tante fiamme tutta risplendea
L' ottava bolgia, sì com' io m' accorsi
Tosto ch' io fui là 've il fondo parea.
E qual colui che si vengiò con gli orsi
Vide il carro d' Elia al dipartire, 35
Quando i cavalli al cielo erti levorsi ;
Chè nol potea sì con gli occhi seguire
Ch' ei vedesse altro che la fiamma sola,
Sì come nuvoletta, in su salire :
Tal si movea ciascuna per la gola 40
Del fosso, chè nessuna mostra il furto,
Ed ogni fiamma un peccatore invola.
Io stava sopra il ponte a veder surto
Sì che, s' io non avessi un ronchion preso,
Caduto sarei giù senza esser urto. 45
E il Duca, che mi vide tanto atteso,
Disse : 'Dentro da' fochi son gli spirti :
Ciascun si fascia di quel ch' egli è inceso.'

26. *Colui:* the sun, whose 'face' is 'least hidden' at the time when the nights are shortest.

33. *'Ve=ove:* as soon as I was high enough on the bridge to see the bottom of the ditch.

34. *Colui :* Elisha (2 Kings ii, 23–4). *Qual* modifies *carro* in l. 35.

35. *Elia*, 'Elijah': 2 Kings ii, 9–12.

36. *Levorsi=si levarono.*

39. *Nuvoletta :* cf. *V. N.*, XXIII, 52, 187.

40. *Ciascuna*, sc., *fiamma :* cf. l. 31.

42. *Invola*, 'steals': Dante conceives of these flames as stealing, i. e., secreting, the sinners contained within them.

43. *Surto*, 'erect.'

44. *Ronchion :* cf. XXIV, 28.

45. *Urto=urtato.*

48. *Che* is loosely used for *onde* or *da cui.*

'Maestro mio,' rispos' io, 'per udirti
Son io più certo; ma già m' era avviso 50
Che così fusse, e già voleva dirti:
Chi è in quel foco che vien sì diviso
Di sopra che par surger della pira
Ov' Eteòcle col fratel fu miso?'
Risposemi: 'Là entro si martira 55
Ulisse e Diomede, e così insieme
Alla vendetta vanno come all' ira.
E dentro dalla lor fiamma si geme
L' aguato del caval che fe' la porta
Ond' uscì de' Romani il gentil seme. 60
Piangevisi entro l' arte per che morta
Deïdamìa ancor si duol d' Achille.
E del Palladio pena vi si porta.'
'S' ei posson dentro da quelle faville

50. *M' era avviso*, 'it seemed to me.'

54. Eteŏcles and Polynīces, the rival sons of Œdipus, contending for the possession of Thebes, killed each other. When their bodies were burned on the same pyre, the flames divided into two peaks. *Thebaid*, XII, 420 ff. Cf. *Phars.*, I, 551-2:

> 'Scinditur in partes, geminoque cacumine surgit,
> Thebanos imitata rogos.'

57. Ulysses and Diomed, two of the leading heroes of the Trojan war, go together in their punishment, as they went together to expose themselves to divine wrath.

58. *Si geme*, 'they groan for.'

59. 'The ambush of the horse': the wooden horse full of Greek warriors, which the Trojans were persuaded to take into the city. By this means Troy was destroyed, and Æneas and his followers, who afterwards founded the Roman stock, had to flee. *Æn.*, II, 13 ff. In Virgil's account, Diomed has no share in this enterprise.

61. *Entro* is an adverb, 'inside.' Thetis, to save her son Achilles from the war, disguised him as a girl and entrusted him to King Lycomedes of Scyros; there he won the love of the king's daughter Deidamīa, and promised to be true to her. Discovered by Ulysses and Diomed, he went with them to the war, and forgot his promise. *Deidamia* now mourns in the Limbus: *Purg.* XXII, 114. The story is told by Statius in the *Achilleid*, II, 15 ff.

63. Ulysses and Diomed stole the Palladium, an image of Pallas, on which the fate of Troy depended: *Æn.*, II, 162 ff.

Parlar,' diss' io, 'Maestro, assai ten prego 65
E riprego, che il prego vaglia mille,
Che non mi facci dell' attender nego,
Finchè la fiamma cornuta qua vegna.
Vedi che del disio ver lei mi piego.'
Ed egli a me: 'La tua preghiera è degna 70
Di molta lode, ed io però l' accetto;
Ma fa' che la tua lingua si sostegna.
Lascia parlare a me; ch' io ho concetto
Ciò che tu vuoi. Ch' ei sarebbero schivi,
Perch' ei fur Greci, forse del tuo detto.' 75
Poi che la fiamma fu venuta quivi,
Dove parve al mio Duca tempo e loco,
In questa forma lui parlare audivi:
'O voi, che siete due dentro ad un foco,
S' io meritai di voi mentre ch' io vissi, 80
S' io meritai di voi assai o poco,
Quando nel mondo gli alti versi scrissi,
Non vi movete; ma l' un di voi dica
Dove per lui perduto a morir gissi.'
Lo maggior corno della fiamma antica 85
Cominciò a crollarsi mormorando,
Pur come quella cui vento affatica.
Indi la cima qua e là menando,
Come fosse la lingua che parlasse,

67. *Facci*=*faccia*. *Nego*, 'denial': of waiting for the 'horned flame.'
72. *Si sostegna*, 'restrain itself.'
73. *Concetto*, 'guessed.'
74. *Schivi*, 'shy': of thy speech. From these lines and XXVII, 33, it may be inferred that Virgil thought himself less remote than Dante from the ancient Greeks, and more likely to influence them.
78. *Audivi*=*udii*.
80. Virgil assumes that he has immortalized Ulysses and Diomed in his *Æneid*.
84. *Per lui . . . gissi* (*si gì*)=*egli andò*: for this curious construction, see I, 126.

Gittò voce di fuori, e disse: 'Quando 90
Mi diparti' da Circe, che sottrasse
Me più d' un anno là presso a Gaeta, —
Prima che sì Enea la nominasse, —
Nè dolcezza di figlio, nè la pieta
Del vecchio padre, nè il debito amore, 95
Lo qual dovea Penelope far lieta,
Vincer poter dentro da me l' ardore
Ch' i' ebbi a divenir del mondo esperto,
E degli vizii umani e del valore;
Ma misi me per l' alto mare aperto 100
Sol con un legno e con quella compagna
Picciola, dalla qual non fui deserto.
L' un lito e l' altro vidi infin la Spagna,
Fin nel Morrocco, e l' isola de' Sardi,
E l' altre che quel mare intorno bagna. 105
Io e i compagni eravam vecchi e tardi,
Quando venimmo a quella foce stretta
Ov' Ercole segnò li suoi riguardi
Acciocchè l' uom più oltre non si metta.
Dalla man destra mi lasciai Sibilia, 110
Dall' altra già m' avea lasciata Setta.
"O frati," dissi, "che per cento milia

91. Circe, daughter of the sun, was a sorceress who turned men into beasts: *Æn.*, VII, 10 ff. Ulysses visited her and compelled her to restore her victims to human form: *Met.*, XIV, 245 ff.

92. Æneas named the place in memory of his nurse Caieta, who had died there: *Æn.*, VII, 1 ff.; *Met.*, XIV, 441 ff.

94. *Pièta*, 'duty': to my 'old father.'

99. *Valore*, 'goodness.'

103. Ulysses explores both shores of the Mediterranean, and its islands.

108. 'Where Hercules set up his marks': the pillars of Hercules, on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar.

109. *Più oltre non: ne plus ultra.*

110. *Sibilia:* Seville.

111. *Setta:* Ceuto.

112. Cf. the speech of Æneas beginning 'O socii': *Æn.*, I, 198 ff. — *Milia = mila.*

Perigli siete giunti all' occidente,
A questa tanto picciola vigilia
De' nostri sensi ch' è del rimanente 115
Non vogliate negar l' esperïenza,
Diretro al sol, del mondo senza gente.
Considerate la vostra semenza:
Fatti non foste a viver come bruti,
Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza." 120
Li miei compagni fec' io sì acuti,
Con questa orazion picciola, al cammino,
Che appena poscia gli avrei ritenuti.
E volta nostra poppa nel mattino,
De' remi facemmo ali al folle volo, 125
Sempre acquistando dal lato mancino.
Tutte le stelle già dell' altro polo
Vedea la notte, e il nostro tanto basso
Che non surgeva fuor del marin suolo.
Cinque volte racceso e tante casso 130
Lo lume era di sotto dalla luna
Poi ch' entrati eravam nell' alto passo,
Quando n' apparve una montagna bruna
Per la distanza, e parvemi alta tanto

115. *Ch' è del rimanente*, 'which is left.'

117. *Diretro al sol*, 'following the sun': sailing into the west. 'The world without men' is the Hemisphere of Water.

121. *Acuti*, 'keen.'

124. They turn their stern to the morning and sail forth, constantly gaining on the left; that is, their course is not due west, but southwest.

128. *Vedea la notte* may mean 'night beheld' or 'I beheld at night.' *Il nostro:* our northern pole; when they pass the equator, the North Star sinks below the 'sea level.'

130. *Casso*, 'quenched.' They have sailed five months.

131. 'The light beneath the moon' may mean the moonlight on the water or the light on the under side of the moon (the side turned toward the earth).

133. Doubtless the mountain of Purgatory, directly opposite Jerusalem, in the middle of the Hemisphere of Water: cf. *Purg.* III, 15; *Par.* XXVI 139. — *Bruna*, 'murky.'

Quanto veduta non n' aveva alcuna. 135
Noi ci allegrammo, e tosto tornò in pianto;
Chè dalla nuova terra un turbo nacque,
E percosse del legno il primo canto.
Tre volte il fe' girar con tutte l' acque,
Alla quarta levar la poppa in suso, 140
E la prora ire in giù, com' Altrui piacque,
Infin che il mar fu sopra noi richiuso.'

137. *Turbo = turbine*, 'whirlwind.'
138. *Il primo canto*, 'the front end,' i. e., the prow.
139. *Con tutte l' acque*, 'together with the waters': cf. XXII, 147.
140. With *levar* (and with *ire* in l. 141) supply *fe'*, i. e., *fece.* For the description of the shipwreck, cf. *Æn.*, I, 113-7:

'Unam, quæ Lycios fidumque vehebat Orontem,
Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister
Volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat æquore vortex.'

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

Guido da Montefeltro, the great Ghibelline general, was one of the foremost Italians of the 13th century. He was famous for his valor, wisdom, courtesy, and especially for his skill in strategy, which won for him the name of 'fox.' Dante's story of his final seduction by Boniface VIII, to whom he was induced, by promise of absolution, to give the evil counsel of taking Palestrina by false pledges, is corroborated by the chronicle of Pipino, written in 1314. The discovery of this early account would seem to settle the much debated question whether the incident was invented by the poet.

What Dante probably did invent is a struggle between Heaven and Hell for the possession of Guido's soul. St. Francis of Assisi, to whose order Guido belonged, comes to claim the departing spirit; but he is opposed by 'one of the black cherubim,' who, after a brief discussion, is victorious. Such a conflict occurs in the *Commedia* in only one other case, that of Guido's son Buonconte, whose tale is told in *Purg.* V, 88 ff In both instances the theme is introduced to emphasize an important doctrine, namely, that the eternal fate of a soul depends on its intrinsic condition at the moment of death. Though absolved by a Pope, Guido had not genuinely repented of his last misdeed, and therefore the absolution was invalid. Buonconte, on the other hand, though neglectful of his religious duties during life, has, when mortally wounded, an instant of true repentance and love of God, and thus wins salvation. The two contrasted examples are as extreme as the poet could contrive them, and they are the more striking in that the two men are father and son.

For Pipino's text, see Tor., p. 225. For a discussion of the episode: D'Ovidio, 202, 533; E. Gorra, *Il soggettivismo di Dante*, 43–59; H. Honig, *Guido da Montefeltro* (reviewed in *Giorn. stor.*, XXXIX, 422); G. Petraglione in *Giorn. dant.*, XI, 136. For other early mention of the incident, *Giorn. stor.*, LVIII, 270, and A. F. Massèra, *Il 'consiglio frodolente' di Guido da Montefeltro secondo una nuova fonte storica*, 1911 (cf. *Bull.*, XVIII, 266).

Già era dritta in su la fiamma e queta,
  Per non dir più, e già da noi sen gìa
  Con la licenza del dolce Poeta,
Quando un' altra, che dietro a lei venia,

3. The words of the permission are given in l. 21.

Ne fece volger gli occhi alla sua cima 5
Per un confuso suon che fuor n' uscia.
Come il bue Cicilian, che mugghiò prima
Col pianto di colui (e ciò fu dritto)
Che l' avea temperato con sua lima,
Mugghiava con la voce dell' afflitto 10
Sì che, con tutto ch' ei fosse di rame,
Pure e' pareva dal dolor trafitto :
Così per non aver via nè forame
Dal principio del foco, in suo linguaggio
Si convertivan le parole grame. 15
Ma poscia ch' ebber colto lor viaggio
Su per la punta, dandole quel guizzo
Che dato avea la lingua in lor passaggio,
Udimmo dire : 'O tu, a cui io drizzo
La voce, e che parlavi mo Lombardo, 20
Dicendo : "issa ten va, più non t' adizzo,"
Perch' io sia giunto forse alquanto tardo,
Non t' incresca restare a parlar meco.

7. The brazen Sicilian bull, made by Perillus of Athens for Phalăris, tyrant of Agrigentum, was so constructed that the shrieks of victims burned within it sounded like the bellowing of a real beast. Phalaris tried it first on its maker, Perillus. The story is told by Paulus Orosius; it is mentioned also by Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, and Ovid.

11. *Con tutto*, 'although.'

13. This line and the next are obscure. Perhaps they mean : 'Thus, having no outlet nor escape from the source of the fire (i. e., the soul, from which it emanates), the dreary words were converted into its language (the language of the fire).' The vibrations of the soul's tongue are imparted to the fire, and little by little set the whole flame to oscillating like a great tongue. — Some read *nel* for *del* in l. 14, and interpret *dal principio* as 'at first.'

21. *Issa*, 'now' : cf. XXIII, 7. *Adizzo*, 'urge.' There is nothing peculiarly Lombard in this sentence; perhaps Dante meant to give only the Tuscan equivalent of what Virgil really said, or perhaps the suggestion of Lombardy lay in his accent. Dante believed that the popular dialects, though constantly changing, reached back into antiquity, and had always existed side by side with the 'grammatical language,' or Latin; so Virgil, being of Lombard parentage, might appropriately enough use his local dialect.

22. *Perchè*, 'though.'

Vedi che non incresce a me, ed ardo!
Se tu pur mo in questo mondo cieco 25
Caduto sei di quella dolce terra
Latina ond' io mia colpa tutta reco,
Dimmi se i Romagnuoli han pace o guerra;
Ch' io fui de' monti là intra Urbino
E il giogo di che 'l Tever si disserra.' 30
Io era ingiuso ancora attento e chino,
Quando il mio Duca mi tentò di costa,
Dicendo: 'Parla tu, questi è Latino.'
Ed io, ch' avea già pronta la risposta,
Senza indugio a parlare incominciai: 35
'O anima, che se' laggiù nascosta,
Romagna tua non è, e non fu mai,
Senza guerra ne' cor de' suoi tiranni;
Ma 'n palese nessuna or vi lasciai.
Ravenna sta come stata è molti anni: 40
L' aquila da Polenta là si cova
Sì che Cervia ricopre co' suoi vanni.
La terra che fe' già la lunga prova,

25. *Pur mo*, 'but now.'

28. *Romagnuoli*, 'Romagnoles': Romagna is the region lying between the Po, the Apennines, the Adriatic, and the Reno.

30. 'The range from which the Tiber springs' is Monte Coronaro. The county of Montefeltro lies between Urbino and the Tuscan Apennines.

32. *Tentò di costa*, 'nudged.' Cf. XXVI, 74.

39. In April, 1299, the parties, townships, and usurping tyrants of Romagna, after 25 years' strife, concluded a peace.

41, *Cova*, 'broods over.' The Polenta family had ruled Ravenna since 1275, when Guido (father of Francesca da Rimini) returned there with his Guelfs. The family arms contained an eagle.

42. *Vanni*, 'pinions.' Cervia, a small but important town on the Adriatic near Ravenna, was subject to the Polenta family for several years.

43. 'The city' is Forlì, head of the Ghibelline league in Romagna. In 1281–2 it resisted a long siege by the French and the Guelfs sent by Pope Martin IV. In May, 1282, the inhabitants, led by Guido da Montefeltro, issued forth and defeated the besiegers with great slaughter. In 1300 it was ruled by the Ordelaffi, who had in their arms a lion, green in the upper half.

E de' Franceschi sanguinoso mucchio,
Sotto le branche verdi si ritrova. 45
Il Mastin vecchio e il nuovo da Verrucchio,
Che fecer di Montagna il mal governo,
Là dove soglion, fan de' denti succhio.
Le città di Lamone e di Santerno
Conduce il leoncel dal nido bianco, 50
Che muta parte dalla state al verno;
E quella a cui il Savio bagna il fianco,
Così com' ella sie' tra il piano e il monte,
Tra tirannia si vive e stato franco.
Ora chi sei ti prego che ne conte. 55
Non esser duro più ch' altri sia stato,
Se il nome tuo nel mondo tegna fronte.'
Poscia che il foco alquanto ebbe rugghiato
Al modo suo, l' acuta punta mosse
Di qua, di là, e poi diè cotal fiato: 60
'S' io credessi che mia risposta fosse
A persona che mai tornasse al mondo,
Questa fiamma staria senza più scosse:
Ma perocchè giammai di questo fondo

44. *Franceschi* = *Francesi.*

46. The 'old mastiff' is Malatesta da Verrucchio, lord of Rimini, father of Gian Ciotto and Paolo. The 'young mastiff' is Malatestino, another son of Malatesta.

47. In 1296 Malatesta defeated the Ghibelline forces of Rimini and captured their leader Montagna. At the instigation of his father, Malatestino murdered the prisoner. — *Governo*, 'disposal.'

48. 'Make an auger of their teeth,' to gore their subjects and suck their blood.

49. Faenza, on the Lamone, and Imola, near the Santerno, were ruled by Maghinardo di Pagano da Susinana, who bore a blue lion on a white field. He was known as 'the lion' and 'the demon' (*Purg.* XIV, 118), and was notorious for his many changes of party.

52. Cesena, on the Savio, preserved the forms of municipal self-government, but was ruled, from 1296 to 1300, by a boss, Galasso da Montefeltro, a cousin of Guido.

57. *Se . . . tegna:* the formula of adjuration: see X, 82.

Non tornò vivo alcun, s' i' odo il vero, 65
Senza tema d' infamia ti rispondo.
Io fui uom d' arme, e poi fui cordigliero,
Credendomi, sì cinto, fare ammenda.
E certo il creder mio veniva intero,
Se non fosse il gran Prete, a cui mal prenda, 70
Che mi rimise nelle prime colpe;
E come e *quare* voglio che m' intenda.
Mentre ch' io forma fui d' ossa e di polpe,
Che la madre mi diè, l' opere mie
Non furon leonine, ma di volpe. 75
Gli accorgimenti e le coperte vie
Io seppi tutte; e sì menai lor arte
Ch' al fine della terra il suono uscìe.
Quando mi vidi giunto in quella parte
Di mia etade ove ciascun dovrebbe 80
Calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte,
Ciò che pria mi piaceva allor m' increbbe,
E pentuto e confesso mi rendei,
Ahi miser lasso! e giovato sarebbe.
Lo Principe de' nuovi Farisei, 85

67. In his old age Guido became a 'cord-wearer,' i. e., a Franciscan friar.
69. *Veniva intero*, 'would have been fulfilled.'
70. *A cui mal prenda*, 'whom ill befall!'
72. *Quare* (Latin) = *perchè*.
75. Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 13 (also *Inf.* XI, 23–6).
76. *Accorgimenti*, 'wiles.'
78. *Uscìe* = *uscì*. Cf. Ps. xix, 4: 'and their words to the end of the world.'
81. *Raccoglier*, 'coil.'
83. *Pentuto* = *pentito*. *Confesso* = *confessato*. *Mi rendei*, 'I gave myself to God,' I became a monk.
84. *Giovato sarebbe*, 'it would have availed.'
85. Boniface VIII, who was waging war at home, close to his Lateran palace, with the Colonna family. In 1297 he excommunicated them and summoned them to surrender, but they entrenched themselves in their strongholds of Palestrina and Zagarolo. Palestrina, about 24 miles from Rome and visible from the Lateran hill, was surrendered to Boniface on false promises, and then demolished.

Avendo guerra presso a Laterano, —
E non con Saracin nè con Giudei,
Chè ciascun suo nimico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincer Acri,
Nè mercatante in terra di Soldano, — 90
Nè sommo offizio nè ordini sacri
Guardò in sè, nè in me quel capestro
Che solea far li suoi cinti più macri.
Ma come Constantin chiese Silvestro
Dentro Siratti a guarir della lebbre, 95
Così mi chiese questi per maestro
A guarir della sua superba febbre :
Domandommi consiglio ; ed io tacetti,
Perchè le sue parole parver ebbre.
E poi mi disse : "Tuo cor non sospetti. 100
Finor t' assolvo ; e tu m' insegna fare
Sì come Penestrino in terra getti.
Lo ciel poss' io serrare e disserrare,
Come tu sai ; però son due le chiavi,
Che il mio antecessor non ebbe care." 105
Allor mi pinser gli argomenti gravi
Là 've il tacer mi fu avviso il peggio,

89. Not one of them had been a renegade to help the Saracens take Acre in 1291. The fall of Acre, the last bulwark of Christendom in the East, filled Europe with consternation; and Pope Nicholas IV exhorted the coast towns not to traffic with the lands of the Sultan. Six years later, Boniface was proclaiming a crusade against Christians.

92. *Capestro*, 'rope': the Franciscan girdle, 'which used (in the good old times) to make its wearers lean.'

94. Pope Sylvester I, who had taken refuge on Mt. Soracte, near Rome, was sought out, according to the legend, to cure the Emperor Constantine of leprosy; this he did by baptism. In return for this cure the donation of Constantine was made.

96. *Maestro*, 'physician.'

102. *Penestrino* = *Palestrina*.

104. *Però*, 'wherefor.'

105. *Antecessor:* Celestine V, who renounced the papacy (III, 60; XIX, 56).

E dissi : "Padre, da che tu mi lavi
Di quel peccato ov' io mo cader deggio,
Lunga promessa con l' attender corto 110
Ti farà trionfar nell' alto seggio."
Francesco venne poi, com' io fui morto,
Per me ; ma un de' neri Cherubini
Gli disse : "Nol portar ; non mi far torto.
Venir se ne dee giù tra' miei meschini, 115
Perchè diede il consiglio frodolente,
Dal quale in qua stato gli sono a' crini.
Ch' assolver non si può chi non si pente,
Nè pentere e volere insieme puossi,
Per la contradizion, che nol consente." 120
O me dolente ! come mi riscossi,
Quando mi prese, dicendomi : "Forse
Tu non pensavi ch' io loïco fossi !"
A Minòs mi portò ; e quegli attorse
Otto volte la coda al dosso duro, 125
E, poi che per gran rabbia la si morse,
Disse : "Questi è de' rei del foco furo."
Per ch' io là dove vedi son perduto,
E sì vestito andando mi rancuro.'
Quand' egli ebbe il suo dir così compiuto, 130
La fiamma dolorando si partìo,
Torcendo e dibattendo il corno acuto.

110. *Attender*, 'fulfilment.'
115. *Meschini*, 'servitors.'
117. *A' crini:* lurking about his hair, ready to seize him.
119. *Puossi = si può*. One cannot repent without renunciation of the will.
120. *Consente*, 'admits.'
121. *Mi riscossi*, 'I shuddered.'
123. *Loico*, 'a logician.'
125. Cf. V, 11-2.
127. *Furo*, 'thievish': cf. XXVI, 41-2.
129. *Mi rancuro*, 'I repine.'

Noi passammo oltre, ed io e il Duca mio,
  Su per lo scoglio infino in su l' altr' arco,
  Che copre il fosso in che si paga il fio 135
A quei che scommettendo acquistan carco.

135. *Fio*, 'fee': their due.
136. 'To those who make a load by separating': usually a load is made by putting together; but the sowers of discord, who occupy the next *bolgia*, make up their burden of sin by putting asunder those who were united.

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

An involved simile, at the beginning of this canto, calls up the picture of a vast accumulation of maimed bodies gathered, through the centuries, from the many battlefields of southern Italy. Even this mangled host conveys but a faint idea of the ninth *bolgia*. Creators of strife are here hacked by the sword of a fiend, as they pass by; their horribly dissevered state represents the life of bloodshed and dissension which they loved. Conspicuous among them are Mahomet, the Roman Curio, Mosca de' Lamberti of Florence, and the Provençal warrior-poet Bertran de Born.

Dante's contemporaries believed Mahomet to have been originally not only a Christian, but a cardinal and an aspirant to the papacy. The poet, then, was justified in regarding him and his son-in-law Ali as the leaders of a great schism in the Christian Church.

The tribune Curio, banished from Rome, fled to Cæsar, who was hesitating on the bank of the Rubicon, and 'sunk the doubt' within him by urging him to march on the capital. The event is narrated by Lucan in *Pharsalia*, I, 266 ff. He now wishes he had never seen Rimini, near which town the Rubicon empties into the Adriatic.

In 1215 a Buondelmonte, who was betrothed to a lady of the Amidei family, was induced to jilt her and appear on his wedding-day with a bride from the house of the Donati. The Amidei came together to discuss the best way to avenge this affront. Some advised inflicting on Buondelmonte a beating or a wound in the face Mosca, however, affirmed that such an attack would result in more harm to the aggressors than to the victim. 'Cosa fatta capo ha,' he declared — 'a thing once done has an end': if we do him a hurt, let it be a final one. The Amidei followed his counsel and murdered the offender. Hence arose the feud between the families and, according to local tradition, the first conflict between Guelfs and Ghibellines in Florence. The Lamberti, to whom Mosca belonged, were afterwards banished from the city and never allowed to return.

Bertran de Born was a Provençal poet of the latter part of the 12th century. To further his private ends, he took advantage of the disputes and wars of Henry II of England and his two elder sons, Henry and Richard, who had extensive possessions in south-

ern France. According to his old Provençal biography, which considerably exaggerates his political importance, Bertran was active in fomenting their quarrels, and formed a close friendship with the younger Henry. This prince was crowned in his father's lifetime, and was consequently known as 'the young English king.' His early death in 1283 was mourned by Bertran in verse that gained wide renown.

Chi poria mai pur con parole sciolte
  Dicer del sangue e delle piaghe appieno,
  Ch' i' ora vidi, per narrar più volte?
Ogni lingua per certo verria meno
  Per lo nostro sermone e per la mente, 5
  Ch' hanno a tanto comprender poco seno.
S' ei s' adunasse ancor tutta la gente
  Che già in sulla fortunata terra
  Di Puglia fu del suo sangue dolente
Per li Troiani, e per la lunga guerra 10
  Che dell' anella fe' sì alte spoglie
  Come Livïo scrive, che non erra;
Con quella che sentì di colpi doglie

1. *Con parole sciolte:* in prose.
2. *Appieno*, 'in full.'
3. *Per narrar*, 'though he should narrate.'
4. *Verria meno*, 'would fall short.'
5. *Per*, 'by reason of.' *Sermone*, 'speech': cf. XIII, 21. *Mente*, 'memory': cf. II, 6.
6. *Comprender*, 'hold.' *Seno*, 'hollow,' i. e., capacity.
7. The *ei* is redundant: it anticipates the real subject, *gente*. In this involved passage, *s' adunasse* is to be connected with *quella* (*gente*) in l. 13 and *l' altra* (*gente*) in l. 15. The conclusion is reached in ll. 20–1.
8. *Fortunata*, 'stormy.'
9. The name Apulia was often given to all the continental part of the Kingdom of Naples.
10. *Per li Troiani*, 'on account of the Trojans,' i. e., the Romans, whose ancestors came from Troy: the allusion is to the conquest of the Samnites by the Romans, perhaps also to the defeat of Pyrrhus. The 'long war' is the Second Punic War, led by Hannibal against Rome.
11. It was said that after the battle of Cannæ Hannibal's troops took from the dead Romans more than three bushels of rings — or (the 'unerring Livy' adds, XXXIII, 12), according to a report nearer the truth, about one bushel. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 164–71. — *Anella*, plural of *anello*.

Per contrastare a Roberto Guiscardo ;
E l' altra, il cui ossame ancor s' accoglie 15
A Ceperan, là dove fu bugiardo
Ciascun Pugliese, e là da Tagliacozzo
Ove senz' arme vinse il vecchio Alardo :
E qual forato suo membro e qual mozzo
Mostrasse, da equar sarebbe nulla 20
Al modo della nona bolgia sozzo.
Già veggia per mezzul perdere o lulla,
Com' io vidi un, così non si pertugia,
Rotto dal mento infin dove si trulla.
Tra le gambe pendevan le minugia ; 25
La corata pareva, e il tristo sacco
Che merda fa di quel che si trangugia.
Mentre che tutto in lui veder m' attacco,
Guardommi, e con le man s' aperse il petto,

14. *Per contrastare*, 'through opposing' Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror who overran southern Italy in the 11th century, and became Duke of Apulia.

15. Those slain in the battle of Benevento, in 1266, where Manfred, son of Frederick II, was defeated by Charles of Anjou, and killed. In reality there was no fight at Ceprano; the first encounter was at S. Germano. Dante apparently followed, with several chroniclers, a false report. Manfred was deserted by the Apulian troops at Benevento; but the Apulian reputation for inconstancy antedates the battle. Cf. E. Pozzi in *Giorn. stor.*, LVII, 303.

17. *Da*, 'by.' At Tagliacozzo, in 1268, the Imperial forces were again defeated by Charles of Anjou, and Conradin, nephew of Manfred and grandson of Frederick, was captured. The victory was due to the stategy of an elderly French General, Erard de Valéry; he won by his wit rather than by his sword.

19. *Qual . . . qual*, 'one . . . another.' *Membro* is the object of *mostrasse*. *Mozzo*, 'severed.'

20. *Equar*, 'compare.' Cf. *Æn.*, II, 362.

22. *Veggia*, 'cask.' *Mezzul*, 'mid-board': the middle one of the three pieces that compose the bottom of a cask. *Lulla* (half-moon), 'side-piece.'

23. The construction is made clear by transposing the two halves of this line.

24. Cleft from chin to anus.

25. *Minugia*, 'entrails.'

26. *Corata*, 'pluck.' *Sacco:* the stomach.

27. *Si trangugia*, 'is swallowed.'

Dicendo: 'Or vedi come io mi dilacco; 30
Vedi come storpiato è Maometto.
Dinanzi a me sen va piangendo Alì
Fesso nel volto dal mento al ciuffetto.
E tutti gli altri che tu vedi qui
Seminator di scandalo e di scisma 35
Fur vivi; e però son fessi così.
Un diavolo è qua dietro che n' accisma
Sì crudelmente, al taglio della spada
Rimettendo ciascun di questa risma,
Quando avem volta la dolente strada; 40
Però che le ferite son richiuse
Prima ch' altri dinanzi gli rivada.
Ma tu chi se' che in sullo scoglio muse,
Forse per indugiar d' ire alla pena
Ch' è giudicata in su le tue accuse?' 45
'Nè morte il giunse ancor, nè colpa il mena,'
Rispose il mio Maestro, 'a tormentarlo.
Ma per dar lui esperïenza piena,
A me, che morto son, convien menarlo
Per lo inferno quaggiù di giro in giro. 50
E questo è ver così com' io ti parlo.'
Più fur di cento che, quando l' udiro,
S' arrestaron nel fosso a riguardarmi,
Per maraviglia oblïando il martiro.

30. *Dilacco*, 'split.'
32. *Alì*, 'Ali': the husband of Mahomet's favorite daughter, and one of his most zealous followers. — Ll. 32, 34, 36 are *versi tronchi*: see IV, 56.
33. *Ciuffetto*, 'forelock.'
37. *Accisma*, 'fashions': cf. Old French *acesmer*, 'arrange.'
39. *Risma*, 'lot.'
42. *Altri*, 'one.'
43. *Muse*, 'dalliest': cf. V, 19.
45. 'Thine own indictment': cf. V, 8.
54. *Martiro* = *martirio*.

'Or di' a Fra Dolcin dunque che s' armi, 55
Tu che forse vedrai lo sole in breve,
S' egli non vuol qui tosto seguitarmi,
Sì di vivanda che stretta di neve
Non rechi la vittoria al Noarese,
Ch' altrimenti acquistar non saria lieve.' 60
Poi che l' un piè per girsene sospese,
Maometto mi disse esta parola;
Indi a partirsi in terra lo distese.
Un altro, che forata avea la gola
E tronco il naso infin sotto le ciglia, 65
E non avea ma' ch' un' orecchia sola,
Restato a riguardar per maraviglia
Con gli altri, innanzi agli altri aprì la canna,
Ch' era di fuor d' ogni parte vermiglia;
E disse: 'Tu, cui colpa non condanna, 70
E cui io vidi su in terra Latina,
Se troppa simiglianza non m' inganna,
Rimembriti di Pier da Medicina,
Se mai torni a veder lo dolce piano

55. *S' armi*, 'provide himself,' is to be connected with *di vivanda* in l. 58. Fra Dolcino, as he was generally called (though not a friar), became the leader of the heretical sect called the Apostolic Brethren, whose aim was to bring the Church and mankind back to a state of primitive simplicity. He made many converts in northern Italy. A crusade having been proclaimed against him by Clement V, he took refuge, in the winter of 1306, in the stronghold of Zebello, where he was besieged for three months and finally taken, after three days' fighting. He was put to death in Novara. According to Dante's version, he was obliged by snow and famine to surrender.

58. *Stretta*, 'block.'

59. *Al Noarese*, 'to the Novarese,' the people of Novara.

61. Mahomet is so eager to give this warning that he speaks while his foot is uplifted to depart.

66. *Ma'* = *più*.

68. *Canna*, 'gullet': cf. VI, 27.

73. Of this acquaintance of the poet, nothing is known. Medicina is a little town near Bologna. The *dolce piano* is the plain of the Po, sloping from Vercelli to the stronghold of Marcabò, near Ravenna.

Che da Vercelli a Marcabò dichina. 75
E fa' saper ai due miglior di Fano,
A messer Guido ed anco ad Angiolello,
Che, se l' antiveder qui non è vano,
Gittati saran fuor di lor vasello
E mazzerati presso alla Cattolica, 80
Per tradimento d' un tiranno fello.
Tra l' isola di Cipri e di Maiolica
Non vide mai sì gran fallo Nettuno,
Non da pirati, non da gente Argolica.
Quel traditor che vede pur con l' uno, 85
E tien la terra che tal è qui meco
Vorrebbe di vedere esser digiuno,
Farà venirli a parlamento seco ;
Poi farà sì che al vento di Focara
Non farà lor mestier voto nè preco.' 90
Ed io a lui : 'Dimostrami e dichiara,
Se vuoi ch' io porti su di te novella,
Chi è colui dalla veduta amara.'
Allor pose la mano alla mascella

77. Guido del Cassero and Agnolello di Carignano belonged to opposing factions in the town of Fano; almost nothing else is known of them, nor have we any other information about the crime here predicted.

79. *Vasello*, 'bark.'

80. *Mazzerati*, 'drowned.' *Cattolica :* a place on the Adriatic between Rimini and Pesaro. Ll. 80, 82, 84 are *versi sdruccioli :* see XV, 1.

82. *Cipri*, 'Cyprus.' *Maiolica*, 'Majorca.' From one end of the Mediterranean to the other.

84. *Gente Argolica* (*Æn.*, II, 78), 'Argolic people,' i. e., Greeks, famous of old as sea-robbers.

85. *Uno*, sc., *occhio :* Malatestino (XXVII, 46) was one-eyed.

86. *Terra :* Rimini. *Tal :* Curio (cf. l. 102).

87. Wishes he had never seen: cf. XVIII, 42.

88. *Parlamento*, 'parley.'

90. They need offer no vow nor prayer to the wind of Focara, i. e., they need have no fear of being shipwrecked, because they will be already drowned. The squalls blowing from Focara (near 'la Cattolica') were dangerous to sailors.

93. That is, the one who wishes he had never seen Rimini: cf. l. 87.

D' un suo compagno, e la bocca gli aperse 95
Gridando: 'Questi è desso, e non favella.
Questi, scacciato, il dubitar sommerse
In Cesare, affermando che il fornito
Sempre con danno l' attender sofferse.'
O quanto mi pareva sbigottito, 100
Con la lingua tagliata nella strozza,
Curio, ch' a dire fu così ardito!
Ed un ch' avea l' una e l' altra man mozza,
Levando i moncherin per l' aura fosca,
Sì che il sangue facea la faccia sozza, 105
Gridò: 'Ricordera' ti anche del Mosca,
Che dissi, lasso! "Capo ha cosa fatta,"
Che fu il mal seme per la gente tosca.'
Ed io gli aggiunsi: 'E morte di tua schiatta.'
Per ch' egli, accumulando duol con duolo, 110
Sen gìo come persona trista e matta.
Ma io rimasi a riguardar lo stuolo,
E vidi cosa ch' io avrei paura,
Senza più prova, di contarla solo;
Se non che coscïenza mi assicura, 115
La buona compagnia che l' uom francheggia
Sotto l' osbergo del sentirsi pura.
Io vidi certo, ed ancor par ch' io 'l veggia,
Un busto senza capo andar, sì come
Andavan gli altri della trista greggia. 120

98. 'The man prepared has always lost by delay (endured waiting to his loss)' is a paraphrase of the words of Curio in *Phars.*, I, 281: 'semper nocuit differre paratis.'
100. *Sbigottito*, 'aghast.'
101. *Strozza*, 'throat.'
104. *Moncherin*, 'stumps.'
112. *Stuolo:* cf. XIV, 32.
116. 'That good companion that emboldens a man.'
117. 'Under the hauberk of conscious purity.'

E il capo tronco tenea per le chiome,
  Pesol con mano a guisa di lanterna,
  E quel mirava noi, e dicea : 'O me!'
Di sè faceva a sè stesso lucerna,
  Ed eran due in uno, ed uno in due. 125
  Com' esser può, Quei sa che sì governa.
Quando diritto al piè del ponte fue,
  Levò il braccio alto con tutta la testa
  Per appressarne le parole sue,
Che furo : 'Or vedi la pena molesta 130
  Tu che, spirando, vai veggendo i morti;
  Vedi se alcuna è grande come questa.
E perchè tu di me novella porti,
  Sappi ch' io son Bertram dal Bornio, quelli
  Che diedi al re giovane i mai conforti. 135
Io feci il padre e il figlio in sè ribelli.
  Achitofel non fe' più d' Ansalone
  E di David co' malvagi pungelli.
Perch' io partii così giunte persone,

122. *Pesol*, 'dangling.'
126. *Governa*, 'ordains.'
128. *Con tutta la testa*, 'head and all': cf. XXII, 147.
132. Cf. Lamentations i, 12: 'behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.'
135. *Mai = mali*: 'the wicked encouragement.' The great weight of manuscript evidence is in favor of the reading *re Giovanni*, instead of *re giovane*, and it must be confessed that *Giovanni* makes a much smoother line. But Bertran's relations were with Henry II and his oldest son, also named Henry, and commonly called 'the young king'; he had dealings also with Richard (afterwards Richard I), but none with John (subsequently King John). Either Dante or his first copyists must have made a blunder: inasmuch as there is every reason to believe that Dante was familiar with Bertran's poems and the Provençal biography of him, we may confidently ascribe the mistake to the copyists. At that time *giovane* and *Giovanni* might be spelled exactly alike.
138. *Malvagi pungelli*, 'evil instigations.' For the story of Absalom and Ahithophel, see II Samuel xiv–xviii.

Partito porto il mio cerebro, lasso! 140
Dal suo principio ch' è in questo troncone.
Così s' osserva in me lo contrapasso.'

141. The 'source' of the brain is the spinal column. *Troncone*, 'trunk.'
142. *Contrapasso*, 'retribution': the law of retaliation, according to which the penalties are meted out in Hell. Cf. Exod. xxi, 24; Levit. xxiv, 20; Deut. xix, 21; Mat. v, 38.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

The sight of the sowers of discord exercises a curious fascination on the beholder, who gazes on their 'strange wounds' with 'drunken eyes' until he is brought to his senses by a reproof from Virgil. In other words, Dante, who was himself prone to strife, in his contemplation of this sin is beginning to feel more satisfaction than abhorrence, and needs to be warned by Reason that he is not meditating in the proper spirit. A similar lapse is described at the end of the next canto. Dante attempts to justify his eagerness by the statement that he was searching for the shade of Geri del Bello, a first cousin of his father, who is punished in this ditch. The early commentators give Geri a black character; but we really know little of him except that his house was damaged by the Ghibellines in 1260, that he received compensation for it from the Guelfs in 1269, and that he was killed by one of the Sacchetti. The resulting feud between the families was ended by a reconciliation in 1342. In 1300 his death, to Dante's shame, was still unavenged. Vengeance for a relative's murder was regarded, in spite of Christian teaching, as a part of a gentleman's duty. This doctrine is explicitly laid down by Brunetto Latini in his *Tesoretto*, XVIII. Dante himself wrote, in Canzone XII, 83:

> 'Chè bell' onor s' acquista in far vendetta.'

Forese Donati, in his third sonnet to Dante, derisively said to him:

> 'Ben so che fosti figliuol d' Allaghieri,
> E accorgomene pur alla vendetta
> Che facesti di lui sì bella e netta.'

The tenth valley — the last of Malebolge — contains falsifiers of all kinds. Those described fall into four classes: falsifiers of metals, or alchemists; falsifiers of persons, or impersonators; falsifiers of coin, or counterfeiters; falsifiers of words, or liars. It is to be noted that the alchemists here confined are damned as cheats, not as disturbers of God's creation. The sin of all these culprits is symbolized by devastating disease, which alters their appearance: as they tried to change the aspect of things, so are they transformed by loathsome maladies.

See I. Del Lungo, *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante*, 1898, p. 65 (*Una vendetta in Firenze*).

La molta gente e le diverse piaghe
  Avean le luci mie sì inebrïate
  Che dello stare a piangere eran vaghe.
Ma Virgilio mi disse: 'Chè pur guate?
  Perchè la vista tua pur si soffolge 5
  Laggiù tra l' ombre triste smozzicate?
Tu non hai fatto sì all' altre bolge.
  Pensa, se tu annoverar le credi,
  Che miglia ventidue la valle volge;
E già la luna è sotto i nostri piedi. 10
  Lo tempo è poco omai che n' è concesso,
  Ed altro è da veder che tu non vedi.'
'Se tu avessi,' rispos' io appresso,
  'Atteso alla cagion per ch' io guardava,
  Forse m' avresti ancor lo star dimesso.' 15
Parte sen gìa, ed io retro gli andava,
  Lo Duca, già facendo la risposta,
  E soggiungendo: 'Dentro a quella cava
Dov' io teneva or gli occhi sì a posta,

1. *Diverse*, 'strange': cf. XXII, 10; XXIV, 83.
2. *Luci*, 'eyes.'
3. *Vaghe*, 'eager.'
4. *Chè pur guate*, 'why dost thou naught but stare?' Cf. V, 19.
5. *Si soffolge*, 'rests.'
6. *Smozzicate*, 'mutilated.'
8. *Annoverar*, 'count.'
9. We learn from XXX, 86, that the 10th and last *bolgia* is eleven miles in circumference. These figures do not afford a clue for any further computations; they give, however, an impression of exactness, and they indicate a near approach to the centre of the earth; furthermore, they suggest by contrast the vast dimensions of the upper circles. The number 22 was one that would naturally occur to Dante in speaking of a circle, because the relation of circumference to diameter was expressed by the ratio of 22 to 7.
10. The moon being under their feet, the sun must be over their heads: it is about noon in Jerusalem.
15. *Dimesso*, 'granted.'
16. *Parte*, 'while.' The *ed* is untranslatable: cf. XIX, 3. The construction is: *Parte se ne gìa lo Duca*, (*ed*) *io retro gli andava*, *già facendo*, etc.
19. *A posta*, 'fixed.'

Credo che un spirto del mio sangue pianga 20
La colpa che laggiù cotanto costa.'
Allor disse il Maestro : 'Non si franga
Lo tuo pensier da qui innanzi sopr' ello.
Attendi ad altro, ed ei là si rimanga.
Ch' io vidi lui a piè del ponticello 25
Mostrarti, e minacciar forte col dito,
Ed udî 'l nominar Geri del Bello.
Tu eri allor sì del tutto impedito
Sopra colui che già tenne Altaforte
Che non guardasti in là, sì fu partito.' 30
'O Duca mio, la violenta morte
Che non gli è vendicata ancor,' diss' io,
'Per alcun che dell' onta sia consorte,
Fece lui disdegnoso ; ond' ei sen gìo
Senza parlarmi, sì com' io stimo. 35
Ed in ciò m' ha e' fatto a sè più pio.'
Così parlammo infino al loco primo
Che dello scoglio l' altra valle mostra,
Se più lume vi fosse, tutto ad imo.
Quando noi fummo in sull' ultima chiostra 40
Di Malebolge, sì che i suoi conversi
Potean parere alla veduta nostra,

22. 'Let not thy thought shatter itself upon him,' like a missile hurled violently at something hard.
28. *Impedito*, 'absorbed.' *Altaforte*, or Hautefort (Provençal *Autafort*), was the castle of Bertran de Born.
30. *In là*, 'that way.' *Sì*, 'until': cf. XIX, 44.
33. *Consorte*, 'partner': by any of his relatives.
36. The thought of Geri's just grievance against him makes Dante more compassionate.
38. *Dello=dallo. L' altra valle:* the 10th *bolgia*.
39. (And) if there were more light, (would reveal it) quite to the bottom.
40. *Chiostra* means 'enclosure' and also 'cloister'; the latter sense suggests the 'lay brothers' (*conversi*) of l. 41.

Lamenti saettaron me diversi,
  Che di pietà ferrati avean gli strali;
  Ond' io gli orecchi colle man copersi. 45
Qual dolor fora, se degli spedali
  Di Valdichiana tra il luglio e il settembre,
  E di Maremma e di Sardigna, i mali
Fossero in una fossa tutti insembre,
  Tal era quivi, e tal puzzo n' usciva 50
  Qual suol venir delle marcite membre.
Noi discendemmo in sull' ultima riva
  Del lungo scoglio, pur da man sinistra,
  Ed allor fu la mia vista più viva
Giù ver lo fondo, là 've la ministra 55
  Dell' alto Sire, infallibil giustizia,
  Punisce i falsator che qui registra.
Non credo che a veder maggior tristizia
  Fosse in Egina il popol tutto infermo,
  Quando fu l' aer sì pien di malizia 60
Che gli animali infino al picciol vermo

43. *Diversi:* cf. l. 1.
44. *Ferrati*, 'headed,' 'pointed.' *Strali*, 'shafts.'
46. The *qual* is correlative with *tal* in l. 50. The swampy Valdichiana and Maremma (in eastern and western Tuscany) and the fens of Sardinia were noted haunts of malaria in the hot season.
48. *Mali*, 'diseases.'
49. *Insembre = insieme.*
50. *Tal*, sc., *dolor.*
51. *Delle = dalle. Membre = membra.*
52. *Riva:* the further, inner bank of the 10th and last *bolgia.* The poets climb down, on the left, from the ridge to the bank itself; they do not mount the ridge again.
55. *'Ve = ove.*
57. *Qui:* on earth.
58. Construe: *Non credo che il popolo tutto infermo in Egina fosse maggior tristizia* ('sadder') *a veder* . . . The second member of the comparison begins with *che* in l. 65. A pest sent by Juno carried off the inhabitants and even the animals that occupied the island of Ægina; afterwards, at the prayer of Æacus, the sole survivor, Jupiter restored the population by turning ants into men: *Met.*, VII, 518 ff. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxvii, 160–8.

Cascaron tutti, e poi le genti antiche,
Secondo che i poeti hanno per fermo,
Si ristorar di seme di formiche,
Ch' era a veder per quella oscura valle 65
Languir gli spirti per diverse biche.
Qual sopra il ventre, e qual sopra le spalle
L' un dell' altro giacea, e qual carpone
Si trasmutava per lo tristo calle.
Passo passo andavam senza sermone, 70
Guardando ed ascoltando gli ammalati,
Che non potean levar le lor persone.
Io vidi due sedere a sè poggiati,
Come a scaldar si poggia tegghia a tegghia,
Dal capo al piè di schianze maculati. 75
E non vidi giammai menare stregghia
Da ragazzo aspettato dal signorso,
Nè da colui che mal volentier vegghia,
Come ciascun menava spesso il morso
Dell' unghie sopra sè per la gran rabbia 80
Del pizzicor, che non ha più soccorso.
E sì traevan giù l' unghie la scabbia,
Come coltel di scardova le scaglie,
O d' altro pesce che più larghe l' abbia.
'O tu che colle dita ti dismaglie,' 85
Cominciò il Duca mio all' un di loro,

66. *Biche*, 'stacks': cf. IX, 78.
74. *Tegghia*, 'pan.'
75. *Schianze*, 'scabs.'
76. *Stregghia*=*striglia*, 'currycomb.'
77. *Ragazzo*, 'stable-boy.' *Signorso*=*signor suo.*
78. *Vegghia*, 'stays awake': one who is in a hurry to get to bed.
79. *Morso*, 'bite,' i. e., edge.
81. *Pizzicor*, 'itching.'
83. *Scardova*, 'bream.'
85. *Dismaglie*, 'dismailest': cf. V, 19.

'E che fai d' esse tal volta tanaglie,
Dinne s' alcun Latino è tra costoro
Che son quinc' entro, se l' unghia ti basti
Eternalmente a cotesto lavoro.' 90
'Latin sem noi, che tu vedi sì guasti
Qui ambedue,' rispose l' un piangendo:
'Ma tu chi se', che di noi domandasti?'
E il Duca disse: 'Io son un che discendo
Con questo vivo giù di balzo in balzo, 95
E di mostrar l' inferno a lui intendo.'
Allor si ruppe lo comun rincalzo;
E tremando ciascuno a me si volse
Con altri che l' udiron di rimbalzo.
Lo buon Maestro a me tutto s' accolse, 100
Dicendo: 'Di' a lor ciò che tu vuoli.'
Ed io incominciai, poscia ch' ei volse:
'Se la vostra memoria non s' imboli
Nel primo mondo dall' umane menti,
Ma s' ella viva sotto molti soli, 105
Ditemi chi voi siete e di che genti.
La vostra sconcia e fastidiosa pena
Di palesarvi a me non vi spaventi.'

88. *Latino:* cf. XXII, 65.
89. *Se l' unghia*, etc.: formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
91. *Sem=siamo:* cf. IV, 41.
95. *Balzo*, 'ledge.'
96. *Intendo*, 'I am busied.'
97. *Rincalzo*, 'support,' of the two invalids who are propped against each other, like pans.
99. *Di rimbalzo*, 'on the rebound': who caught the words that were directed at the two lepers.
100. *S' accolse*, 'drew close.'
101. *Vuoli=vuoi.*
102. *Volse=volle.*
103. *S' imboli*, 'steal away.' Ll. 103, 105 contain the same construction as l. 89.

'Io fui d' Arezzo, ed Albero da Siena,'
Rispose l' un, 'mi fe' mettere al foco ; 110
Ma quel perch' io mori' qui non mi mena.
Ver è ch' io dissi a lui, parlando a gioco,
Io mi saprei levar per l' aere a volo ;
E quei, che avea vaghezza e senno poco,
Volle ch' io gli mostrassi l' arte ; e solo 115
Perch' io nol feci Dedalo, mi fece
Ardere a tal, che l' avea per figliuolo.
Ma nell' ultima bolgia delle diece
Me per alchìmia che nel mondo usai
Dannò Minos, a cui fallar non lece.' 120
Ed io dissi al Poeta : 'Or fu giammai
Gente sì vana come la sanese?
Certo non la francesca sì d' assai.'
Onde l' altro lebbroso, che m' intese,
Rispose al detto mio : 'Trammene Stricca, 125
Che seppe far le temperate spese ;
E Niccolò, che la costuma ricca

109. Most of the early commentators give the name of the speaker as Griffolino; a 'Maestro Griffolino da Arezzo' is attested in Bologna in 1259. Albero da Siena belonged to a rich and noble family, and was alive as late as 1294; nothing more is known of him.

111. One of the early commentators, Jacopo della Lana, says that Griffolino was burned for heresy. But what brings him here is alchemy.

114. *Vaghezza*, 'curiosity.'

116. Because I did not teach him to fly like Dædalus. Cf. XVII, 109.

117. *A tal*, 'by a certain man': the early commentators say it was the bishop of Siena. The latter part of the line probably means: 'who loved him (Albero) as a son.'

120. *Lece*, 'it is permitted.'

122. *Vana*, 'silly.' The foolishness of the Sienese was a standing joke in the rival city of Florence.

124. We learn in l. 136 that 'the other leper' is Capocchio. — *Intese*, 'heard.'

125. *Trammene*, 'except': evidently ironical. *Stricca:* probably Giovanni Stricca de' Salimbeni, mayor of Bologna in 1276 and 1286.

127. *Niccolò*, said to be a brother of Stricca. Capocchio calls him the inventor of the 'costly fashion of the clove,' that is, apparently, the one who

Del garofano prima discoperse
Nell' orto dove tal seme s' appicca;
E tranne la brigata in che disperse 130
Caccia d' Ascian la vigna e la gran fronda,
E l' Abbagliato il suo senno proferse.
Ma perchè sappi chi sì ti seconda
Contra i Sanesi, aguzza ver me l' occhio
Sì che la faccia mia ben ti risponda; 135
Sì vedrai ch' io son l' ombra di Capocchio,
Che falsai li metalli con alchìmia.
E ti dei ricordar, se ben t' adocchio,
Com' io fui di natura buona scimia.'

introduced into Siena the use of cloves as a spice. Cloves, which were imported from the East, paid a heavy duty.

129. 'The garden where such seed takes root' is Siena, where a foolish custom, once started, is bound to thrive.

130. Excepting also the *brigata spendereccia*, or Spendthrifts' Club, a group of young men who vied with one another in extravagance. — *Disperse*, 'squandered.'

131. *Caccia d' Ascian* is perhaps the poet known as Caccia da Siena. *Vigna*, 'vineyards.' *Fronda*, 'forests.'

132. *L' Abbagliato:* a nickname of Bartolommeo Folcacchieri, a brother of the poet Folcacchiero. He held important offices, and lived as late as 1300. — *Proferse*, 'displayed.'

136. Capocchio was burned alive in Siena in 1293.

138. *Se ben t' adocchio*, 'if I descry thee aright': if thou art really the man I think.

139. *Scimia = scimmia*, 'ape.'

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

FALSE personation is represented by Myrrha of Cyprus and Gianni Schicchi of Florence; counterfeiting by the counts of Romena and their agent, Master Adam; lying by Potiphar's wife and Sinon the Greek. Before leaving this valley, Dante, listening to a vulgar altercation, shows the same weakness for which he was rebuked in the preceding canto.

Nel tempo che Giunone era crucciata
 Per Semelè contra il sangue tebano, —
 Come mostrò una ed altra fiata, —
Atamante divenne tanto insano
 Che, veggendo la moglie con due figli 5
 Andar carcata da ciascuna mano,
Gridò : 'Tendiam le reti, sì ch' io pigli
 La leonessa e i leoncini al varco.'
 E poi distese i dispietati artigli,
Prendendo l' un che avea nome Learco, 10
 E rotollo, e percosselo ad un sasso.
 E quella s' annegò con l' altro carco.
E quando la fortuna volse in basso

1. Juno was enraged at the royal family of Thebes on account of the love of Jupiter and Semĕle, daughter of Cadmus, the founder and king of that city. Cf. *Met.*, III, 253 ff.

2. For the accentuation *Semelè*, see V, 4. In Latin poetry the ictus fell on the final syllable of such names as Sĕmĕlē, Hĕcătē, Tīsīphŏnē: cf. *Met.*, III, 293; *Æn.*, IV, 609, X, 761.

3. The two instances are the destruction of Semele and the tragic incident that follows (*Met.*, IV, 512 ff).

5. *La moglie:* Ino, sister of Semele and nurse of Bacchus, Semele's child by Jupiter. Ino and Athămas had two children, Learchus and Melicerta.

11. *Rotollo = lo rotò*, 'whirled him.'

12. *Quella:* Ino. *L' altro carco:* cf. l. 6.

L' altezza de' Troian che tutto ardiva,
Sì che insieme col regno il re fu casso, 15
Ecuba trista, misera e cattiva,
Poscia che vide Polissena morta,
E del suo Polidoro in su la riva
Del mar si fu la dolorosa accorta,
Forsennata latrò sì come cane; 20
Tanto il dolor le fe' la mente torta.
Ma nè di Tebe furie nè Troiane
Si vider mai in alcun tanto crude,
Non punger bestie, non che membra umane,
Quant' io vidi in due ombre smorte e nude 25
Che mordendo correvan di quel modo
Che il porco quando del porcil si schiude.
L' una giunse a Capocchio, ed in sul nodo
Del collo l' assannò sì che tirando
Grattar gli fece il ventre al fondo sodo. 30
E l' Aretin, che rimase tremando,
Mi disse: 'Quel folletto è Gianni Schicchi,
E va rabbioso altrui così conciando.'

15. *Casso*, 'undone.' Cf. *Met.*, XIII, 404: 'Troia simul Priamusque cadunt.'

16. *Cattiva*, 'captive.' After the fall of Troy, Hecuba and her daughter Polyxĕna were carried away as slaves. On the way to Greece Polyxena was slain as a victim on the tomb of Achilles, to whom she had been promised. Hecuba's son, Polydorus, who had been entrusted to Polymestor, king of Thrace, was murdered by him and thrown into the sea. As the unhappy mother went to wash from her hands the blood of Polyxena, she saw the corpse of her son on the shore. In her frenzy she tore out Polymestor's eyes, and when she tried to speak, began to bark. Cf. *Met.*, XIII, 399–575.

21. *Torta*, 'distraught.'

22. No furies (such as possessed Athamas and Hecuba) were ever beheld possessing any one, beast or man, equal in cruelty to the furies that possessed two pallid shades in the 10th *bolgia*.

24. 'Goading beasts, much less human flesh.'

28. *Nodo*, 'nape.'

29. *Assannò*, 'gored.'

31. *L' Aretin:* Griffolino.

32. *Folletto*, 'goblin.'

'O,' diss' io lui, 'se l' altro non ti ficchi
Li denti addosso, non ti sia fatica 35
A dir chi è, pria che di qui si spicchi.'
Ed egli a me : 'Quell' è l' anima antica
Di Mirra scellerata, che divenne
Al padre, fuor del dritto amore, amica.
Questa a peccar con esso così venne, 40
Falsificando sè in altrui forma,
Come l' altro che là sen va sostenne,
Per guadagnar la donna della torma,
Falsificare in sè Buoso Donati,
Testando e dando al testamento norma.' 45
E poi che i duo rabbiosi fur passati,
Sopra cu' io avea l' occhio tenuto,
Rivolsilo a guardar gli altri mal nati.
Io vidi un fatto a guisa di liuto,
Pur ch' egli avesse avuta l' anguinaia 50
Tronca dal lato che l' uomo ha forcuto.
La grave idropisì, che sì dispaia
Le membra, con l' umor che mal converte,
Che il viso non risponde alla ventraia,

34. *L' altro*, sc., *folletto.* Formula of adjuration : cf. X, 82.
36. *Si spicchi*, 'he breaks away.'
38. Myrrha was the daughter of Cinyras, king of Cyprus. Cf. *Met.*, X, 298 ff.
42. *L' altro :* Gianni Schicchi. *Sostenne*, 'undertook.' Schicchi, a famous mimic, belonged to the house of Cavalcanti. According to the story, Buoso Donati, a wealthy Guelf, bequeathed a large part of his property to churches and monasteries. To prevent the execution of this will, his son Taddeo concealed his death and engaged Gianni to impersonate the dying Buoso. This he did successfully, dictating a new will (and 'giving it due form') and bequeathing to himself, Gianni Schicchi, a fine mare (or, as others say, a mule) — 'the queen (or leader) of the herd.'
49. This dropsical spirit, if he had had his legs cut off at the groin, would have looked, with his monstrous belly and small head and neck, like a lute lying on the ground.
52 *Dispaia*, 'disproportions.'
53. *Converte*, 'digests.'

Faceva a lui tener le labbra aperte, 55
Come l' etico fa, che per la sete
L' un verso il mento e l' altro in su riverte.
'O voi, che senza alcuna pena siete
E non so io perchè nel mondo gramo,'
Diss' egli a noi, 'guardate ed attendete 60
Alla miseria del maestro Adamo!
Io ebbi vivo assai di quel ch' io volli,
Ed ora, lasso! un gocciol d' acqua bramo.
Li ruscelletti che dei verdi colli
Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno, 65
Facendo i lor canali freddi e molli,
Sempre mi stanno innanzi, e non indarno;
Chè l' imagine lor vie più m' asciuga
Che il male ond' io nel volto mi discarno.
La rigida giustizia che mi fruga 70
Tragge cagion del loco ov' io peccai
A metter più li miei sospiri in fuga.
Ivi è Romena, là dov' io falsai
La lega suggellata del Batista,
Per ch' io il corpo su arso lasciai. 75
Ma s' io vedessi qui l' anima trista

57. *Riverte*, 'curls.'
59. *Gramo*, 'doleful.'
60. Cf. *V. N.*, VII, 19–20, 39–44.
61. This 'Master Adam' was a follower of the counts of Romena. In 1281 he was burned as a counterfeiter in Florence.
63. Cf. the 'rich man' in Luke xvi, 24.
65. The Casentino is a district in the mountains at the head of the Arno. Dante was there in 1289 and in 1311. The ruins of the Castle of Romena are still to be seen on a hill beside the river.
68. *Vie più*, 'far more.'
69. *Mi discarno*, 'I am withered.'
71. *Tragge* (=*trae*) *cagion*, 'takes advantage.'
74. *Lega*, 'composition,' of metal used in making the gold florin. This coin, first minted in 1253, had on one side the image of John the Baptist, the patron of Florence, on the other the lily-flower from which it was named.

Di Guido, o d' Alessandro, o di lor frate,
Per fonte Branda non darei la vista.
Dentro c' è l' una già, se l' arrabbiate
Ombre che van dintorno dicon vero; 80
Ma che mi val, c' ho le membra legate?
S' io fossi pur di tanto ancor leggiero
Ch' io potessi in cent' anni andare un' oncia,
Io sarei messo già per lo sentiero,
Cercando lui tra questa gente sconcia, 85
Con tutto ch' ella volge undici miglia
E men d' un mezzo di traverso non ci ha.
Io son per lor tra sì fatta famiglia:
Ei m' indussero a battere i fiorini
Che avevan tre carati di mondiglia.' 90
Ed io a lui: 'Chi son li due tapini
Che fumman come man bagnate il verno,
Giacendo stretti a' tuoi destri confini?'
'Qui li trovai, e poi volta non dierno,'
Rispose, 'quand' io piovvi in questo greppo, 95
E non credo che dieno in sempiterno.

77. The counts of Romena, at whose instigation he committed the crime. They were head over ears in debt. Guido died in 1292; Alessandro and two other brothers, Aghinolfo and Ildebrando, were still alive in 1300. A letter attributed to Dante consoles the sons of Aghinolfo for the death of Alessandro.

78. Fonte Branda was a fountain near the walls of Romena.

83. *Oncia*, 'inch.'

86. *Con tutto che*, 'although.' Cf. XXIX, 9.

87. Note the odd rhyme: *nón ci ha*, *sconcia*, *oncia*. *Ci ha*, 'there is.' The valley is not less than half a mile across; it must be very much wider than some of the *bolge*, perhaps in compensation for its small circumference.

90. *Mondiglia*, 'alloy.' His florins were 21 carats fine, instead of 24.

91. *Tapini*, 'wretches.'

92. *Fumman*, 'reek': cf. VII, 123. *Verno*=*inverno*: in winter time.

93. *Confini*, 'frontier.' Dante speaks of the huge belly as if it were a province.

94. *Dierno*=*diedero*.

95. *Greppo*, 'cliff.'

L' una è la falsa che accusò Joseppo;
L' altro è il falso Sinon greco da Troia.
Per febbre acuta gittan tanto leppo.'
E l' un di lor, che si recò a noia 100
Forse d' esser nomato sì oscuro,
Col pugno gli percosse l' epa croia.
Quella sonò come fosse un tamburo;
E mastro Adamo gli percosse il volto
Col braccio suo, che non parve men duro, 105
Dicendo a lui: 'Ancor che mi sia tolto
Lo mover, per le membra che son gravi,
Ho io il braccio a tal mestiere sciolto.'
Ond' ei rispose: 'Quando tu andavi
Al foco, non l' avei tu così presto; 110
Ma sì e più l' avei, quando coniavi.'
E l' idropico: 'Tu di' ver di questo;
Ma tu non fosti sì ver testimonio
Là 've del ver a Troia fosti richiesto.'
'S' io dissi 'l falso, e tu falsasti il conio,' 115
Disse Sinone; 'e son qui per un fallo,

97. For the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, see Gen. xxxix, 6-20. *Joseppo=Giuseppe.*
98. Sinon, pretending to be a fugitive from the Greeks, persuaded the Trojans to take the wooden horse into the city: cf. *Æn.*, II, 57 ff. Priam said to him (*Æn.*, II, 148-9):

> 'Quisquis es, amissos hinc jam obliviscere Graios,
> Noster eris.'

So he is called derisively 'of Troy.'
99. *Leppo*, 'stench.'
100. *Si recò a noia*, 'took it ill.'
101. *Oscuro*, 'meanly.'
102. *Epa*, 'belly': cf. XXV 82. *Croia*, 'vile.'
110. *Avei=avevi.*
112. *Di'=dici.*
114. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 149-52.
115. *E* is here used, as frequently, merely to introduce the conclusion: cf. XIX, 3.

E tu per più che alcun altro demonio.'
'Ricorditi, spergiuro, del cavallo,'
Rispose quel ch' avea enfiata l' epa;
'E siati reo che tutto il mondo sallo.' 120
'E te sia rea la sete onde ti crepa,'
Disse il Greco, 'la lingua, e l' acqua marcia
Che il ventre innanzi a gli occhi sì t' assiepa.'
Allora il monetier: 'Così si squarcia
La bocca tua per tuo mal come suole; 125
Chè s' i' ho sete ed umor mi rinfarcia,
Tu hai l' arsura e il capo che ti duole,
E per leccar lo specchio di Narcisso
Non vorresti a invitar molte parole.'
Ad ascoltarli er' io del tutto fisso, 130
Quando il Maestro mi disse: 'Or pur mira
Che per poco è che teco non mi risso.'
Quand' io 'l senti' a me parlar con ira,
Volsimi verso lui con tal vergogna
Ch' ancor per la memoria mi si gira. 135
E quale è quei che suo dannaggio sogna,
Che sognando desidera sognare,
Sì che quel ch' è, come non fosse, agogna,
Tal mi fec' io, non potendo parlare,
Che desiava scusarmi, e scusava 140
Me tuttavia, e nol mi credea fare.

120. *Siati reo*, 'may it be a plague to thee.'
121. *Crepa*, 'cracks'; the subject is *lingua* in l. 122.
123. *Il ventre . . . assiepa*, 'makes a hedge (barrier) of thy belly.'
124. *Monetier*, 'coiner.'
126. *Rinfarcia*, 'stuffs.'
128. 'Narcissus's glass' is water, in which he saw himself mirrored: *Met.*, III, 407 ff.
132. 'I am very near quarreling with thee.'
136. *Dannaggio* = *danno*.
138. *Agogna*, 'longs for.'
140. My dumbness was proof of my shame.

'Maggior difetto men vergogna lava,'
  Disse il Maestro, 'che il tuo non è stato;
  Però d' ogni tristizia ti disgrava.
E fa' ragion ch' io ti sia sempre allato, 145
  Se più avvien che fortuna t' accoglia
  Ove sien genti in simigliante piato;
Chè voler ciò udire è bassa voglia.'

144. *Disgrava*, 'unburden.'
145. *Fa' ragion*, 'take care.' *Allato*, 'beside.'
146. *Accoglia*, 'take.'
147. *Piato*, 'wrangle.'

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

As the poets cross the broad bank that intervenes between the tenth *bolgia* and the great central pit of Hell, Dante sees looming through the dusk, like the towers of a city, the forms of giants, visible from the waist up all around the mouth of the well. As far as we can judge, they are from sixty to eighty feet in total height. But the apparently precise dimensions given are vague to us, because of the variability of standards: one creature measures from neck to middle thirty palms, probably something like twenty feet; another, five ells, perhaps some thirty feet. One of these monsters, Antæus, picks up the travellers and sets them on the ice at the bottom of the hole. Dante speaks as if he did so without quitting his post; nothing but the giant's stoop is described, as he lifts them up, and his straightening when he has put them down. We are told, however, that, unlike his mates, he is not bound. Now, inasmuch as the last *bolgia* is eleven miles in circumference, and inasmuch as the poets walk for some time over the plain of ice before seeing, in the middle of it, the enormous figure of Lucifer, we must think of this pit as at least a mile wide; and since it is described in XVIII, 5, as 'un pozzo assai largo e *profondo*,' it can hardly be less than twice as deep as it is broad. It is obvious, then, that the giants, the upper half of whose bodies appears above the edge, cannot be standing on the bottom: their feet must rest on a ledge or shelf near the top of the wall; in fact, in XXXII, 16-7, we are told that when Dante and Virgil were on the bottom of the 'pozzo scuro,' they were 'sotto i piè del gigante, e assai più bassi.' Antæus, therefore, carrying the poets, must have left his place and climbed down the precipice; but of this descent our author, for reasons of his own, says not a word. Perhaps he conceived of himself as so terrified that he could recall nothing of the adventure but its awful beginning and end. It is likely, too, that he preferred to leave a gap for the reason set forth in the argument to Canto V.

We do not know how many giants there are in all. Those named are Nimrod, Ephialtes, Briareus, and Antæus — all, except the last, damned for their presumption in attempting to scale Heaven. Ephialtes and Briareus were among the most active at Phlegra, when the giants piled mountain upon mountain, and threatened the Gods. This combat is mentioned by Ovid (*Met.*, I, 151-5), Statius

(*Thebaid*, II, 595–6), and Lucan (*Phars.*, IV, 593–7); and the two latter authorities speak of Briareus. Ephialtes is not named by any of the ancient poets that Dante seems to have known, but he is to be found in Servius's commentary on the *Georgics*, I, 180. Antæus, so Lucan tells us (*Phars.*, IV, 597), did not participate in the fight, and therefore he is unbound in Dante's Hell; in *Phars.*, IV, 593 ff., his misdeeds and his defeat by Hercules are related at length. The 'fable' of the battle of Phlegra doubtless represented to Dante merely the old pagan sages' idea of the revolt of the angels; the giants are stricken down by 'il sommo Giove,' the supreme Power. The Biblical Nimrod, then, is not out of place among them. The following particulars are culled from Gen. x, 8–10, and xi, 2–9: 'And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, in the land of Shinar. . . . And it came to pass . . . that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. . . . And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven. . . . So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel.' Nimrod, then, was held responsible for the audacious enterprise; and as early as Orosius and St. Augustine he was regarded by Christians as a giant. According to *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, vii, 24–31, it was 'sub persuasione gigantis' that man presumed to surpass his maker. In the confusion of tongues Dante's Nimrod has suffered more than his misguided fellows, for he speaks a language understood by no one else and can comprehend no other soul. His mind, too, is as dazed as his words are senseless. He can vent his feelings only by blowing the big horn with which, as a 'mighty hunter,' he is equipped.

The manifold crimes of the Lower Hell are due to pride and envy, and these sins are personified in Satan and the giants. Embedded in the central point of his kingdom, the arch-sinner, surrounded by a ring of fellow-rebels, holds his eternal court. The spirits that thought to rise so high are sunken at the bottom of the universe; their monstrous forms are fixed and impotent forevermore. This, rather than the Circle of Violence, is artistically their fit place; and here, no doubt, Dante would have put them, even if Virgil had not pointed the way (*Æn.*, VI, 580–1):

> 'Hic genus antiquum terræ, Titania pubes,
> Fulmine dejecti, fundo volvuntur in imo.'

For the *pozzo*, cf. G. Agnelli in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 546.

Una medesma lingua pria mi morse
 Sì che mi tinse l' una e l' altra guancia,
 E poi la medicina mi riporse.
Così od' io che soleva la lancia
 D' Achille e del suo padre esser cagione 5
 Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.
Noi demmo il dosso al misero vallone
 Su per la ripa che il cinge dintorno,
 Attraversando senza alcun sermone.
Quivi era men che notte e men che giorno, 10
 Sì che il viso m' andava innanzi poco;
 Ma io senti' sonare un alto corno
Tanto ch' avrebbe ogni tuon fatto fioco,
 Che, contra sè la sua via seguitando,
 Dirizzò gli occhi miei tutti ad un loco. 15
Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
 Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
 Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando.
Poco portai in là volta la testa,
 Che mi parve veder molte alte torri; 20

4. Virgil's tongue has the same power as the magic spear of Achilles and his father Peleus, which could both wound and cure: *Met.*, XII, 112, XXIII, 171; *Tristia*, V, 2, 15–18; *Remedia Amoris*, 47. In Provençal and early Italian poetry there are many references to this spear; it was believed in the Middle Ages that a hurt inflicted by it could be healed only by another wound from the same weapon.

6. *Mancia*, 'gift.'

11. *Viso*, 'sight.'

13. *Fioco:* cf. I, 63.

14. It attracted my eyes to one spot, and my sight went out toward that place, following (in the opposite direction) the course of the sound that came from it. *Seguitando* goes with *occhi*.

16. At Roncesvalles Charlemagne lost his rear-guard, led by his peers (the 'blessed band') under the command of his nephew Roland. When all was lost, Roland blew his horn so loud that it was heard thirty leagues away: *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 1753–7. For the use of *gesta* as 'company,' see the early Italian *Spagna*, I, st. 35, l. 7: 'E tutta sua baronia e nobil gesta'; also II, 30, 7; XXXVI, 26, 8 ('santa gesta'); XL, 26, 4; etc.

Ond' io: 'Maestro, di', che terra è questa?'
Ed egli a me: 'Però che tu trascorri
Per le tenebre troppo dalla lungi,
Avvien che poi nel 'maginare aborri.
Tu vedrai ben, se tu là ti congiungi, 25
Quanto il senso s' inganna di lontano;
Però alquanto più te stesso pungi.'
Poi caramente mi prese per mano,
E disse: 'Pria che noi siam più avanti,
Acciocchè il fatto men ti paia strano, 30
Sappi che non son torri, ma giganti,
E son nel pozzo intorno dalla ripa
Dall' umbilico in giuso tutti quanti.'
Come, quando la nebbia si dissipa,
Lo sguardo a poco a poco raffigura 35
Ciò che cela il vapor che l' aere stipa:
Così forando l' aura grossa e scura,
Più e più appressando in ver la sponda,
Fuggìemi errore, e cresce' mi paura.
Però che come in su la cerchia tonda 40
Montereggion di torri si corona,
Così la proda che il pozzo circonda
Torreggiavan di mezza la persona
Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona. 45

23. *Troppo dalla lungi*, 'from too far off.'
24. *Aborri*, 'strayest': cf. XXV, 144.
36. *Stipa*, 'thickens': cf. VII, 19.
39. *Fuggiemi*=*mi fuggiva.*—*Cresce' mi*=*mi cresceva.*
41. Montereggioni, a strong castle built by the Sienese, early in the 13th century, on a hill not far from the city, was surrounded by very high walls surmounted by twelve towers.
42. *Proda*, 'bank,' is the object of *torreggiavan*, 'betowered'; the subject is *giganti.*
45. Because of their attack upon Heaven: cf. *Met.*, I, 151 ff.

Ed io scorgeva già d' alcun la faccia,
Le spalle e il petto, e del ventre gran parte,
E per le coste giù ambo le braccia.
Natura certo, quando lasciò l' arte
Di sì fatti animali, assai fe' bene, 50
Per torre tali esecutori a Marte.
E s' ella d' elefanti e di balene
Non si pente, chi guarda sottilmente
Più giusta e più discreta la ne tiene;
Chè dove l' argomento della mente 55
S' aggiunge al mal volere ed alla possa,
Nessun riparo vi può far la gente.
La faccia sua mi parea lunga e grossa
Come la pina di san Pietro a Roma,
Ed a sua proporzione eran l' altr' ossa; 60
Sì che la ripa, ch' era perizoma
Dal mezzo in giù, ne mostrava ben tanto
Di sopra che di giungere alla chioma
Tre Frison s' averian dato mal vanto;
Però ch' io ne vedea trenta gran palmi 65
Dal loco in giù dov' uomo affibbia il manto.

49. *Lasciò l' arte*, 'forsook the art,' i. e., ceased to produce such destructive creatures.

52. Nature continues to produce elephants and whales, but they have no intelligence and therefore are harmless. Her suppression of giants, then, shows fine discrimination.

55. *Argomento*, 'instrument.'

57. *La gente*, 'mankind.'

59. A pine cone of gilt bronze, originally perhaps 10 or 11 ft. high, which is said to have adorned the Mausoleum of Hadrian, stood in Dante's day in the fore-court of St. Peter's, and is now to be seen, somewhat mutilated, in the Vatican gardens.

61. The bank covered them — 'was an apron to them'— from the waist down. *Perizoma* is used in Gen. iii, 7: 'fecerunt sibi perizomata,' 'made themselves aprons.'

64. 'Three Frisians (standing on one another's shoulders) would have boasted in vain' that they could reach from the bank to the giant's hair. Frisians were noted for their tall stature.

66. From neck to waist.

'Rafel mai amech zabi almi,'
  Cominciò a gridar la fiera bocca,
  Cui non si convenian più dolci salmi.
E il Duca mio ver lui : 'Anima sciocca, 70
  Tienti col corno, e con quel ti disfoga,
  Quand' ira o altra passïon ti tocca.
Cercati al collo, e troverai la soga
  Che il tien legato, o anima confusa,
  E vedi lui che il gran petto ti doga.' 75
Poi disse a me : 'Egli stesso s' accusa.
  Questi è Nembrotto, per lo cui mal coto
  Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s' usa.
Lasciamlo stare, e non parliamo a voto ;
  Chè così è a lui ciascun linguaggio 80
  Come il suo ad altrui, ch' a nullo è noto.'
Facemmo adunque più lungo viaggio
  Volti a sinistra ; ed al trar d' un balestro
  Trovammo l' altro assai più fiero e maggio.
A cinger lui, qual che fosse il maestro 85
  Non so io dir, ma ei tenea succinto
  Dinanzi l' altro, e dietro il braccio destro
D' una catena, che il teneva avvinto
  Dal collo in giù, sì che in su lo scoperto

67. These words have no meaning. The line is at least two syllables short.
71. 'Keep to thy horn.'
73. *Soga*, 'rope.'
74. *Il :* the horn.
75. *Lui :* the horn. *Doga*, 'curves across,' like a barrel-stave.
77. *Coto*, 'thought.'
78. *Pure*, 'only.' Cf. Gen. xi, 1 : 'And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.'
84. *L' altro*, 'the next one.' *Maggio = maggiore :* cf. VI, 48.
85. Cf. XV, 12.
86. *Succinto*, 'bound.'
87. 'His right arm behind him, and the other in front.'
89. *Lo scoperto*, 'the uncovered part,' i. e., the part visible above the edge of the cliff. The chain coils spirally around him.

Si ravvolgeva infino al giro quinto. 90
'Questo superbo voll' esser esperto
Di sua potenza contra il sommo Giove,'
Disse il mio Duca, 'ond' egli ha cotal merto.
Fialte ha nome; e fece le gran prove,
Quando i giganti fer paura ai Dei. 95
Le braccia ch' ei menò giammai non move.'
Ed io a lui: 'S' esser puote, io vorrei
Che dello smisurato Brïareo
Esperïenza avesser gli occhi miei.'
Ond' ei rispose: 'Tu vedrai Anteo 100
Presso di qui, che parla, ed è disciolto,
Che ne porrà nel fondo d' ogni reo.
Quel che tu vuoi veder più là è molto,
Ed è legato e fatto come questo,
Salvo che più feroce par nel volto.' 105
Non fu tremoto già tanto rubesto
Che scotesse una torre così forte,
Come Fialte a scotersi fu presto.
Allor temett' io più che mai la morte,
E non v' era mestier più che la dotta, 110
S' io non avessi viste le ritorte.
Noi procedemmo più avanti allotta,
E venimmo ad Anteo, che ben cinqu' alle,

91. *Esser esperto*, 'make trial.'
93. *Merto*, 'reward.'
95. Cf. XIV, 52-8. *Fer=fecero.*
97. *Puote=può.*
98. *Thebaid*, II, 596: 'immensus Briareus.'
102. *Ogni reo*, 'all wickedness': cf. IV, 40.
104. *Fatto*, 'built.'
106. *Rubesto*, 'violent.'
110. *Dotta*, 'fright': the fright alone would have killed me.
112. *Allotta=allora:* cf. V, 53.
113. *Alle*, 'ells.'

Senza la testa, uscia fuor della grotta.
'O tu, che nella fortunata valle 115
Che fece Scipïon di gloria reda,
Quando Annibal co' suoi diede le spalle,
Recasti già mille leon per preda,
E che, se fossi stato all' alta guerra
De' tuoi fratelli, ancor par ch' e' si creda 120
Che avrebber vinto i figli della terra,
Mettine giù (e non ten venga schifo)
Dove Cocito la freddura serra.
Non ci far ire a Tizio nè a Tifo.
Questi può dar di quel che qui si brama; 125
Però ti china, e non torcer lo grifo.
Ancor ti può nel mondo render fama;
Ch' ei vive, e lunga vita ancor aspetta,
Se innanzi tempo grazia a sè nol chiama.'
Così disse il Maestro: e quegli in fretta 130

114. *Senza la testa*, 'without counting the head.'
115. *Fortunata*, 'fateful': cf. XXVIII, 8. In the valley of Bagrăda, near Zama, Scipio conquered Hannibal. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 164-71.
116. *Reda = erede.*
117. *Diede le spalle*, 'turned his back.'
118. *Phars.*, IV, 601-2:

> 'Hæc illi spelunca domus; latuisse sub alta
> Rupe ferunt, epulas raptos habuisse leones.'

120. *Par ch' e' si creda*, 'it seems to be believed.' Cf. *Phars.*, IV, 596-7:

> 'Cæloque pepercit,
> Quod non Phlegræis Antæum sustulit arvis.'

122. *Non ten venga schifo*, 'disdain it not.'
123. 'Where the cold locks Cocytus': at the bottom of the well, in the 9th circle, Cocytus is frozen into a plain of ice.
124. *Phars.*, IV, 595-6:

> 'Nec tam justa fuit terrarum gloria Typhon,
> Aut Tityos, Briareusque ferox.'

126. *Non torcer lo grifo*, 'twist not thy snout.' Cf. Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, XXI, 53-4:

> 'O s' hai tenuto a schifo
> La gente, e torto il grifo.'

Le man distese, e prese il Duca mio,
Ond' Ercole sentì già grande stretta.
Virgilio, quando prender si sentio,
Disse a me: 'Fatti in qua, sì ch' io ti prenda.'
Poi fece sì che un fascio er' egli ed io. 135
Qual pare a riguardar la Garisenda
Sotto il chinato, quando un nuvol vada
Sopr' essa sì che ella incontro penda,
Tal parve Anteo a me che stava a bada
Di vederlo chinare, e fu tal ora 140
Ch' io avrei volut' ir per altra strada;
Ma lievemente al fondo che divora
Lucifero con Giuda ci sposò.
Nè sì chinato lì fece dimora,
E come albero in nave si levò. 145

132. The story of the combat between Hercules and Antæus is told in *Phars.*, IV, 609–53. — *Onde* refers to *man.* — *Stretta*, 'grip': cf. *Phars.*, IV, 617, 'conseruere manus.'

133. *Sentio = sentì:* cf. XX, 58.

134. *Fatti in qua*, 'come hither': cf. XXII, 96.

136. Bologna has two famous leaning towers. The shorter but more inclined is called Garisenda or Carisenda; it was much taller in Dante's time. In 1286 the town demolished the buildings around it.

137. *Il chinato*, 'the slant.' To an observer standing beneath the overhang, and looking upward, a cloud passing over the tower, in the direction opposite to its slope, makes the structure seem to be falling. Dante, in all probability, observed this phenomenon himself when he was in Bologna.

139. *A bada*, 'on the watch.'

143. *Sposò*, 'set down,' on the 'bottom that swallows up Lucifer and Judas:' the 9th circle.

145. He rose like a mast that is being hoisted into its step on a ship.

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

The hardest, coldest heart is that of the traitor; from it all the warmth of human affection has been banished. The symbol of treachery is ice; and at the bottom of the well, buried in the circular plain formed by the freezing of Cocytus, are the sinners of the ninth and last circle. In the middle of the plain, at the centre of the earth, is Lucifer or Satan, called Dis by the ancients. Ice is used as a means of punishment in other visions of Hell, and in the *Visio Alberici* we find a graded immersion in ice; but nowhere else has it the significance that our poem gives it. Dante's traitors have no desire to be remembered on earth: the best they can hope is to be forgotten. Their evil disposition is unchanged, and even in Hell they are eager to betray one another. The cold, cruel spirit that pervades their congregation communicates itself to the beholder; the mere thought of their odious crimes arouses an instinct of vindictiveness. Scorn and hatred possess Dante as he contemplates them, and he feels impelled to pay them in their own coin.

The traitors fall into four divisions, according to the relation between themselves and their victims. They are arranged in the round plain in four concentric circles; taking them in order, from circumference to middle, these rings are called *Caìna*, *Antenora*, *Tolomèa* ('Ptolemea'), *Giudecca* ('Judecca'). They are distinguished only by the position of the sinners in the ice: in the first three, the souls are embedded up to their heads; in the last, Giudecca, they are entirely covered. In Caina, the heads are bowed down; in Antenora they are apparently erect; in Tolomea they are thrown back. Caina contains traitors to kindred, Antenora traitors to country or party, Tolomea traitors to guests, Giudecca traitors to benefactors. In all cases the treachery involves murder. Caina and Giudecca are named respectively for Cain and Judas. Antenora derives its title from the Trojan Antēnor, who bears an excellent character in the *Iliad;* in the later narratives, however, ascribed to Dares and Dictys, and regarded in the Middle Ages as an authentic account, he figures as the arch-traitor who hands over the Palladium to the Greeks (cf. Servius's commentary on *Æn.*, I, 242). Tolomea is so called after the Ptolemy of I Macc. xvi, 11–6, a captain of Jericho, who murdered his father-in-law and two brothers-in-law at a banquet to which he had invited them.

S' io avessi le rime aspre e chiocce,
Come si converrebbe al tristo buco
Sopra il qual pontan tutte l' altre rocce,
Io premerei di mio concetto il suco
Più pienamente ; ma perch' io non l' abbo, 5
Non senza tema a dicer mi conduco.
Chè non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo
Descriver fondo a tutto l' universo,
Nè da lingua che chiami mamma e babbo.
Ma quelle Donne aiutino il mio verso 10
Ch' aiutaro Amfion a chiuder Tebe,
Sì che dal fatto il dir non sia diverso.
O sopra tutte mal creata plebe,
Che stai nel loco onde parlare è duro,
Me' foste state qui pecore o zebe. 15
Come noi fummo giù nel pozzo scuro
Sotto i piè del gigante, assai più bassi,
Ed io mirava ancora all' alto muro,
Dicere udimmi : 'Guarda come passi !
Va' sì che tu non calchi con le piante 20
Le teste de' fratei miseri lassi.'
Per ch' io mi volsi, e vidimi davante
E sotto i piedi un lago, che per gelo

1. *Chiocce*, 'clucking.' Cf. VII, 2.
3. *Pontan*, 'thrust.'
5. *L' abbo*=*le ho.*
9. Nor one fit for a childish tongue. An example of rhetorical understatement, or litotes: cf. D' Ovidio, 514-9.
10. *Donne:* the Muses, thanks to whom Amphion's lyre charmed the rocks to move and form the walls of Thebes. Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 394 ff.; *Thebaid*, X, 873 ff.
15. *Me'*=*meglio:* cf. XIV, 36. *Zebe*, 'goats.'
16. *Pozzo:* in the *Visio Alberici*, IX, the mouth of the pit 'similis videbatur puteo.' See the argument at the head of the preceding canto.
19. *Udimmi*=*mi udii.* The two brothers who thus address Dante from the ice are, as we learn presently, the counts of Mangona.

Avea di vetro e non d' acqua sembiante.
Non fece al corso suo sì grosso velo 25
D' inverno la Danoia in Osteric,
Nè Tanaï là sotto il freddo cielo,
Com' era quivi ; chè, se Tambernic
Vi fosse su caduto, o Pietrapana,
Non avria pur dall' orlo fatto cric. 30
E come a gracidar si sta la rana
Col muso fuor dell' acqua, quando sogna
Di spigolar sovente la villana,
Livide insin là dove appar vergogna
Eran l' ombre dolenti nella ghiaccia, 35
Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna.
Ognuna in giù tenea volta la faccia.
Da bocca il freddo, e dagli occhi il cor tristo
Tra lor testimonianza si procaccia.
Quand' io ebbi d' intorno alquanto visto, 40
Volsimi a' piedi, e vidi due sì stretti
Che il pel del capo avieno insieme misto.
'Ditemi voi, che sì stringete i petti,'
Diss' io, 'chi siete.' E quei piegaro i colli ;

26. The Danube in Austria. *Osteric* and *Osterlic* were used in early Italian.
27. The Tanăis, or Don.
28. *Tambernic* (or *Tamberlic* or *Taberlic*) is an unidentified mountain.
29. *Pietrapana*, now called Pania della Croce, is a rocky mountain in the Tuscan Apennines.
30. *Cric* is a word made to imitate the sound.
33. In the summer, the season when the country woman is apt to dream of gleaning.
34. As far as their faces: shame manifests itself by a blush.
36. Their teeth chatter like a stork's bill. Cf. *Met.*, VI, 97: 'Ipsa sibi plaudat crepitante ciconia rostro.' Also Hugh of St. Victor, *De Bestiis*, I, 42: 'Ciconiæ sonum oris pro voce quatiente rostro faciunt.' And Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, I, v, 161 (see Tor.).
38. *Freddo* and *cor* are subjects of *procaccia*, of which *testimonianza* is the object. The chattering teeth bear witness to the cold; the weeping eyes, to the sadness of the heart.
42. *Avieno* = *avevano*.

E poi ch' ebber li visi a me eretti, 45
Gli occhi lor, ch' eran pria pur dentro molli,
Gocciar su per le labbra, e il gielo strinse
Le lagrime tra essi, e riserrolli.
Con legno legno mai spranga non cinse
Forte così ; ond' ei, come due becchi, 50
Cozzaro insieme, tant' ira li vinse.
Ed un ch' avea perduti ambo gli orecchi
Per la freddura, pur col viso in giue
Disse : 'Perchè cotanto in noi ti specchi?
Se vuoi saper chi son cotesti due, 55
La valle onde Bisenzio si dichina
Del padre loro Alberto e di lor fue.
D' un corpo usciro ; e tutta la Caïna
Potrai cercare, e non troverai ombra
Degna più d' esser fitta in gelatina : 60
Non quelli a cui fu rotto il petto e l' ombra
Con esso un colpo per la man d' Artù ;
Non Focaccia ; non questi che m' ingombra
Col capo sì ch' io non veggio oltre più,
E fu nomato Sassol Mascheroni — 65

46. Their eyes until now 'were wet only within' because they were frozen over on the outside. A new flood of tears bursts the icy coat for a moment.

48. *Essi:* the eyes. *Riserrolli,* 'locked them up again.'

49. 'Clamp never fastened wood to wood.'

56. The Bisenzio is a little stream that runs near Prato and empties into the Arno.

57. Alberto, count of Mangona. Two of his sons, Napoleone and Alessandro, quarrelled over their inheritance and killed each other.

61. Mordrec, or Mordred, the treacherous nephew of King Arthur, was pierced by such a blow from Arthur's spear that, when the weapon was pulled out, a ray of sunlight traversed his body. The story is told in the Old French *Lancelot du lac.*

62. *Con esso=con:* cf. XXIII, 54.

63. Foccaccia de' Cancellieri, of the White party of Pistoia, lay in wait, with other ruffians, for one of his relatives, Detto de' Cancellieri, a Black, and killed him in a tailor's shop.

65. Sassol Mascheroni is known to us only through an early commentator, who says he murdered a nephew to secure his inheritance.

Se Tosco se', ben sa' omai chi fu.
E perchè non mi metti in più sermoni,
Sappi ch' io fui il Camicion de' Pazzi,
Ed aspetto Carlin che mi scagioni.'
Poscia vid' io mille visi, cagnazzi 70
Fatti per freddo : onde mi vien riprezzo,
E verrà sempre, de' gelati guazzi.
E mentre che andavamo in ver lo mezzo,
Al quale ogni gravezza si raduna,
Ed io tremava nell' eterno rezzo, 75
Se voler fu o destino o fortuna
Non so ; ma passeggiando tra le teste,
Forte percossi il piè nel viso ad una.
Piangendo mi sgridò : 'Perchè mi peste?
Se tu non vieni a crescer la vendetta 80
Di Mont' Aperti, perchè mi moleste?'
Ed io : 'Maestro mio, or qui m' aspetta,
Sì ch' io esca d' un dubbio per costui ;
Poi mi farai, quantunque vorrai, fretta.'

67. *Metti=metta.* — *In più sermoni*, 'to more speech': cf. XIII, 21.
68. Of Camicion de' Pazzi nothing certain is known. He is said to have treacherously slain a kinsman named Ubertino.
69. *Scagioni*, 'exculpate,' i. e., make me seem innocent in comparison with himself. Carlino de' Pazzi is still alive and has not yet committed his great crime. It was in June, 1302, that he was bribed to surrender to the Florentine Blacks the castle of Piantravigne, containing a number of the foremost White and Ghibelline exiles, many of whom were slain. When he dies, he will come to the second division of the 9th circle, Antenora, reserved for betrayers of their country or party.
70. *Cagnazzi*, 'doglike,' their lips drawn by the cold. The sight is so horrible that Dante ever afterwards will shudder at the sight of frozen pools.
74. *Si raduna*, 'collects.' Cf. XXXIV, 110-1.
75. *Rezzo*, 'chill.'
81. The mention of Montaperti arouses Dante's suspicions. This was the disastrous defeat of the Florentine Guelfs in 1260 by the Sienese Ghibellines and their German allies. The rout was attributed to the traitor Bocca degli Abati, who, in the thick of a charge, cut off the hand of the standard-bearer to the Florentine cavalry. In 1266, when the Guelfs returned to power, he was banished.

Lo Duca stette ; ed io dissi a colui 85
Che bestemmiava duramente ancora :
'Qual se' tu, che così rampogni altrui?'
'Or tu chi se', che vai per l' Antenora
Percotendo,' rispose, 'altrui le gote
Sì che, se fossi vivo, troppo fora?' 90
'Vivo son io, e caro esser ti puote,'
Fu mia risposta, 'se domandi fama,
Ch' io metta il nome tuo tra l' altre note.'
Ed egli a me : 'Del contrario ho io brama.
Levati quinci, e non mi dar più lagna ! 95
Chè mal sai lusingar per questa lama.'
Allor lo presi per la cuticagna,
E dissi : 'E' converrà che tu ti nomi
O che capel qui su non ti rimagna.'
Ond' egli a me : 'Perchè tu mi dischiomi, 100
Nè ti dirò ch' io sia, nè mostrerolti,
Se mille fiate in sul capo mi tomi.'
Io avea già i capelli in mano avvolti
E tratti glien' avea più d' una ciocca,
Latrando lui con gli occhi in giù raccolti, 105
Quando un altro gridò : 'Che hai tu, Bocca?
Non ti basta sonar con le mascelle,
Se tu non latri? Qual diavol ti tocca?'
'Omai,' diss' io, 'non vo' che tu favelle,

90. *Se fossi vivo*, 'even wert thou a living man.'
91. *Puote* = *può*.
95. *Lagna*, 'vexation.'
96. *Lama*, 'lowland': cf. XX, 79.
97. *Cuticagna*, 'scalp.'
100. *Perchè*, 'though.' *Dischiomi*, 'strip me bald.'
101. *Mostrerolti* = *te lo mostrerò*.
102. *Tomi*, 'fallest.'
105. *Raccolti*, 'bent'
107. *Sonar*, 'clatter': is it not enough for thy teeth to be chattering?
109. *Vo'* = *voglio*.

Malvagio traditor, chè alla tua onta 110
Io porterò di te vere novelle.'
'Va' via,' rispose, 'e ciò che tu vuoi, conta;
Ma non tacer, se tu di qua entr' eschi,
Di quei ch' ebbe or così la lingua pronta.
Ei piange qui l' argento de' Franceschi. 115
"Io vidi," potrai dir, "quel da Düera
Là dove i peccatori stanno freschi."
Se fossi domandato altri chi v' era,
Tu hai da lato quel di Beccheria,
Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera. 120
Gianni de' Soldanier credo che sia
Più là con Ganellone e Tebaldello,
Ch' aprì Faenza quando si dormia.'
Noi eravam partiti già da ello,
Ch' io vidi due ghiacciati in una buca 125
Sì che l' un capo all' altro era cappello.

110. *Alla tua onta*, 'in spite of thee.'
113. *Eschi=esca*: formula of adjuration: cf. X, 82.
116. Buoso da Duera of Cremona, notorious for his faithlessness, was distrusted by friends and enemies. In 1265, being bribed by the French, he allowed the army of Charles of Anjou, on its way to the conquest of Naples, to pass by the Ghibelline forces that had been detailed to oppose it. He was accused also of appropriating money sent by Manfred to pay his soldiers.
117. *Stanno freschi*, 'are in the cool.' This is supposed to be the origin of the current phrase, *star fresco*.
118. 'Shouldst thou be asked who else was there.'
119. Tesauro di Beccheria of Pavia, abbot of Vallombrosa, was tortured and beheaded by the Guelfs of Florence for conducting secret negotiations with the Ghibelline exiles.
120. *Segò . . . la gorgiera*, 'sawed the gorget,' i. e., cut the throat.
121. *Gianni de' Soldanier* was a Ghibelline, who, after the defeat of his party in 1266, headed a mob against his former associates.
122. Ganelon is the famous traitor to Charlemagne, in the *Chanson de Roland*; it was he who brought about the destruction of the rear-guard at Roncesvalles and the death of Roland: cf. XXXI, 16-8. — The Ghibelline Tebaldello, a bastard of the Zambrasi family, surrendered to the Bolognese Guelfs his own city of Faenza in order to avenge himself on some Ghibellines from Bolgona who had taken refuge there.
126. Two more political traitors (see D' Ovidio, 14-26) are frozen in one

E come il pan per fame si manduca,
Così il sopran li denti all' altro pose
Là 've il cervel s' aggiunge con la nuca.
Non altrimenti Tideo si rose 130
Le tempie a Menalippo per disdegno,
Che quei faceva il teschio e l' altre cose.
'O tu che mostri per sì bestial segno
Odio sopra colui che tu ti mangi,
Dimmi il perchè,' diss' io, 'per tal convegno 135
Che, se tu a ragion di lui ti piangi,
Sappiendo chi voi siete e la sua pecca,
Nel mondo suso ancor io te ne cangi,
Se quella con ch' io parlo non si secca.'

hole in such a way that the head of one lies upon the head of the other like a hat.

130. Tydeus, one of the seven kings who attacked Thebes, was mortally wounded by Menalippus, whom he succeeded in killing. Before dying, he called for the head of his opponent, and, when it was brought him by Capaneus, gnawed it fiercely. Cf. *Thebaid*, VIII, 736 ff.

135. *Per tal convegno*, 'on condition.'

137. *Pecca*, 'sin.'

138. *Cangi*, 'repay.'

139. *Quella:* my tongue.

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

In this canto occurs an episode second only to that of Francesca da Rimini in its appeal to popular sympathy. It is in Antenora that Dante hears from Count Ugolino the frightful story of his death. Here, as in the case of the 'injured souls' of Francesca and her lover, the poet is stirred to the depths by the wrong done on earth to the lost sinner. Francesca's fate moves him to an agony of pity not unmixed with indignation; that of Ugolino and his children kindles in him even more wrath than compassion. In the two narratives we find the same exclusion of all detail that might blur the one overwhelming impression to be produced upon the reader; in both, the same concentration on that part of the experience to which no human heart can be indifferent. As Francesca's guilty love follows her to Hell and binds her forever to the partner of her sin, so Ugolino is coupled to the object of his just hate, on whom he wreaks eternal vengeance.

Ugolino della Gherardesca, count of Donoratico, belonged to an old and powerful family and held vast estates in western Tuscany. Inasmuch as he was vicar, in Sardinia, of King Enzo (son of Frederick II) and married his eldest son to Enzo's daughter, he must have been originally of the Imperial faction; but as early as 1275 he for some reason allied himself to the Tuscan Guelfs against Pisa, which was then Ghibelline. It was doubtless for this political treason that Dante condemned him to Antenora. His party was successful, and he secured readmission to the city. In fact, after 1284 he governed Pisa for the Guelfs, at first alone, later in company with his grandson, Nino Visconti, who appears in *Purg.* VIII, 53. But the Pisan Ghibellines, led by the turbulent and intriguing Archbishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, — who in 1288 plotted to surrender his city to the Genoese, and then broke faith with them, — revolted in that same year against the Guelf control. Ugolino was absent at the time, and Nino was driven from the town. In June Ugolino was invited to confer with the Ghibelline leaders. He returned to Pisa and held parley with the archbishop. Suddenly an alarm was given, and the Ghibellines, with a frenzied mob led by Ruggieri, attacked their opponents, whom they finally besieged in the city hall and, after severe fighting, captured. Ugolino was incarcerated with two of his sons, Gaddo and Uguccione, and two grandsons,

Ugolino or Nino (called 'il Brigata') and Anselmuccio, the children of Guelfo, his firstborn. After some months the door of their jail was nailed up, and they were left to starve. When their bodies were taken out, several days after their death, they were found to be badly rat-bitten; and a couple of old chroniclers declare that the unfortunate prisoners had eaten one another's flesh, or, more specifically, their hands and arms. It was perhaps a desire to explain the mutilation in a more fitting way that led Dante to conceive of Ugolino, in his intolerable anguish, as gnawing his own hands. Nevertheless some modern commentators have imagined that Dante intended, in the last verse of Ugolino's speech, to imply that the bereaved father was driven to cannibalism.

Treachery to a traitor was thought to be not only permissible, but meritorious; and this belief is illustrated by Dante's treatment of one of the wretches in Tolomea. To be rude to him, he avers, was the part of true courtesy. In this division of the ninth circle are those who assassinated their own guests. Such betrayal as this severs all social bonds and puts the betrayer outside the pale of humanity. Dante expresses this idea allegorically by a startling device, which at the same time enables him to place in his lower world two or three heinous offenders still alive in 1300. As soon as this crime is committed, — so we are informed, — the sinner's soul descends to Hell, leaving the body, which, however, seems to remain alive, being occupied by a devil during the remainder of its natural term of existence. Thus it is written of Judas, at the Last Supper: 'after the sop Satan entered into him' (John xiii, 27). In Ps. lv, 15, it is said of treacherous friends, 'let them descend quick [i. e., alive] into hell.'

For a masterly discussion of this canto, see D' Ovidio [3], 3; see also F. De Sanctis, *L' Ugolino di Dante* in his *Nuovi saggi critici*, 1893 (6th ed.). For trustworthy information about Ugolino, whose story has been much garbled, see Tor. For the attitude of Dante's contemporaries toward treachery to a traitor, see Tor., note to l. 150. For tales of bodies possessed by demons, see A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, II, 99; also Cæsarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, XII, 4.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
 Quel peccator, forbendola ai capelli
 Del capo ch' egli avea diretro guasto.
Poi cominciò : 'Tu vuoi ch' io rinnovelli
 Disperato dolor che il cor mi preme 5

4. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 3: 'Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem.'

Già pur pensando, pria ch' io ne favelli.
Ma se le mie parole esser den seme
Che frutti infamia al traditor ch' io rodo,
Parlare e lagrimar vedrai insieme.
I' non so chi tu sei, nè per che modo 10
Venuto se' quaggiù ; ma Fiorentino
Mi sembri veramente quand' io t' odo.
Tu dei saper ch' io fui Conte Ugolino,
E questi l' Arcivescovo Ruggieri.
Or ti dirò perch' io son tal vicino. 15
Che per l' effetto de' suo' ma' pensieri,
Fidandomi di lui, io fossi preso
E poscia morto, dir non è mestieri.
Però quel che non puoi avere inteso,
Ciò è come la morte mia fu cruda, 20
Udirai, e saprai se m' ha offeso.
Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda
La qual per me ha il titol della fame,
E in che conviene ancor ch' altri si chiuda,
M' avea mostrato per lo suo forame 25
Più lune già, quand' io feci il mal sonno

7. *Den=devono.*
9. Cf. V, 126.
13. *Dei=devi.*
16. *Ma'=mali*, 'evil.'
21. *Offeso*, 'wronged': cf. V, 102, 109.
22. *Muda*, 'mew': a loft where birds are kept while they moult. Ugolino gives this name to the tower of the Gualandi da Sette Vie, where he was confined. After his death it was called 'la torre della fame.'
24. It was not until 1318 that the municipal authorities decided to discontinue the use of this prison, which was described as foul-smelling, devoid of conveniences, and very small.
26. Several moons had appeared through the cleft of the little slit that served as a window: i. e., several months had passed — from July 20, or thereabouts, to the beginning of February, 1288–9. Just before dawn of the day when the door is to be nailed up, Ugolino has an allegorical dream, from ll. 38–9 we learn that his companions have ominous dreams, but of a more literal character.

Che del futuro mi squarciò il velame.
Questi pareva a me maestro e donno,
Cacciando il lupo e i lupicini al monte
Per che i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno, 30
Con cagne magre, studïose e conte;
Gualandi con Sismondi e con Lanfranchi
S' avea messi dinanzi dalla fronte.
In picciol corso mi pareano stanchi
Lo padre e i figli, e con l' acute scane 35
Mi parea lor veder fender li fianchi.
Quando fui desto innanzi la dimane,
Pianger senti' fra il sonno i miei figliuoli
Ch' eran con meco, e domandar del pane.
Ben se' crudel, se tu già non ti duoli, 40
Pensando ciò ch' il mio cor s' annunziava!
E se non piangi, di che pianger suoli?
Già eran desti, e l' ora s' appressava
Che il cibo ne soleva essere addotto,
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava: 45
Ed io sentii chiavar l' uscio di sotto
All' orribile torre; ond' io guardai
Nel viso a' miei figliuoi senza far motto.
Io non piangeva; sì dentro impietrai:
Piangevan elli; ed Anselmuccio mio 50

28. *Questi:* Ruggieri. *Donno*, 'lord': master of the hunt.
30. The mountain which prevents the Pisans from seeing Lucca is San Giuliano.
31. The 'thin, eager, trained hounds' evidently represent the furious Pisan mob.
32. The leaders of the Pisan Ghibellines; in the dream they figure as huntsmen.
35. *Scane*, 'fangs.'
46. *Chiavar*, 'nail': cf. *Purg.* VIII, 137; *Par.* XIX, 105.
49. *Impietrai*, 'I turned to stone.'
50 *Anselmuccio:* the younger of the two grandchildren.

Disse: "Tu guardi sì, padre! Che hai?"
Per ciò non lagrimai, nè rispos' io
Tutto quel giorno, nè la notte appresso,
Infin che l' altro sol nel mondo uscìo.
Come un poco di raggio si fu messo 55
Nel doloroso carcere, ed io scorsi
Per quattro visi il mio aspetto stesso,
Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi.
Ed ei, pensando ch' io 'l fessi per voglia
Di manicar, di subito levorsi, 60
E disser: "Padre, assai ci fia men doglia
Se tu mangi di noi: tu ne vestisti
Queste misere carni, e tu le spoglia."
Queta' mi allor per non farli più tristi.
Quel dì e l' altro stemmo tutti muti. 65
Ahi dura terra, perchè non t' apristi?
Poscia che fummo al quarto dì venuti,
Gaddo mi si gittò disteso a' piedi,
Dicendo: "Padre mio, chè non m' aiuti?"
Quivi morì; e come tu mi vedi, 70
Vid' io cascar li tre ad uno ad uno
Tra il quinto dì e il sesto: ond' io mi diedi
Già cieco a brancolar sopra ciascuno,
E due dì li chiamai poi che fur morti.
Poscia, più che il dolor, potè il digiuno.' 75
Quand' ebbe detto ciò, con gli occhi torti
Riprese il teschio misero coi denti,
Che furo all' osso, come d' un can, forti.
Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti

59. *Fessi=facessi.*
60. *Manicar=mangiare:* cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, xiii, 19. — *Levorsi=si levarono.*
75. Hunger did more than grief could do: it caused my death. Cf. D' Ovidio[3], 63.

Del bel paese là dove il *sì* suona, 80
Poi che i vicini a te punir son lenti,
Movansi la Caprara e la Gorgona
E faccian siepe ad Arno in su la foce,
Sì ch' egli anneghi in te ogni persona.
Chè se il Conte Ugolino aveva voce 85
D' aver tradita te delle castella,
Non dovei tu i figliuoi porre a tal croce.
Innocenti facea l' età novella —
Novella Tebe! Uguccione e il Brigata
E gli altri due che il canto suso appella. 90
Noi passamm' oltre, là 've la gelata
Ruvidamente un' altra gente fascia,
Non volta in giù, ma tutta riversata.
Lo pianto stesso lì pianger non lascia,
E il duol, che trova in sugli occhi rintoppo, 95
Si volve in entro a far crescer l' ambascia;

80. Dante, like some others, classified the languages of Europe according to the word for 'yes,' Italian being the language of *sì*: cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, 53–7. Provençal was called the *langue d'oc*.

81. *I vicini:* Lucca and Florence, which waged bitter war against Pisa.

82. Two small islands in the sea not far from the mouth of the Arno, beside which Pisa lies. Dante calls upon these islets to move up and dam the stream at its outlet.

85. *Aveva voce*, 'was reported.' The archbishop represented to the Pisans that Ugolino, in 1285, had betrayed them in the matter of five strongholds which he had allowed Lucca and Florence to occupy. In reality the cession of these castles was a necessary piece of diplomacy.

87. *Dovei = dovevi.*

88. The subject of *facea* is *età* ('their youthful age'); the objects are *Uguccione*, *Brigata*, and *gli altri due* (Anselmuccio and Gaddo). Gaddo and Uguccione were Ugolino's sons, Brigata and Anselmuccio his grandsons. Gaddo and Brigata were in reality of mature age.

89. Thebes being the wickedest city of the ancients, Dante calls Pisa 'modern Thebes.' The repetition of *novella* must be intentional; it accentuates the contrast between the innocence of youth and the hoary iniquity of Pisa.

91. *Gelata*, 'ice.'

93. Not turned face downward, like those in Caina, but all upturned.

95. *Rintoppo*, 'hindrance.'

96. *Ambascia*, 'anguish.'

Chè le lagrime prime fanno groppo,
E, sì come visiere di cristallo,
Riempion sotto il ciglio tutto il coppo.
Ed avvegna che, sì come d' un callo, 100
Per la freddura ciascun sentimento
Cessato avesse del mio viso stallo,
Già mi parea sentire alquanto vento;
Per ch' io: 'Maestro mio, questo chi move?
Non è quaggiù ogni vapore spento?' 105
Ond' egli a me: 'Avaccio sarai dove
Di ciò ti farà l' occhio la risposta,
Veggendo la cagion che il fiato piove.'
Ed un de' tristi della fredda crosta
Gridò a noi: 'O anime crudeli 110
Tanto che data v' è l' ultima posta,
Levatemi dal viso i duri veli,
Sì ch' io sfoghi il dolor che il cor m' impregna,
Un poco, pria che il pianto si raggeli.'
Per ch' io a lui: 'Se vuoi ch' io ti sovvegna, 115
Dimmi chi sei, e s' io non ti disbrigo,
Al fondo della ghiaccia ir mi convegna.'
Rispose adunque: 'Io son Frate Alberigo,

97. *Groppo*, 'knot,' i. e., a solid block of ice.
99. *Coppo*, 'cup.'
100. *Avvegna che*, 'although.' *D' un=da un.*
102. *Cessato . . . stallo*, 'ended its stay,' i. e., departed. — *Del=dal.*
105. Wind is a 'dry vapor': cf. *Conv.*, I, iv, 36.
106. *Avaccio*, 'quickly.'
108. *Che il fiato piove*, 'which rains down (produces) the blast.'
111. This spirit thinks that Dante and Virgil must be going to Giudecca.
113. *Impregna*, 'swells.'
116. *Disbrigo*, 'rid.'
117. This oath seems to be uttered with false intent, as Dante's way lies, in any case, through 'the bottom of the ice.'
118. Alberigo de' Manfredi of Faenza, a *frate gaudente*, had two of his family murdered at a dinner, in his presence, in 1285. He gave the signal to the assassins by calling: 'Vengano le frutta!'

Io son quel delle frutta del mal orto,
Che qui riprendo dattero per figo.' 120
'O,' diss' io lui : 'Or sei tu ancor morto?'
Ed egli a me : 'Come il mio corpo stea
Nel mondo su, nulla scïenza porto.
Cotal vantaggio ha questa Tolomea
Che spesse volte l' anima ci cade 125
Innanzi ch' Atropòs mossa le dea.
E perchè tu più volentier mi rade
Le invetrïate lagrime dal volto,
Sappi che tosto che l' anima trade,
Come fec' io, il corpo suo l' è tolto 130
Da un demonio, che poscia il governa
Mentre che il tempo suo tutto sia volto.
Ella ruïna in sì fatta cisterna.
E forse pare ancor lo corpo suso
Dell' ombra che di qua retro mi verna. 135
Tu il dei saper, se tu vien pur mo giuso :
Egli è Ser Branca d' Oria, e son più anni
Poscia passati ch' ei fu sì racchiuso.'
'Io credo,' diss' io lui, 'che tu m' inganni ;

120. *Riprendo dattero per figo*, 'am being repaid with interest,' a date being worth more than a fig.

121. *Ancor=già.*

122. *Stea=stia.*

126. 'Before Atrŏpos (the Fate who cuts the thread of life) gives it a start.' *Dea=dia.*

127. *Rade=rada.*

134. *Suso :* on earth.

135. *Verna*, 'is wintering.'

136. *Dei=devi. Pur mo*, 'only now.'

137. Branca d' Oria, of the famous Genoese family of Doria, was a rich and powerful noble of Genoa, who had great estates in Liguria, Corsica, and Sardinia. Apparently he lived until 1325. Aided by a relative not known to us by name, he murdered, probably in 1275, his father-in-law Michel Zanche, the Sardinian barrator whom we met in 'the sticky pitch' of the 8th ditch of Malebolge (XXII, 88).

Chè Branca d' Oria non morì unquanche, 140
E mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni.'
'Nel fosso su,' diss' ei, 'di Malebranche,
Là dove bolle la tenace pece,
Non era giunto ancora Michel Zanche,
Che questi lasciò un diavolo in sua vece 145
Nel corpo suo, ed un suo prossimano
Che il tradimento insieme con lui fece.
Ma distendi oramai in qua la mano,
Aprimi gli occhi.' Ed io non glieli apersi,
E cortesia fu in lui esser villano. 150
Ahi Genovesi, uomini diversi
D' ogni costume, e pien d' ogni magagna,
Perchè non siete voi del mondo spersi?
Chè col peggiore spirto di Romagna
Trovai di voi un tal che per sua opra 155
In anima in Cocito già si bagna
Ed in corpo par vivo ancor di sopra.

140. *Unquanche*, 'as yet.'
145. Branca's soul, leaving a devil in its stead, reached this ninth circle as soon as the murdered man's soul reached the 8th.
146. *Ed un suo prossimano*, 'and so did a relative of his.'
150. 'And it was courtesy to be rude to him.'
152. *Diversi d' ogni costume*, 'strange to all morality.' *Magagna*, 'corruption.'
153. *Spersi=dispersi.*
154. Alberigo de' Manfredi.
155. Branca d' Oria.

CANTO XXXIV

ARGUMENT

THE souls in the fourth division of the last circle are entirely covered by the frozen lake, through which they are seen like bits of straw blown into glass. They lie pell-mell in the ice, some curled up, some horizontal, some vertical — these last with head or feet upward, as they chanced to fall. Three sinners only — the worst of all humankind — have a different and more awful fate: they are crunched by the three mouths of Satan himself. Judas sold Christ, the founder of the Church; Brutus and Cassius betrayed Cæsar, the founder of the Empire. Church and Empire being co-ordinate powers, divinely established for the spiritual and temporal government of men, their founders were both sacred. But inasmuch as the spiritual kingdom is holier than the temporal, and inasmuch as Jesus was not only man but God, treason to Christ is wickeder than treason to the merely human Cæsar. Judas, then, is more tortured than his two companions; his back is rent by Satan's claws, and his head is inside the demon's mouth, while his legs, like those of the Simonists, dangle outside. He is chewed by the red face of Love of Evil, whereas Brutus and Cassius, head downward, hang respectively from the black face of Ignorance and the sallow face of Impotence.

In this Giudecca, the home of betrayers of their benefactors, the central figure is the arch-traitor and arch-ingrate, Lucifer. Here he fell when he was cast headlong from Heaven, and here he will remain, huge, hideous, and impassive, through all eternity. 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend to heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit' (Isaiah xiv, 12–15). Christian interpretation applied these verses not only to an earthly ruler, but to a fallen angel as well. They naturally linked themselves to Luke x, 18: 'And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven'; and to Rev. xii, 7–9: 'And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not;

neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.' Taken together, these passages corroborate the ancient tradition of the revolt and fall of the angels (cf. the note to III, 7), and at the same time furnish ground for an identification of Lucifer with Satan, the Devil, the Serpent, and the Dragon. As we shall see from l. 127, Dante regarded Beelzebub as still another name for the same demon.

In spite of the abundance of realistic detail that makes us share with Dante the experiences of this canto, we must consider his portrayal of Satan as essentially allegorical. His Devil is the image of sin, the principle of evil, the negative counterpart of God, who is the principle of good. As the Godhead is composed of three persons, — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, representing the three attributes, Power, Wisdom, and Love, — so Lucifer is pictured three-faced: his red visage betokens Love of Evil, or Hate; the black face is the emblem of Ignorance, the opposite of Wisdom and the source of pride; the pale yellow one signifies Impotence, the opposite of Power and the begetter of envy. Just as the Holy Ghost, or Love, is continually engendered by Father and Son, so, in Satan, Hate is the result of ignorant Pride and impotent Envy. Dante's Lucifer, though less grotesque and fantastic than the usual diabolical monster of vision literature, is ugly beyond description. Like the four beasts surrounding God's throne in Rev. iv, 8, and like the seraphim of Isaiah vi, 2, he has six wings; a pair of them sprouts beneath each face, and the three winds produced by their flapping freeze Cocytus. Immovable and helpless in the ice of his own making, he holds sway over his 'doloroso regno' — so it would seem — by these winds alone. They are the Satanic instigations, the inspiration of sin. Presumably they correspond to the three great divisions of Hell, the 'tre disposizioni che il ciel non vuole' of XI, 81–3. From the wings of Love of Evil issues the blast of Fraud or Malice; from the wings of Ignorance, the blast of Violence or Bestiality; from the wings of Impotence, the wind of Incontinence or weakness to resist the passions.

Having explored all the manifestations of sin, and having finally scrutinized its very essence, Dante, with the help of Reason, turns his back upon it and laboriously wrests himself from its attraction. That is the allegory of the long and uneventful climb from the bottom of Hell, at the earth's centre, out to the surface on the other side: it is the steady, monotonous effort by which the remorseful wrongdoer is weaned from evil practices. In this journey Dante has no light to guide him — only the encouraging murmur of the streamlet of discarded sin, flowing constantly from Purgatory,

where wickedness is washed away, down to its original Satanic source. When the practice of evil has been brought to a stop, there still remains the duty of penitentially restoring the soul to its first purity and cleansing it of all disposition to sin. This discipline is symbolized by the ascent through the torments of the mountain of Purgatory, a task performed in the light and under heavenly direction.

For Dante's conception of Cæsar, see note to IV, 123. For other portrayals of a three-faced or three-headed Satan, see: A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, II, 93; R. T. Holbrook, *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, 74-5. For the outlet from Hell, see F. D'Ovidio in *Rivista d' Italia*, XIII, 701.

'*Vexilla Regis prodeunt inferni*
  Verso di noi: però dinanzi mira,'
  Disse il Maestro mio, 'se tu il discerni.'
Come quando una grossa nebbia spira
  O quando l' emisperio nostro annotta, 5
  Par da lungi un molin che il vento gira,
Veder mi parve un tal dificio allotta.
  Poi per lo vento mi ristrinsi retro
  Al Duca mio; chè non gli era altra grotta.
Già era (e con paura il metto in metro) 10
  Là dove l' ombre eran tutte coperte,
  E trasparean come festuca in vetro.
Altre sono a giacere; altre stanno erte,
  Quella col capo, e quella con le piante;

1. Virgil derisively adapts and applies to Satan the opening lines of a hymn written in honor of the Cross by Venantius Fortunatus in the 6th century:

'Vexilla Regis prodeunt,
Fulget crucis mysterium.'

It is sung at vespers on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and also on Monday of Holy Week.

5. *Annotta*, 'darkens.'

7. *Dificio*, 'engine.' *Dificio* (=*edifizio*) was used especially of besieging towers.

9. *Grotta* here, as usually in Dante, means 'bank.' In Tuscany the banks of a sunken road are still called *grotte*.

10. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 204: 'Horresco referens.'

Altra, com' arco, il volto a' piedi inverte. 15
Quando noi fummo fatti tanto avante
Ch' al mio Maestro piacque di mostrarmi
La creatura ch' ebbe il bel sembiante,
Dinanzi mi si tolse e fe' restarmi,
'Ecco Dite,' dicendo, 'ed ecco il loco, 20
Ove convien che di fortezza t' armi.'
Com' io divenni allor gelato e fioco,
Nol domandar, Lettor, ch' io non lo scrivo,
Però ch' ogni parlar sarebbe poco.
Io non morii, e non rimasi vivo! 25
Pensa oramai per te, s' hai fior d' ingegno,
Qual io divenni, d' uno e d' altro privo.
Lo imperador del doloroso regno
Da mezzo il petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia;
E più con un gigante io mi convegno, 30
Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia:
Vedi oramai quant' esser dee quel tutto
Ch' a così fatta parte si confaccia.
S' ei fu sì bel com' egli è ora brutto,
E contra il suo Fattore alzò le ciglia, 35
Ben dee da lui procedere ogni lutto.
O quanto parve a me gran meraviglia

23. *Nol=non lo.*
26. *Fior*, 'a grain': cf. XXV, 144.
27. 'Bereft of both,' i. e., neither alive nor dead.
30, 31. 'I compare better with a giant than giants do with his arms.' If we assume Dante's height to have been 5½ ft., and that of a giant (like one of those in the well) to have been 80 ft., and the length of an arm to be a third of the whole height, a rough computation makes Dis more than a third of a mile in stature. It is not likely, however, that Dante intended to convey anything more than a vague impression of almost inconceivable size.
33. *Si confaccia*, 'is proportionate.'
34-36. If his beauty, as God created him, was equal to his present ugliness, his revolt against his Creator was an act of such monstrous ingratitude as to be a fitting source of all subsequent sin and sorrow.

Quando vidi tre facce alla sua testa !
L' una dinanzi, e quella era vermiglia ;
L' altre eran due, che s' aggiungieno a questa 40
Sopr' esso il mezzo di ciascuna spalla,
E si giungieno al loco della cresta.
E la destra parea tra bianca e gialla ;
La sinistra a vedere era tal, quali
Vengon di là onde il Nilo s' avvalla. 45
Sotto ciascuna uscivan due grandi ali
Quanto si convenia a tanto uccello ;
Vele di mar non vid' io mai cotali.
Non avean penne, ma di vipistrello
Era lor modo ; e quelle svolazzava 50
Sì che tre venti si movean da ello.
Quindi Cocito tutto s' aggelava.
Con sei occhi piangeva, e per tre menti
Gocciava il pianto e sanguinosa bava.
Da ogni bocca dirompea coi denti 55
Un peccatore, a guisa di maciulla,
Sì che tre ne facea così dolenti.
A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla
Verso il graffiar, chè tal volta la schiena
Rimanea della pelle tutta brulla. 60
'Quell' anima lassù che ha maggior pena,'

40. *Aggiungieno* = *aggiungevano.*
41. *Sopr' esso* (or *sovresso*), 'just over': cf. XXIII, 54.
42. The three faces blend together at the top of the head.
45. *S' avvalla*, 'descends': the faces that come from Egypt are black.
49. *Vipistrello* = *pipistrello.*
50. *Svolazzava*, 'flapped.'
54. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 203: 'spumas aget ore cruentas'; III, 516: 'mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem.'
56. *Maciulla*, 'heckle': a hemp-brake, an instrument that crushes hemp-stalks and separates the fibre.
59. *Verso*, 'to': compared with.
60. *Brulla*, 'stripped': cf. XVI, 30.

Disse il Maestro, 'è Giuda Scariotto,
Che il capo ha dentro e fuor le gambe mena.
Degli altri duo ch' hanno il capo di sotto,
Quei che pende dal nero ceffo è Bruto — 65
Vedi come si storce, e non fa motto;
E l' altro è Cassio, che par sì membruto.
Ma la notte risurge; ed oramai
È da partir, chè tutto avem veduto.'
Com' a lui piacque, il collo gli avvinghiai; 70
Ed ei prese di tempo e loco poste,
E quando l' ali furo aperte assai,
Appigliò sè alle vellute coste.
Di vello in vello giù discese poscia
Tra il folto pelo e le gelate croste. 75
Quando noi fummo là dove la coscia
Si volge appunto in sul grosso dell' anche,
Lo Duca con fatica e con angoscia
Volse la testa ov' egli avea le zanche,
Ed aggrappossi al pel come uom che sale, 80

67. We do not know why Cassius is described as 'sturdy of limb.'

68. By the time of Jerusalem, it is the evening of Saturday, April 9. The poets have spent 24 hours in their downward journey. We are not told exactly how much more time is subsequently consumed in creeping down Satan's flank and up his thigh; from l. 96 it would seem to be about an hour and a half.

70. *Avvinghiai*: cf. V, 6.

71. *Prese . . . poste*, 'was on the watch.'

73. *Vellute*, 'shaggy.'

74. *Vello*, 'tuft.'

75. Between the ice and Satan's hip there is evidently a crack, through which Virgil, carrying Dante, descends like a man climbing down a ladder.

77. *Anche*, 'haunches': the place, half-way down the body, where the thigh thickens into the haunch.

79. *Zanche*, 'shanks': cf. XIX, 45 They have reached the centre of the earth, and any further movement in the same direction is no longer downward, but upward. Therefore Virgil, with Dante on his back, turns himself upside down, so as to proceed head first, and not feet first, as hitherto. In climbing a ladder, one goes down feet first, but up head first. They are now ascending toward the opposite surface of the earth, where Purgatory is.

Sì che in inferno io credea tornar anche.
'Attienti ben, chè per sì fatte scale,'
Disse il Maestro, ansando com' uom lasso,
'Conviensi dipartir da tanto male.'
Poi uscì fuor per lo foro d' un sasso, 85
E pose me in sull' orlo a sedere;
Appresso porse a me l' accorto passo.
Io levai gli occhi, e credetti vedere
Lucifero com' io l' avea lasciato,
E vidili le gambe in su tenere. 90
E s' io divenni allora travagliato,
La gente grossa il pensi, che non vede
Qual è quel punto ch' io avea passato.
'Levati su,' disse il Maestro, 'in piede!
La via è lunga e il cammino è malvagio, 95
E già il sole a mezza terza riede.'
Non era camminata di palagio
Là 'v' eravam, ma natural burella
Ch' avea mal suolo e di lume disagio.

81. *Anche*, 'again.' See XXII, 75, note.

85. Through the chink between Satan's thigh and the rocky bottom of the ice, they emerge into a cavern on the other side of the earth's centre. Virgil sets Dante on the brink of the crevice, and then 'extends to him his prudent step,' i. e., steps cautiously from the 'tufts' to the rock.

87. *Appresso*, 'then.'

90. Inasmuch as Satan traverses the centre of the earth, having his head in the Jerusalem hemisphere, and his legs in the Purgatory hemisphere, his feet, with reference to Purgatory, are pointed upward.

91. *Travagliato*, 'troubled': 'let ignorant people conceive' how disturbed I must have been.

96. *Terza*, 'tierce,' embraces the three hours following sunrise. 'Mid-tierce' is, then, about half-past seven o'clock in the morning: the term is doubtless used here in its natural, astronomical sense rather than in the special, ecclesiastical sense given to it in *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 153. In Hell Dante computes time by the nocturnal bodies; now that Hell is left behind, he refers to the sun again.

97. *Camminata*, 'hall.'

98. *Burella*, 'dungeon.'

99. *Disagio*, 'want.'

'Prima ch' io dell' abisso mi divella, 100
Maestro mio,' diss' io, quando fui dritto,
'A trarmi d' erro un poco mi favella.
Ov' è la ghiaccia? e questi com' è fitto
Sì sottosopra? e come in sì poc' ora
Da sera a mane ha fatto il sol tragitto?' 105
Ed egli a me: 'Tu immagini ancora
D' esser di là dal centro, ov' io mi presi
Al pel del vermo reo che il mondo fora.
Di là fosti cotanto quant' io scesi.
Quando mi volsi, tu passasti il punto 110
Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi;
E se' or sotto l' emisperio giunto
Ch' è contrapposto a quel che la gran secca
Coperchia, e sotto il cui colmo consunto
Fu l' uom che nacque e visse senza pecca. 115
Tu hai li piedi in su picciola spera

102. *Erro*=*errore*, 'doubt.'

105. In reality, as Dante presently learns, the change from evening to morning is due, not to any unusual movement of the sun, but to the altered position of the observers, who have passed from one hemisphere to the other. Throughout Hell, they go by the time of Jerusalem, which is directly over the bottom. As soon as they pass the centre, they take their time from the Island of Purgatory, towards which they ascend. Jerusalem and Purgatory being on opposite sides of the earth, or 180° apart, the difference in time between them is 12 hours. Dante therefore represents himself as gaining 12 hours when he crosses the centre. He has before him a new Saturday.

108. *Fora*, 'pierces.' *Vermo* is any kind of a dragon or monster: cf. VI, 22. In the *Visio Alberici*, IX, beside the pit there is a 'vermis . . . infinitæ magnitudinis, ligatus maxima catena.'

112. *Emisperio* means here hemisphere of the sky, not of the earth. It is the celestial hemisphere which covers the terrestrial Hemisphere of Water. Opposite to it is the celestial hemisphere 'which covers the great continent (the terrestrial Hemisphere of Land) and beneath whose zenith' lies Jerusalem, where Jesus was slain. Jerusalem is exactly in the middle of the Hemisphere of Land: 'Thus said the Lord God; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her' (Ezekiel v, 5).

113. *Secca*, 'dry land': 'And God called the dry land Earth' (Gen. i, 10).

114. *Colmo*, 'summit,' i. e., zenith. Cf. XXI, 3.

116. *Spera*, 'disc': the circular block of ice and stone immediately sur-

Che l' altra faccia fa della Giudecca.
Qui è da man quando di là è sera.
E questi, che ne fe' scala col pelo,
Fitto è ancora sì come prim' era. 120
Da questa parte cadde giù dal cielo ;
E la terra che pria di qua si sporse
Per paura di lui fe' del mar velo
E venne all' emisperio nostro, e forse
Per fuggir lui lasciò qui il loco voto 125
Quella che appar di qua, e su ricorse.'
Loco è laggiù da Belzebù remoto
Tanto quanto la tomba si distende,
Che non per vista, ma per suono è noto
D' un ruscelletto che quivi discende 130
Per la buca d' un sasso ch' egli ha roso

rounding Satan. On the Hell side it is ice, the part called Giudecca; on the other side it is stone, forming the floor of the cavern into which Dante emerges. *Spera* in early Italian often meant a round mirror, glass on one side and lead on the other.

118. *Da man*, 'morning.'

121. When heaven and earth were just created, 'and the earth was without form, and void' (Gen. i, 2), sea and land were not separated. Then Satan fell, and all the land shrank away from the surface of the side where he descended, leaving a vast empty bed to be filled by the sea. Cf. Gen. i, 9–10.

122. *Si sporse*, 'extended.'

125. As Satan pierced the earth in his headlong fall, the ground which he traversed 'perhaps' fled away from him, and issued forth to form the Island of Purgatory, leaving a vacant passage from surface to centre. Cf. Isaiah xiv, 9: 'Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming.'

126. *Quella*, sc., *terra:* the land 'which appears on this side' is the lone Island of Purgatory, in the middle of the Hemisphere of Water.

127. The 'place down there' seems to be the further end of the passage emptied by Satan's fall. It is just beneath the crust of the earth's surface that supports the Island of Purgatory, and therefore is separated from Beelzebub by the whole length of his 'tomb'—the grave he dug for himself in falling. If this is the case, Dante omits all description of his climb from Satan to this point. See *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Dante Society of Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 39. Satan is held fast in a strip of ice and rock between the cavity of Hell and the bottom of this passage, the upper part of his body projecting into Hell, the lower part into the passage. Dante identifies 'Beelzebub the prince of the devils' (Mat. xii, 24) with Lucifer; they were sometimes regarded as different demons.

Col corso ch' egli avvolge, e poco pende.
Lo Duca ed io per quel cammino ascoso
Entrammo a ritornar nel chiaro mondo ;
E senza cura aver d' alcun riposo 135
Salimmo suso, ei primo ed io secondo,
Tanto ch' io vidi delle cose belle
Che porta il ciel, per un pertugio tondo,
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.

132. *Poco pende:* it is not very steep.

136. The descent through Hell occupied Friday night and Saturday; the climb from the centre of the earth to the other side lasts through the second Saturday and the following night. The poets emerge on the Island of Purgatory before daybreak on the morning of Easter Sunday. — For different conceptions of the way out from the earth's centre, see *Rivista d'Italia*, XII, 701 (F. D'Ovidio), and *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Dante Society of Cambridge, Massachusetts* (1912), 39. If we assume the existence of a great hollow, corresponding to Hell, between Lucifer and Purgatory, the *tomba* of l. 128 will probably refer to this cavity, which was dug by the demon as he fell. In that case the *loco* of l. 127 and the *sasso* of l. 131 may both designate, perhaps, the crust of earth that covers the pit; and Dante will apparently skip some 3000 miles between ll. 126 and 127. The *entrammo* of l. 134 may mean simply 'started': cf. *Purg.* III, 101, XXIV, 110.

139. Each of the three great divisions of the poem ends with the sweet and hopeful word *stelle*.

PURGATORIO

PRELIMINARY NOTE

In the beginning all eternal things were directly created by God — namely, brute matter, the spheres, and the angels. The angels, operating by means of the heavenly bodies, constitute Nature, the power that first resolved matter into its four elements and combined them into a globe of earth and water surrounded by air and fire. God by his own act shaped Adam and Eve, whose flesh is therefore imperishable; and every human soul is made by God. The rest of the world is the work of Nature. Even when the Lord said (Gen. i, 9), 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear,' it was the influence of the stars (directed by angels) that actually caused the land to rise, on a part of the earth's surface, above the normally higher element. According to Dante's cosmogony, the earth is a sphere, solid except for the cavity of Hell; its circumference is 20,400 miles. Most of this spherical surface is covered by water, but in the Hemisphere of Land, — which lies, in the main, north of the equator, — is a great continent composed of Europe, Asia, and Africa, stretching from east to west 180°, or 10,200 miles, between the Strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Ganges. Its two western parts are separated by the Mediterranean, which was thought to extend 5100 miles, or 90° — more than twice its real length. This sea, however, was well known and was charted with considerable accuracy at a time when general maps were still quite fantastic. The extreme north and the extreme south of the Hemisphere of Land were inhabited respectively by the Scythians and the Garamantes. The great ocean surrounding the land was an object of terror, full of mysterious dangers — monsters, rocks, whirlpools, chasms. In the exact centre of the land, midway between Gibraltar and Ganges, is Jerusalem. 'Thus saith the Lord God; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her' (Ezekiel

v, 5). Half-way between Gibraltar and Jerusalem, in the middle of the western world, is Rome. Somewhere on the globe is the Garden of Eden, where Enoch and Elijah still abide in the flesh, awaiting the Day of Judgment. Although it was reached by sundry ancient travellers, opinions were diverse concerning its exact whereabouts. Generally it was placed in Asia. The English Bible says (Gen. ii, 8): 'And the Lord planted a garden eastward in Eden.' But in the usual text of the Vulgate the 'eastward' does not appear. Some located it on the summit of a lofty mountain, some on an island, especially the island of Ceylon. Bede and Peter Lombard record a belief that it projected upward to the sphere of the moon, and thus escaped the flood; but St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cii, Art. 1) does not accept this estimate of prodigious height as literal fact.[1] Whether there was land on the watery side of the earth was a question hotly debated; the doctrine of the antipodes — that is, of a race of men separated by an impassable ocean from Adam and from Christ — was condemned by the Church. Dante chose for his Eden, the scene of man's fall, a point directly opposite Jerusalem, the scene of his redemption. His Earthly Paradise is situated on the top of a huge mountain which rises on a solitary island in the midst of the Hemisphere of Water. There is no reason to believe that he regarded it as enormously higher than a real mountain might be.[2]

The upper part of the conical mountain-side is occupied by the seven terraces of Purgatory, where repentant souls come after death to cleanse themselves for Heaven. After leaving the body, they are brought to the island in a boat guided by an angel. Dante apparently agrees with St. Ambrose in holding that all human spirits destined to be saved (except Christ and Mary) must pass through Purgatory; on this point St. Thomas seems to be of different mind. Furthermore, according to Dante's belief, no souls ever went to Purgatory until the redemption was accom-

[1] Cf. Moore, III, 136, note 4; Flam., I, 206.

[2] See C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, 1895; H. F. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 1897; Moore, III, 109. Dante's chief sources of geographical information were: Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, I; Alfraganus, *Elementa Astronomica*, VI–IX; Albertus Magnus, *De Natura Locorum*, especially Tractatus III; Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, III.

plished; before the crucifixion, unrepentant souls went to Hell, as they still do, while penitent souls descended to the Limbus to await the Saviour's coming. The lower part of the mountain slope, on Dante's island, is a place of waiting for Christians who postponed repentance until the very end of life. There we find those who were over-absorbed by cares of state, those whose career was prematurely ended by a violent death, those whom indolence retarded. On the shore, slowly circling around the mountain, are the excommunicated who died repentant though still under the anathema of the Church. All of these are excluded for a time from the penance they are eager to begin. Dante and Virgil emerge on the east side of the edge of the island, on the morning of Easter Sunday. There they meet the guardian of the realm, Cato, the personification of Free Will. They laboriously ascend the cliffs, still on the eastern side, towards the gate of Purgatory. Over a considerable part of the way, however, Dante is mysteriously carried in his sleep by Lucia. We therefore do not know how high up on the mountain the entrance to Purgatory really is; but we may naturally infer that it is more than half-way, since all of Purgatory proper is above the region of atmospheric change. At the gate is an angelic keeper, the representative of Ecclesiastical Authority. Steps, cut into the steep rock, lead from one terrace of Purgatory to another; on each terrace Dante and his guide turn to the right and proceed for some distance around the northern side of the cone, so that on leaving the last shelf they are on the west side, having made half the circuit. They reach the Garden of Eden, which covers the circular mountain-top, on Wednesday morning. Here the presiding genius, the embodiment of Innocence, is a lovely maiden, Matilda. On Wednesday noon they rise to Heaven. It will be seen that three nights are spent on the island; they are passed by Dante in rest and sleep, night being the time for meditation as day is the time for activity. In the course of each night he has a symbolic dream.[1]

[1] See the diagrams on p. v. For a series of illuminating studies on this *cantica*, see F. D'Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, 1906. An excellent commentary is to be found in the notes to the German translation by A. Bassermann, *Dante's Fegeberg, der göttlichen Komödie zweiter Theil*, 1909.

Led by one of his happiest inspirations, the poet has placed the action of this *cantica* in the open air, not in the gloomy cavern of tradition. As the theme of the *Purgatorio* is betterment, release from sin and preparation for Heaven, its atmosphere is rightly one of hope and progress, and for that reason it appeals peculiarly to the modern mind. There are two elements in sin: the turning away from God and the turning toward temporal good. The first naturally ceases with repentance, and is forgiven. The second is due to vices, or faults of character, which must be cured. According to long-established Christian doctrine, of these fundamental defects there are seven, known as the 'capital vices': pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust. Dante, in harmony with St. Gregory and St. Bonaventura, arranges them in this order. There was, however, among Church writers, no absolute agreement as to their sequence, although pride was always regarded as the worst. St. Thomas, in various passages, arranges them in four somewhat different ways, and apparently regards the order as unimportant; once he has them as they appear in the *Commedia.* At the beginning of the *Inferno* we see Dante, moved by grace, turning back to God. He is already repentant. On quitting Hell, he puts sin behind him and tears himself away from evil practices; but there still remains the positive task of regeneration. The whole ascent of the mountain signifies this reformatory effort, an undoing of the work of sin, — the passage through the seven circles of Purgatory representing specifically the accomplishment of penance under ecclesiastical direction. The torment on each terrace is a symbol of the particular form of discipline needed to remove from the spirit one of the seven capital vices. When the soul is entirely cleansed, it regains the perfect freedom of will that sin has restricted; it finds itself once more in the state of original innocence which man enjoyed before the fall. The recovery of innocence is symbolized by the entrance into the Garden of Eden. Then comes the sacrament of penance, ending with absolution, after which the soul is ready to see Heaven.[1]

[1] See G. Busnelli, *La concezione del Purgatorio dantesco*, 1906, and *L' ordinamento morale del Purgatorio dantesco*, 1908. Cf. J. S. Carroll, *Prisoners of Hope: an Exposition of Dante's 'Purgatorio,'* 1906.

Every sin consists in an act of the will, and is judged according to its motive, not according to its effect. The will is fundamentally a 'craving for good,' which produces evil incidentally in the attempt to acquire good that is not real but apparent. The guilty act is therefore a yielding to the desire for this apparent or unreal good. But although sin is not in the first place perpetrated for the sake of evil, indulgence in it creates a 'habit' that begets 'malice,' the love of evil for itself. All sins fall, then, into two classes, those of passion and those of malice. The seven capital vices are all due to passion, and from them all sins of passion derive, whether they be sins of desire or sins of irascibility; a capital vice may, in fact, bring about a sin quite different from itself, but the act is classified in accordance with its source. Sins of malice are not due directly to passion, but to a habit caused, as we have seen, by repeated yielding to guilty impulse. All deliberate and 'habitual' sins may be called 'malicious.' Inasmuch as the sinner's guilt is proportionate to his understanding, the blindly impetuous or ignorant sinner is less culpable than the malicious sinner, who consciously prefers temporal to spiritual good. The capital vices are responsible for sins of weakness; offences against justice, on the other hand, are all due to malice. In Purgatory there can be no malicious souls, because a soul in a state of malice cannot repent, and only the repentant reach Purgatory; the moment a malicious sinner repents, his sin ceases to be one of malice, and must be attributed to the capital vice that first produced it. Furthermore, heresy (or *infidelitas*) is unknown in Purgatory; for, to admit of repentance, unbelief must give way to faith, and then there is left only the vice (presumably pride) that led to infidelity. It is evident, then, that in a portrayal of Purgatory malice and heresy, as such, may be left out of account, and only the seven capital vices need be directly considered.[1]

As Hell is a place of punishment for the unrepentant and Purgatory a place of reformation for the penitent, it is comprehensible that Dante should look at sin in these two regions from different standpoints. In Hell malice and heresy are at home.

[1] See W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno*, 1909.

Furthermore, the conception of Hell is universal, while the idea of Purgatory is peculiarly Christian. In *De Monarchia*, III, xvi, 43 ff., Dante describes the two goals of human endeavor, temporal and eternal happiness; the first we reach through 'philosophical,' the second through 'spiritual teaching.' Following a similar distinction, Dante treats wickedness in the *Purgatorio* from the theological, in the *Inferno* from the philosophical or moral side. Only in the offences against faith do we find in Dante's lower world (where Christ is never named) a distinctively Christian element; and even in the circle of heresy Epicurus is chosen as the leading example, as is Capaneus, another heathen, in the realm of blasphemy. The whole system is Aristotelian, and its fitting expounder is the ancient Virgil. Of the seven capital vices of Christian theology, four, to be sure, are included in the plan of the *Inferno* — lust, gluttony, avarice, and anger; but these four were familiar to the moral philosophers of antiquity. Sloth, on the other hand, was unknown to Aristotle, and envy was to him not a vice, but a culpable passion; it is natural, then, that these forms of evil should have no specific place in Dante's Hell. As to pride, Aristotle (with whom Cicero in the main agrees) does discuss it, under the name of 'vainglory,' as an excess of 'magnanimity'; an appropriate enough place for it, according to his description, would seem to be somewhere between Incontinence and Malice, and Dante does, in fact, there illustrate, in the person of Farinata, pride as a cause of heresy. St. Thomas more than once regards *superbia* in this light. It will be remembered that Dante's Hell falls into two great parts, an upper and a lower. The sins in the upper section are directed against temperance, those in the lower against justice. All the evil in the first may be attributed to infirmity; all in the second, to malice. But malice itself, in the *Commedia*, is of two distinct kinds. The sins in Dante's Hell are classified, not simply under two heads ('upper' and 'lower'), but, in partial accordance with Aristotle's terminology, under the three heads of Incontinence, Bestiality, and Malice. The last two, which belong to the Lower Hell, correspond more nearly, however, to St. Thomas's 'bestial malice' and 'human malice.' Cicero's 'vio-

lence' and 'fraud' are cited by the poet apparently as equivalents. Fraud is 'dell' uom proprio male,' that is, *malitia humana*. But St. Thomas, like almost all other moralists, considers *vis* as worse than *fraus*; Aristotle, who also distinguishes violence and fraud, does not commit himself as to their relative iniquity. Dante, combining the Ciceronian and Aristotelian *vis* with St. Thomas's *bestialis malitia*, makes of Bestiality a third distinct state of the will, different both from Incontinence (or *infirmitas*) and from Malice (or *malitia humana*), more culpable than the first and less so than the second. Their order follows, it would seem, the Gregorian maxim, 'The greater the infamy, the less the guilt.' In this arrangement Dante stands really alone. On the other hand, while St. Thomas regards the bestial sins as offences against temperance, Dante considers them as offences against justice, and therefore worthy of the Lower Hell. The only two phases of bestial wrong-doing that are discussed at any length by St. Thomas — ferocity and sodomy — are illustrated in the first and third *gironi* of Dante's seventh circle.

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

As at the beginning of his tale of Hell (*Inf.* II, 70), so at the outset of his second narrative Dante invokes the aid of the Muses, the embodiment of poetic inspiration. In the Letter to Can Grande we are informed that poets frequently prefix an invocation to their works. 'Et hoc est eis conveniens, quia multa invocatione opus est eis, quum aliquid supra communem modum hominum a superioribus substantiis petendum sit, quasi divinum quoddam munus' (18, 308-12). Calliope, in particular, is here apostrophized, as in the *Æneid*, IX, 525:

'Vos, o Calliope, precor aspirate canenti.'

She was probably known to Dante as the patroness of style and rhetoric. The mention of her name reminds the author of the story of the daughters of Pieros, whom she defeated in song.

The appeal to the Muses is followed by a beautiful description of dawn. The journey up the mountain begins on the morning of Easter Sunday: both hour and day are full of the promise of hope, which is the dominant note of the *Purgatorio*. It will be remembered that the descent into Hell began on the evening of Good Friday. The action of the second *cantica* opens, then, just before sunrise on Sunday, April 10, 1300.

The Island of Purgatory being in the southern hemisphere, some of the celestial phenomena seem inverted. As the traveller faces the east, for instance, he must turn to the right to look at the nearer, or south, pole. Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, repeatedly touches upon the aspect of the sky over Africa; and Dante himself, in *Convivio*, III, v, 80–202, gives a remarkably accurate description of the sun's course as seen from the two poles and the equator. The stars of the extreme south, however, were of course unknown to our poet's generation, and there his imagination had free scope. He invents a constellation of four bright lights, corresponding to the Great Bear of the north. These luminaries symbolize the four cardinal virtues, — Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, — which belong to the active life and have

existed since humanity began; whereas the three theological virtues, — Faith, Hope, Love, — especially adapted to the life of contemplation, are distinctively Christian. Adam and Eve before the fall ('the first people'), dwelling at the top of the mountain, beheld these stars; but fallen man, inhabiting the northern hemisphere, is bereft of their light.

These four shining virtues illumine with sunlike clearness the custodian of Purgatory, the example of that Free Will which the souls in his domain are striving, by purification, to regain; for although he appears only on the shore, the whole mountain, up to the Garden of Eden, is in his keeping. This guardian is Cato the Younger, who on earth, after heroic resistance, killed himself in Utica rather than submit to Cæsar. His suicide was evidently regarded by Dante, not as a sinful revolt against God's law, but as a divinely bidden assertion of liberty. Some suggestion of this interpretation is to be found in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, from which, in the main, Dante's conception of Cato was drawn. In *De Monarchia*, II, v, 132–4 and 136–40 Dante says: 'Accedit et illud inenarrabile sacrificium severissimi veræ libertatis auctoris Marci Catonis' . . . 'ut mundo libertatis amores accenderet, quanti libertas esset ostendit, dum e vita liber decedere maluit quam sine libertate manere in illa.' He continues (159–70), quoting from Cicero's *De Officiis:* '"Non enim alia in causa Marcus Cato fuit, alia cæteri qui se in Africa Cæsari tradiderunt; atque cæteris forsitan vitio datum esset, si se interemissent, propterea quod levior eorum vita, et mores fuerunt faciliores. Catoni vero quum incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, eamque perpetua constantia roborasset, semperque in proposito susceptoque permansisset, moriendum ei potius quam tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit."'

As a virtuous pagan, Cato went, on dying, to the Limbus, whence he was rescued with the patriarchs when Christ descended into Hell. Then it was that souls first mounted to Purgatory; and from that time dates Cato's ministry, which is to continue until the Judgment Day. How he became (or is to become) a Christian, we are not told — perhaps he received the faith on his release, having beheld Christ; but a Christian he must be on the day of resurrection, for Dante states that his body will then be glorified, like those of the other blest.

The idea of giving him this sacred charge probably came to Dante from a passage in the *Æneid* (VIII, 670), where, pictured on a shield, are scenes from the other world, the wicked in one spot,

in another the good with Cato (presumably, in Virgil's intention, the Elder) for a lawgiver:

'Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.'

Cato was, however, Dante's favorite hero in antiquity, and he would, in any case, have found a dignified place for him. In the *Convivio* and *De Monarchia* he speaks of him with the deepest reverence: 'quello glorioso Catone, di cui non fui di sopra oso di parlare' (*Conv.*, IV, vi, 95–6); 'si legge di Catone che non a sè ma alla patria e a tutto il mondo nato essere credea' (*Conv.*, IV, xxvii, 31–3). In the *Convivio*, IV, xxviii, 97 ff., Dante interprets Lucan's account of the return of Cato's wife, Martia, to him, in her old age, after the death of Hortensius, as signifying the return of the soul to God; and he adds: 'E quale uomo terreno più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone?'

For the shaggy, unkempt Cato of *Pharsalia*, II, 374–6, a man in the prime of life, Dante substitutes a figure all venerable and august, appropriate to his high office. In the common legend of the Earthly Paradise two aged men appear in the Garden — Enoch and Elijah, who were transferred from earth to Eden, to await, in the body, the Day of Judgment. Although Dante, in all likelihood, believed in this myth, he wished his Garden of Eden to be entirely suggestive of innocent youth, the springtime of humanity, and for that reason suppressed the inharmonious image of the two elders, which may, however, have lurked in his memory and contributed to his portrait of Cato. In the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, a tale widely current in the Middle Ages, the monk Barinthus reaches an island where he finds, on the shore, 'a man of great brightness,' who gives him directions, and later, in the interior, St. Brendan meets a youth who calls him and his companions by name. These two figures — originally, no doubt, identical, but differently described and occurring at the beginning and the end of the story — correspond, in a way, to Dante's Cato and Matilda. After imparting the required information, the elder in the narrative of the Irish monk suddenly vanishes; and our Cato, contrary to the usual habit of Dante's spirits, does the same.

See C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (text of the *Peregrinatio S. Brandani abbatis*), 1871, pp. 4 and 35. — For Cato see F. Cipolla, *Intorno al Catone del Purgatorio Dantesco*, in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Torino*, XXX, Dec. 9, 1894; *I Beati e Catone*, in the *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LX, ii, 941 (cf. p. 81); *Quattro Lettere intorno al Catone di Dante*, 1898. See also *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVII, 71; *Giorn. stor.*, LIX, 193.

Per correr miglior acqua alza le vele
Omai la navicella del mio ingegno,
Che lascia retro a sè mar sì crudele;
E canterò di quel secondo regno,
Dove l' umano spirito si purga 5
E di salire al ciel diventa degno.
Ma qui la morta poesì risurga,
O sante Muse, poichè vostro sono,
E qui Callïopè alquanto surga,
Seguitando il mio canto con quel suono 10
Di cui le Piche misere sentiro
Lo colpo tal che disperar perdono.
Dolce color d' orïental zaffiro,
Che s' accoglieva nel sereno aspetto
Dal mezzo puro infino al primo giro, 15
Agli occhi miei ricominciò diletto,
Tosto ch' i' uscii fuor dell' aura morta
Che m' avea contristati gli occhi e il petto.
Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta
Faceva tutto rider l' orïente, 20
Velando i Pesci ch' erano in sua scorta.

7. *Poesì* = *poesia*. *La morta poesì* probably means the poetry that has sung of the death of the soul.

9. For the accentuation *Callïopè*, see notes on *Inf.* V, 4 and XXX, 2. In Latin poetry the ictus fell on the last syllable of such names as *Callĭŏpē, Tīsĭphŏnē:* cf. *Æn.*, IX, 525; *Met.*, V, 339. — *Surga:* cf. *Met.*, V, 338–9, 'surgit . . . Calliope.'

10. *Seguitando*, 'accompanying.' Cf. *Par.* XX, 143.

11, 12. *Sentiro* = *sentirono*. — *Disperar* = *disperarono*. — The wretched magpies once heard such music from the lips of Calliope that they 'despaired of forgiveness' for their presumption. These Magpies were the nine daughters of King Pieros, who challenged the Muses to a contest, and, being worsted by Calliope, became so insolent that they were turned into birds. Cf. *Met.*, V, 300–40, 662–78.

14, 15. The 'clear face' of the sky, which was pure from the centre, or zenith, to the horizon.

21. Venus was dimming, by her brighter light, the Fishes, the constellation preceding Aries, in which was the sun. The time indicated is an hour or more before sunrise. According to the ecclesiastical calendar of 1300, Venus was in

Io mi volsi a man destra e posi mente
  All' altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle
  Non viste mai fuor che alla prima gente.
Goder pareva il ciel di lor fiammelle. 25
  O settentrïonal vedovo sito,
  Poichè privato sei di mirar quelle!
Com' io dal loro sguardo fui partito,
  Un poco me volgendo all' altro polo,
  Là onde il carro già era sparito, 30
Vidi presso di me un veglio solo,
  Degno di tanta riverenza in vista
  Che più non dee a padre alcun figliuolo.
Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista
  Portava, a' suoi capegli simigliante, 35
  De' quai cadeva al petto doppia lista.
Li raggi delle quattro luci sante
  Fregiavan sì la sua faccia di lume
  Ch' io 'l vedea come il sol fosse davante.
'Chi siete voi, che contro al cieco fiume 40
  Fuggito avete la prigione eterna?'
  Diss' ei, movendo quell' oneste piume.
'Chi v' ha guidati? o chi vi fu lucerna,
  Uscendo fuor della profonda notte
  Che sempre nera fa la valle inferna? 45
Son le leggi d' abisso così rotte?
  O è mutato in ciel nuovo consiglio,
  Che dannati venite alle mie grotte?'

Pisces in March and April of that year. See Moore, III, 372, and *Modern Language Review*, III, 376.

29. *Altro*, i.e., north. The Wain, or Big Dipper, had sunk below the horizon; in Europe, as Dante repeatedly notes, this constellation never sets.

32. *Dee* = *deve*.

39. As if the sun were shining upon Cato's face.

42. The 'venerable plumage' is his gray beard.

48. *Grotte*, 'banks' (as almost always in Dante), i.e., the cliffs of the mountain.

Lo Duca mio allor mi diè di piglio,
E, con parole e con mano e con cenni, 50
Riverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio.
Poscia rispose lui: 'Da me non venni;
Donna scese del ciel, per li cui preghi
Della mia compagnia costui sovvenni.
Ma da ch' è tuo voler che più si spieghi 55
Di nostra condizion, com' ella è vera,
Esser non puote il mio che a te si neghi.
Questi non vide mai l' ultima sera,
Ma per la sua follia le fu sì presso
Che molto poco tempo a volger era. 60
Sì come io dissi, fui mandato ad esso
Per lui campare, e non v' era altra via
Che questa per la quale io mi son messo.
Mostrato ho lui tutta la gente ria;
Ed ora intendo mostrar quegli spirti 65
Che purgan sè sotto la tua balìa.
Come io l' ho tratto, saria lungo a dirti:
Dell' alto scende virtù che m' aiuta
Conducerlo a vederti ed a udirti.
Or ti piaccia gradir la sua venuta: 70
Libertà va cercando, che è sì cara
Come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta.
Tu il sai; chè non ti fu per lei amara
In Utica la morte, ove lasciasti
La vesta che al gran dì sarà sì chiara. 75

49. *Mi diè* (=*diede*) *di piglio*, 'laid hold of me.' Cf. *Inf.* XXII, 73.
52. Cf. *Inf.* X, 61.
57. *Puote* = *può*. — *Il mio*, sc., *voler*.
62. Cf. *Inf.* II, 68.
71. See Romans viii, 21: 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Cf. *Purg.* XXVII, 140. See also John viii, 38.
75. *Vesta* = *veste*, i. e., the body, which, on the day of resurrection, shall be clothed with the glory of brightness.

Non son gli editti eterni per noi guasti;
Chè questi vive, e Minos me non lega;
Ma son del cerchio ove son gli occhi casti
Di Marzia tua, che in vista ancor ti prega,
O santo petto, che per tua la tegni. 80
Per lo suo amore adunque a noi ti piega.
Lasciane andar per li tuoi sette regni;
Grazie riporterò di te a lei,
Se d' esser mentovato laggiù degni.'
'Marzia piacque tanto agli occhi miei, 85
Mentre ch' io fui di là,' diss' egli allora,
'Che quante grazie volse da me, fei.
Or che di là dal mal fiume dimora,
Più mover non mi può, per quella legge
Che fatta fu quando me n' uscii fuora. 90
Ma se donna del ciel ti move e regge,
Come tu di', non c' è mestier lusinghe:
Bastiti ben che per lei mi richegge.
Va dunque, e fa che tu costui ricinghe
D' un giunco schietto, e che gli lavi il viso 95

76. *Guasti*, 'broken.'

77. Dante is still alive, and Minos, the judge of Hell, does not bind Virgil, who dwells in the Limbus.

79. Martia was mentioned among the dwellers in Limbus in *Inf.* IV, 128.

80. Cf. *Phars.*, IX, 561, 'tua pectora sancta'; and *Conv.*, IV, v, 140–1, 'O sacratissimo petto di Catone, chi presumerà di te parlare ?'

82. *Ne = ci*. — *Sette regni:* the seven circles of Purgatory.

87. *Fei = feci*.

89, 90. When Cato, with the patriarchs, was released from Limbus by Christ, he became subject to the law which forbids the blessed to be moved by the fate of the damned. Cf. *Inf.* II, 91–3; XX, 28–30. Before the descent of Christ the law did not exist, because there were no blessed: cf. *Inf.* IV, 52–63.

92. *Di' = dici*.

93. *Richegge = richieda*. Cf. *regge = rieda* in *Inf.* X, 82.

94, 96. *Ricinghe = ricinga; stinghe = stinga*, 'cleanse.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 635–6. The rush, the symbol of humility, takes the place of the girdle of self-confidence which Dante cast off in *Inf.* XVI, 106 ff. The washing in pure dew removes *tristitia*, the gloom of past sin. Dante starts on his upward journey in a spirit of humility and cheerfulness.

Sì che ogni sucidume quindi stinghe;
Chè non si converria l' occhio sorpriso
D' alcuna nebbia andar dinanzi al primo
Ministro, ch' è di quei di Paradiso.
Questa isoletta intorno ad imo ad imo, 100
Laggiù colà dove la batte l' onda,
Porta de' giunchi sopra il molle limo.
Null' altra pianta, che facesse fronda
O indurasse, vi puote aver vita,
Perocchè alle percosse non seconda. 105
Poscia non sia di qua vostra reddita;
Lo sol vi mostrerà, che surge omai,
Prender lo monte a più lieve salita.'
Così sparì; ed io su mi levai
Senza parlare, e tutto mi ritrassi 110
Al Duca mio, e gli occhi a lui drizzai.
Ei cominciò: 'Figliuol, segui i miei passi;
Volgiamci indietro, chè di qua dichina
Questa pianura a' suoi termini bassi.'
L' alba vinceva l' ôra mattutina 115
Che fuggia innanzi, sì che di lontano
Conobbi il tremolar della marina.
Noi andavam per lo solingo piano
Com' uom che torna alla perduta strada,
Che infine ad essa gli par ire in vano. 120

97. *L' occhio sorpriso*, 'with eye overcast.'
99. The guardians of Purgatory are angels.
100. *Imo*, 'bottom.'
105. *Seconda*, 'yields.'
106. *Reddita*, 'return.'
107. The sun, here as elsewhere, symbolizes intelligence, or righteous choice.
115–6. The early morning breeze dies away as the sun rises. Some editors print *ora*, 'hour.'
117. Cf. *Æn.*, VII, 9: 'splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.' In Virgil, however, the light is that of the moon.

Quando noi fummo dove la rugiada
  Pugna col sole, e, per essere in parte
  Dove adorezza, poco si dirada,
Ambo le mani in su l' erbetta sparte
  Soavemente il mio Maestro pose; 125
  Ond' io, che fui accorto di su' arte,
Porsi ver lui le guance lagrimose.
  Quivi mi fece tutto discoperto
  Quel color che l' inferno mi nascose.
Venimmo poi in sul lito diserto, 130
  Che mai non vide navicar sue acque
  Uomo che di tornar sia poscia esperto.
Quivi mi cinse sì come altrui piacque.
  O maraviglia! chè qual egli scelse
  L' umile pianta, cotal si rinacque 135
Subitamente là onde la svelse.

121–3. The dew resists the sun, because, being in a place where it is cool (*adorezza*), it evaporates but little.

127. *Ver* = *verso*.

128–9. He uncovered my natural complexion, hidden under the fumes of Hell.

132. Witness the fate of Ulysses: *Inf.* XXVI, 130 ff.

133. *Sì come altrui piacque*, 'as he was bidden.'

134–6. Tor. quotes Passavanti, *Trattato dell' umiltà*, III: 'L' umiltà non può essere vinta; però che delle ferite rinvigorisce, delle infermità rinforza, della povertà arricchisce, del danno cresce, della morte rivivisce.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 143–4:

'Primo avulso non deficit alter
Aureus; et simili frondescit virga metallo.'

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

The souls destined to pass through Purgatory to Heaven are wafted across the great ocean in a swift bark directed by an angelic pilot, even as the boatman of Hell ferries the wicked over Acheron. In the *Inferno*, III, 93, Charon referred to this 'lighter craft' as the boat which is to carry Dante after death. From the shore of the island, the two poets watch its approach, and at first neither can make out what is coming; all that is seen is a bright star on the horizon — the shining face of the angel. Then the wings appear on either side, and finally the white robe beneath. Virgil is the first to recognize the stranger's heavenly office. The celestial visage is too dazzling for human sight, and Dante's eyes are blinded, as they are subsequently by the guardian angels of Purgatory. The souls in the skiff, happy and eager to begin their purification, are all singing together Psalm cxiv (Vulg. cxiii), 'When Israel went out of Egypt.' In *Convivio*, II, i, 52–65, Dante uses this psalm as an example of anagogical, or spiritual, symbolism: thus understood, it means — he says — that the soul going forth from sin becomes holy and free. In the Letter to Can Grande, 7, the same passage serves to illustrate all four modes of interpretation, and the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical significances are all explained. As sung by the released spirits, the verses evidently celebrate 'the going forth of the blessed soul from the slavery of this corruption to the freedom of eternal glory.'

Among the newly arrived, Dante recognizes his friend Casella, the musician, and vainly tries to embrace his ethereal form. The apparent tangibility or intangibility of spirits in Dante's Hell and Purgatory was discussed in the Argument to Canto VI of the *Inferno*, and for the sake of convenience the commentary there given may be repeated here. Throughout Hell the souls, though without weight, are not only visible and audible, but tangible. On the lower slopes of the mountain of Purgatory, however, Dante cannot touch a shade (*Purg.* II, 79 ff.), although two spirits can still embrace (*Purg.* VI, 75); and near the summit one soul apparently

cannot clasp another (*Purg.* XXI, 130 ff.) In *Purg.* XXV, 79 ff., we are informed that after death the atmosphere collects around the departed spirit, forming an aërial body, which reflects all the emotions of the soul itself. Although Dante nowhere says so explicitly, it would seem that he chose to regard this airy shape as more substantial in proportion to its proximity to the centre of gravity of the universe (which is also the centre of sin), and more ethereal as it rises above the earth's surface. This conception of the shade appears to be to a great extent Dante's own, although St. Thomas mentions the power of angels and devils to assume aërial forms, and St. Augustine says in the *Liber de Cognitione Veræ Vitæ*, Cap. XL: 'Animæ etiam defunctorum cum viventibus apparent, corpus aerium induunt, in quo corpoream vocem vel verba audibilia exprimunt.'

Our poet was addicted, not only to mystery and enigma, but also to puzzles of all kinds, especially astronomical riddles; and he credited his readers with the same proclivity. We find many of them in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, oftenest in the opening lines of a canto. The one with which the present canto begins is not altogether easy. It must be understood that the *meridian* of any place on earth is a great circle in the sky, passing directly over that spot and crossing the two heavenly poles. The *horizon* of a given place is a great circle in the sky, running around the globe 90° from its meridian. The planes of the meridian and the horizon are therefore always at right angles to each other; the horizon of the north pole, for instance, is the celestial equator — which is also the horizon of the south pole, because the two poles are 180° apart. Inasmuch as Jerusalem and Purgatory are on opposite sides of the earth, 180° from each other, they have a common horizon: when Jerusalem sees the sun rise, Purgatory sees it set, and *vice versa*. The difference in time between the two places is just twelve hours, so that Jerusalem's noon is Purgatory's midnight, six A. M. in Jerusalem is six P. M. in Purgatory, etc. The first three lines of the canto mean, then, that the sun, in its daily revolution, has descended to the horizon of Jerusalem — 'that horizon, the highest point of whose meridian is over Jerusalem.' But this is also the horizon of Purgatory: the sun, which is setting for Jerusalem, is rising for Purgatory. Now Dante often speaks of *night* as if it were a point in the heavens directly opposed to the sun; so here he says that night, 'circling opposite' the sun, was rising for Jerusalem. He represents it as coming forth from the Ganges; this river, which flowed on the eastern confines of the

inhabited world, 90° from Jerusalem, stood for the *east* just as the Strait of Gibraltar (or Cadiz or Seville) stood for the *west*. The sun, then, for an observer in Jerusalem, was on the western horizon, night was on the eastern. In Purgatory, of course, these conditions were reversed. But Dante states, furthermore, that night was rising 'with the Scales.' The sun, from March 21 to April 21, is in the sign of Aries; and the sign of the Zodiac opposite Aries is Libra: night, therefore, conceived as a point 180° from the sun, may be described as being, on April 10, in Libra, the constellation of the Scales. Libra remains a night constellation until Sept. 21, the autumnal equinox, when the sun passes into that sign; and as Sept. 21 is the date after which the nights begin to grow longer than the days, Dante fancifully adds that the Scales in question are those which fall from the hands of Night at the time when she surpasses the Day. In this devious and ingenious way we are told that for the spectators on the Island of Purgatory the sun was rising.

For the solidity of shades, see: G. Gargano-Cosenza, *La saldezza delle ombre nel poema dantesco*, 1902; R. Petrosemolo, *La saldezza delle ombre nella Divina Commedia*, 1902; *Bull.*, X, 79. Cf. St. Augustine, *Liber de Spiritu et Anima*, Cap. XXIV: 'Anima est substantia spiritualis, simplex et indissolubilis, invisibilis et incorporea, passibilis atque mutabilis, carens pondere, figura et colore.' For an allegorical explanation of the delay of Casella, see Adele Mondolfi in *A Vittorio Cian i suoi scolari dell' Università di Pisa*, 1910, p. 29.

Già era il sole all' orizzonte giunto
  Lo cui meridïan cerchio coperchia
  Jerusalem col suo più alto punto;
E la notte, che opposita a lui cerchia,
  Uscia di Gange fuor colle bilance, 5
  Che le caggion di man quando soperchia;
Sì che le bianche e le vermiglie guance,
  Là dove io era, della bella Aurora
  Per troppa etate divenivan rance.
Noi eravam lunghesso il mare ancora, 10
  Come gente che pensa a suo cammino,

6. *Caggion* = *cadono*. — *Soperchia* = 'she exceeds,' i. e., grows longer than the day.
9. *Rance*, 'orange.' The poet playfully transfers to the face of the goddess of dawn the changing colors of the morning sky.

Che va col core, e col corpo dimora:
Ed ecco qual, sul presso del mattino,
Per li grossi vapor Marte rosseggia
Giù nel ponente sopra il suol marino, 15
Cotal m' apparve, s' io ancor lo veggia,
Un lume per lo mar venir sì ratto
Che il mover suo nessun volar pareggia;
Dal qual com' io un poco ebbi ritratto
L' occhio, per domandar lo Duca mio, 20
Rividil più lucente e maggior fatto.
Poi d' ogni lato ad esso m' apparìo
Un non sapeva che bianco, e di sotto
A poco a poco un altro a lui uscìo.
Lo mio Maestro ancor non fece motto, 25
Mentre che i primi bianchi apparser ali;
Allor che ben conobbe il galeotto,
Gridò: 'Fa, fa che le ginocchia cali!
Ecco l' Angel di Dio — piega le mani!
Omai vedrai di sì fatti officiali. 30
Vedi che sdegna gli argomenti umani,
Sì che remo non vuol, nè altro velo
Che l' ali sue, tra liti sì lontani.
Vedi come l' ha dritte verso il cielo,
Trattando l' aere con l' eterne penne, 35
Che non si mutan come mortal pelo.'
Poi come più e più verso noi venne

13. *Presso*, 'approach.'
16. *S' io ancor lo veggia* (= *veda*), 'as I hope to behold it again,' i. e., after death, when my soul shall in reality be wafted to Purgatory. For *se* with the subjunctive, used in a formula of asseveration or adjuration, see *Inf.* X, 82.
21. *Rividil* = *lo rividi.*
22, 24. *Apparìo* = *apparì; uscìo* = *uscì.* Such forms were current in Dante's time.
30. The guardians of Purgatory are 'such ministers' as this: namely, angels.
31. *Argomenti*, 'instruments.'

L' uccel divino, più chiaro appariva;
Per che l' occhio da presso nol sostenne,
Ma chinai 'l giuso; e quei sen venne a riva 40
Con un vasello snelletto e leggiero
Tanto che l' acqua nulla ne inghiottiva.
Da poppa stava il celestial nocchiero,
Tal che parea beato per iscripto;
E più di cento spirti entro sediero. 45
In exitu Israel de Ægypto
Cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce,
Con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto.
Poi fece il segno lor di santa croce;
Ond' ei si gittar tutti in sulla piaggia, 50
Ed ei sen gì, come venne, veloce.
La turba che rimase lì selvaggia
Parea del loco, rimirando intorno.
Come colui che nuove cose assaggia.
Da tutte parti saettava il giorno 55
Lo sol, ch' avea colle saette conte
Di mezzo il ciel cacciato Capricorno,
Quando la nuova gente alzò la fronte
Ver noi, dicendo a noi: 'Se voi sapete,

39. *Nol* = *non lo.*
40. *Sen* = *se ne.*
44, 46, 48. *Iscripto, scripto* = *iscritto, scritto.* In Dante's day *tt* was very often written *ct* or *pt;* here the Latin *pt* is kept, to preserve, for the eye, the correspondence with *Ægypto,* which was (and in Italy is still) pronounced *Egitto. Parea beato per iscripto,* 'he seemed blest by inscription,' i. e., 'he seemed to have the word "blest" inscribed upon him'; some texts have *pur descripto* for *per iscripto.*
45. *Sediero* = *sederono.* The preterit is used here instead of the imperfect.
50. *Gittar* = *gittarono.*
51. *Sen gì* = *se ne andò: gì* is from *gire.*
52. *Selvaggia,* 'strange.'
56. *Conte,* 'sure': cf *Inf.* XXXIII, 31.
57. At dawn the constellation of Capricorn was on the meridian; it is effaced by the rays of the rising sun.
59. *Ver* = *verso.*

Mostratene la via di gire al monte.' 60
E Virgilio rispose: 'Voi credete
Forse che siamo esperti d' esto loco;
Ma noi siam peregrin, come voi siete.
Dianzi venimmo, innanzi a voi un poco,
Per altra via che fu sì aspra e forte 65
Che lo salire omai ne parrà gioco.'
L' anime che si fur di me accorte,
Per lo spirare, ch' io era ancor vivo,
Maravigliando diventaro smorte;
E come a messaggier che porta olivo 70
Tragge la gente per udir novelle,
E di calcar nessun si mostra schivo,
Così al viso mio s' affissar quelle
Anime fortunate tutte quante,
Quasi oblïando d' ire a farsi belle. 75
Io vidi una di lor trarsi davante
Per abbracciarmi, con sì grande affetto
Che mosse me a far lo simigliante.
O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!
Tre volte retro a lei le mani avvinsi, 80
E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.
Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi;
Per che l' ombra sorrise e si ritrasse,

62. *Esto loco:* cf. *Inf.* I, 93.
65. *Aspra e forte:* cf. *Inf.* I, 5.
67. *Fur* =*furono*.
69. *Smorte,* 'pale.'
70. Bearers of good tidings used to carry an olive branch.
71. *Tragge,* 'presses.'
72. *Di calcar . . . schivo,* 'shy of (i. e., afraid of) crowding.'
73. *Affissar* =*affissarono*.
74. The souls on this island all seem to Dante 'fortunate,' elect, and happy, because they have come to 'make themselves beautiful' for Paradise.
80. So Æneas, on meeting the shade of Anchises (*Æn.*, VI, 700–1):

'Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum,
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago.'

Ed io seguendo lei oltre mi pinsi.
Soavemente disse ch' io posasse; 85
Allor conobbi chi era, e 'l pregai
Che per parlarmi un poco s' arrestasse.
Risposemi: 'Così com' io t' amai
Nel mortal corpo, così t' amo sciolta;
Però m' arresto: ma tu perchè vai?' 90
'Casella mio, per tornare altra volta
Là dove son, fo io questo viaggio,'
Diss' io; 'ma a te com' è tanta ora tolta?'
Ed egli a me: 'Nessun m' è fatto oltraggio,
Se quei che leva e quando e cui gli piace 95
Più volte m' ha negato esto passaggio;
Chè di giusto voler lo suo si face.
Veramente da tre mesi egli ha tolto
Chi ha voluto entrar con tutta pace.
Ond' io che era ora alla marina volto, 100
Dove l' acqua di Tevere s' insala,

84. *Pinsi*, 'pushed.'
85. *Posasse* = *posassi*.
89. *Sciolta*, 'released,' is feminine because the speaker is an *ombra*.
91. Of Casella we know only that he was a musician of Florence; a little of his music is preserved. From this passage we may infer that he was a close friend of the poet, and, perhaps, that he set to music Dante's *canzone* (the second in the *Convivio*), *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*.
92. Dante's present experience is intended to fit him to return to Purgatory after death.
93. 'How hast thou been robbed of so much time?' Casella, evidently, had died some time before, and Dante is astonished to see him just arrived in the other world.
95. *Quei:* the angelic boatman.
97. His will depends on that of God. The greater or less delay imposed upon various souls appears to be a manifestation of God's mysterious judgment, the same predestination that assigns ranks in Heaven. This curious detail was probably suggested by the scene on the bank of the Styx in *Æn.*, VI, 313 ff.
98. *Veramente*, 'nevertheless': so generally in Dante. — The souls of the dead are allowed to participate in the plenary indulgence granted by Boniface VIII, from Christmas, 1299, to pilgrims to the great Jubilee of 1300.
101. The Tiber's mouth signifies allegorically the Church of Rome. There congregate the souls of those who die in the bosom of the Church. The souls of the unrepentant, on the other hand, descend to Acheron.

Benignamente fui da lui ricolto.
A quella foce ha egli or dritta l' ala;
Però che sempre quivi si ricoglie
Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala.' 105
Ed io: 'Se nuova legge non ti toglie
Memoria o uso all' amoroso canto,
Che mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie,
Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto
L' anima mia, che con la sua persona 110
Venendo qui è affannata tanto.'
Amor che nella mente mi ragiona,
Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente
Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.
Lo mio Maestro, ed io, e quella gente 115
Ch' eran con lui, parevan sì contenti
Come a nessun toccasse altro la mente.
Noi eravam tutti fissi ed attenti
Alle sue note; ed ecco il veglio onesto,
Gridando: 'Che è ciò, spiriti lenti? 120
Qual negligenza, quale stare è questo?
Correte al monte a spogliarvi lo scoglio
Ch' esser non lascia a voi Dio manifesto.'
Come quando, cogliendo biado o loglio,
Li colombi adunati alla pastura, 125
Queti, senza mostrar l' usato orgoglio,
Se cosa appare ond' elli abbian paura,
Subitamente lasciano star l' esca,

103. The angel has already started back toward the Tiber.
110. *Persona*, 'body.'
117. 'As if none of us were mindful of aught else.'
119. Cato reappears, rebuking the souls for their negligence. When we have assumed the task of cleansing our souls from guilt, no pleasure, however innocent, should divert us from our purpose.
122. *Scoglio*, 'slough,' 'scales.'

Perchè assaliti son da maggior cura,
Così vid' io quella masnada fresca 130
Lasciar lo canto, e gire in ver la costa,
Come uom che va, nè sa dove riesca;
Nè la nostra partita fu men tosta.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

Where the circular mountain descends to the shore, a high cliff forms its base all around; and outside this cliff creep the souls of those who died excommunicated but repentant. Like the other classes of the 'negligent,' whom we shall meet later, they are compelled to postpone their entrance into Purgatory until they have made amends for their neglect. The contumacious spirits of this canto are condemned to wait thirty times as long as their contumacy lasted. Dante here insists upon the doctrine that the eternal fate of the soul depends upon its real state at the moment of death, and not upon the blessing or anathema of the Church. 'By their curse' — the curse of the clergy — 'the eternal love is not irrevocably lost, so long as hope has a bit of green.' According to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xxi, Art. 4, an unjust excommunication is ineffective. Nevertheless, their rebellion against God's earthly vicar demands expiation, and their humble waiting at the very foot of the mountain is a fitting atonement. This penalty Dante seems to have assigned on his own authority.

Among the excluded is Manfred, the natural son of the Emperor Frederick II, crowned King of Sicily in 1258. Handsome, cultivated, winning, able in war and peace, he was the idolized chief of the Ghibellines and, like his father, the hated and excommunicated opponent of the Papacy. In February, 1266, on a plain near Benevento, he was defeated and slain by St. Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, to whom two Popes, Urban IV and Clement IV, had offered the throne of Sicily. His body was interred on the battlefield, at the end of the Valentino bridge, on the right bank of the Calore; and a mound of stones was piled over the grave. But this land was Church property. When Clement heard of the burial, he sent the Archbishop of Cosenza to cast out the corpse, and Manfred's remains were deposited, with no funeral rites, outside the kingdom he had lost, on the bank of the Garigliano, or 'Verde,' which formed a part of its northern boundary. Dante's is the earliest account we have of this episode.

When Manfred has appeared to Dante, and the latter has 'modestly disclaimed' previous acquaintance with him, he reveals himself as the grandson of the Empress Constance, who, in the *Paradiso* III, 118, is called 'la gran Costanza.' Daughter and heiress of Roger I of Sicily, the last of the Norman kings, she married the Emperor Henry VI, the second of the Swabians, and gave birth to Frederick II. Manfred named his daughter after her. This second Constance, wedded in 1262 to Peter III of Aragon (cf. VII, 112 ff.), was the mother of Frederick and James, who became kings respectively of Sicily and Aragon. Their loving grandfather here calls them 'the glory' of these kingdoms; Dante himself, as we learn from various passages in his works, had a different opinion of them. Manfred hopes that his daughter, when she knows his state, will shorten by prayer his term of exclusion. The belief that the journey of repentant souls to Heaven is hastened by the prayers of the living is an accepted doctrine of the Church, and Dante repeatedly dwells upon it. Manfred's repentance and consequent salvation are probably not of Dante's invention. In the *Imago Mundi* of Jacopo da Acqui, written only some ten or twenty years after Dante's time, it is recorded that Manfred saved himself by exclaiming just before death: 'Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori!' The incident as it appears in the *Purgatorio* is, therefore, presumably based on a tradition already current. If the passage was written as late as 1317, it has a particular significance, for in that year another great Ghibelline leader, Dante's patron, Can Grande della Scala, was excommunicated by John XXII. He remained under the ban until his death.

For Dante's opinion of Manfred's grandsons, see: *Conv.*, IV, vi, 182–3; *Vulg. El.*, I, xii, 35–7; *Purg.* VII, 119–20; *Par.* XIX, 130–4; *Par.* XX, 63. For Manfred and his salvation: E. Gorra, *Fra drammi e poemi*, 1900, *Per la genesi della Divina Commedia*, p. 155; F. Novati, *Indagini e postille dantesche*, Serie prima, 1899, *Come Manfredi s' è salvato*. For the doctrine of prayers for the dead: 2 Macc. xii, 46; St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxi, Art. 2 and 6. For the excommunication of Can Grande, C. Cipolla, *Lettere di Giovanni XXII riguardanti Verona e gli Scaligeri*, 1909 (cf. E. G. Parodi in *Il Marzocco*, Apr. 10, 1910).

Avvegna che la subitana fuga
  Dispergesse color per la campagna,
  Rivolti al monte ove ragion ne fruga;

1. *Avvegna che* (sometimes printed as one word), 'although.'
3. *Fruga*, 'goads.'

Io mi ristrinsi alla fida compagna.
  E come sare' io senza lui corso? 5
  Chi m' avria tratto su per la montagna?
Ei mi parea da sè stesso rimorso.
  O dignitosa coscienza e netta,
  Come t' è picciol fallo amaro morso!
Quando li piedi suoi lasciar la fretta, 10
  Che l' onestade ad ogni atto dismaga,
  La mente mia, che prima era ristretta,
Lo intento rallargò, sì come vaga,
  E diedi il viso mio incontro al poggio
  Che inverso il ciel più alto si dislaga. 15
Lo sol, che retro fiammeggiava roggio,
  Rotto m' era dinanzi, alla figura
  Ch' aveva in me de' suoi raggi l' appoggio.
Io mi volsi dallato con paura
  D' esser abbandonato, quand' io vidi 20
  Solo dinanzi a me la terra oscura;
E il mio conforto: 'Perchè pur diffidi?'
  A dir mi cominciò tutto rivolto;
  'Non credi tu me teco, e ch' io ti guidi?
Vespero è già colà dov' è sepolto 25

7. Reason itself has momentarily been at fault.
10. *Lasciar* =*lasciarono*.
11. *Dismaga*, 'removes': cf. XXVII, 104. Haste 'deprives every act of dignity': cf. VI, 63.
13. *Vaga*, 'curious.'
15. *Si dislaga*, 'unlakes itself,' i. e., rises from the great lake of the ocean.
16. The poets begin their journey on the east side of the island. When Dante turns and faces the mountain, the rising sun is behind him.
17, 18. *Alla figura*, etc., 'in that shape which the stoppage of its rays had in me': the shadow has the same outline as the body which, by obstructing the sunlight, casts the shade.
21. Until now Dante has not had occasion to observe that spirits cast no shadow, and he is startled on seeing his own shadow without Virgil's. In several passages of the *Purgatorio* the poet makes effective use of the opaqueness of the human body.
25–7. 'The body in which I (the soul) used to cast a shadow is buried in a

Lo corpo dentro al quale io facea ombra:
Napoli l' ha, e da Brandizio è tolto.
Ora, se innanzi a me nulla s' adombra,
Non ti maravigliar più che de' cieli,
Che l' uno all' altro raggio non ingombra. 30
A sofferir tormenti, caldi e gieli
Simili corpi la Virtù dispone,
Che, come fa, non vuol che a noi si sveli.
Matto è chi spera che nostra ragione
Possa trascorrer la infinita via 35
Che tiene una sustanzia in tre persone.
State contenti, umana gente, al *quia;*
Chè se potuto aveste veder tutto,
Mestier non era partorir Maria;
E disïar vedeste senza frutto 40
Tai, che sarebbe lor disio quetato,
Ch' eternalmente è dato lor per lutto.
Io dico d' Aristotele e di Plato
E di molti altri.' E qui chinò la fronte;

place where it is now evening.' *Vespero* is the last three hours of the day. Italy, according to Dante's geography, is midway between Jerusalem and Gibraltar, that is, 45°, or three hours, west of Jerusalem; its time is therefore three hours earlier than that of Jerusalem. It is some time after sunrise in Purgatory, as long after sunset in Jerusalem, and the same amount after mid-afternoon in Italy. — Virgil died in Brundusium, but was buried by Augustus in Naples.

30. The nine concentric heavens being transparent, no one of them screens the sun's light from another. Cf. *Conv.*, II, vii, 89–100.

31. Cf. *Inf.* III, 87.

32. *La Virtù*, 'that Power.' See XXV, 79 ff.; also the second paragraph of the argument to Canto II.

36. *Che* is the object, *sustanzia* the subject: the course which the triune God pursues.

37. In scholastic logic a demonstration *a priori*, from cause to effect, was called *propter quid*, and a demonstration *a posteriori*, from effect to cause, was called *quia*. The line means, then: be satisfied with knowing the effects, and, through them, as far as may be, the maker; do not try to put yourselves in his place and guess his motives. Cf. *Conv.*, III, viii, 139–46.

38, 39. If man had been all-knowing, there would have been no sin, and consequently no atonement: 'Mary would not have had to bear child.'

40, 41. If human knowledge had sufficed, the vain longing of the ancient sages (which torments them through eternity) would have been satisfied.

E più non disse, e rimase turbato. 45
Noi divenimmo intanto al piè del monte.
Quivi trovammo la roccia sì erta,
Che indarno vi sarien le gambe pronte.
Tra Lerici e Turbìa, la più diserta,
La più romita via è una scala, 50
Verso di quella, agevole ed aperta.
'Or chi sa da qual man la costa cala,'
Disse il Maestro mio, fermando il passo,
'Sì che possa salir chi va senz' ala?'
E mentre ch' ei teneva 'l viso basso, 55
E esaminava del cammin la mente,
Ed io mirava suso intorno al sasso,
Da man sinistra m' apparì una gente
D' anime, che movieno i piè ver noi,
E non parevan, sì venivan lente. 60
'Leva,' diss' io, 'Maestro, gli occhi tuoi:
Ecco di qua chi ne darà consiglio,
Se tu da te medesmo aver nol puoi.'
Guardò a loro, e con libero piglio
Rispose: 'Andiamo in là, ch' ei vegnon piano; 65
E tu ferma la speme, dolce figlio.'

45. Once more we have a pathetic reminder that Virgil is one of those whose desire will never be stilled.

48. *Sarien=sarebbero.*

49. *Turbìa* is near Monaco; *Lèrici* is on the Gulf of Spezia, near Sarzana, where Dante was in 1306. Between these places the mountains descend steeply to the sea.

51. *Verso di*, 'compared with.'

56. Virgil questions 'his mind about the road.' Reason looks within itself for knowledge; the human Dante looks without, and this time his method is the more successful.

59. *Movieno = movevano.* — *Ver=verso.*

64. *A loro:* some texts have *allora.* — *Libero piglio*, 'an air of relief.' Cf. *Inf.* XXII, 75.

65. In Hell the regular course is to the left; in Purgatory, always to the right. Virgil and Dante, however, now turn to the left (i. e., the south) to join the slowly approaching crowd; hence the astonishment of the shades, ll. 70–2.

Ancora era quel popol di lontano, —
Dico dopo li nostri mille passi, —
Quanto un buon gittator trarria con mano,
Quando si strinser tutti ai duri massi 70
Dell' alta ripa, e stetter fermi e stretti,
Come, a guardar, chi va dubbiando stassi.
'O ben finiti, o già spiriti eletti,'
Virgilio incominciò, 'per quella pace
Ch' io credo che per voi tutti si aspetti, 75
Ditene dove la montagna giace
Sì che possibil sia l' andare in suso;
Chè perder tempo a chi più sa più spiace.'
Come le pecorelle escon del chiuso
Ad una, a due, a tre, e l' altre stanno 80
Timidette atterrando l' occhio e il muso,
E ciò che fa la prima, e l' altre fanno,
Addossandosi a lei s' ella s' arresta,
Semplici e quete, e lo 'mperchè non sanno:
Sì vid' io movere a venir la testa 85
Di quella mandria fortunata allotta,
Pudica in faccia, e nell' andare onesta.
Come color dinanzi vider rotta
La luce in terra dal mio destro canto,
Sì che l' ombra era da me alla grotta, 90
Restaro, e trasser sè in retro alquanto,
E tutti gli altri che venieno appresso,

73. The fate of the souls on this island seems to Virgil the more happy by comparison with his own.
78. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, ii, 88–90.
82. *E l' altre*, 'the others likewise.' Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 3.
84. *Imperchè*, 'wherefore.'
89. As Dante is now facing south, the morning sun is at his left and his shadow falls on the cliff at his right.
91. *Restaro* = *restarono*.
92. *Venieno* = *venivano*.

Non sapendo il perchè, fenno altrettanto.
'Senza vostra domanda io vi confesso
Che questo è corpo uman che voi vedete, 95
Per che il lume del sole in terra è fesso.
Non vi maravigliate; ma credete
Che non senza virtù che dal ciel vegna
Cerchi di soperchiar questa parete.'
Così il Maestro: e quella gente degna: 100
'Tornate,' disse, 'intrate innanzi dunque,'
Coi dossi delle man facendo insegna.
Ed un di loro incominciò: 'Chiunque
Tu se', così andando volgi il viso!
Pon mente, se di là mi vedesti unque.' 105
Io mi volsi ver lui, e guardail fiso:
Biondo era e bello e di gentile aspetto;
Ma l' un de' cigli un colpo avea diviso.
Quand' io mi fui umilmente disdetto
D' averlo visto mai, ei disse: 'Or vedi!' 110
E mostrommi una piaga a sommo il petto.
Poi sorridendo disse: 'Io son Manfredi,
Nipote di Costanza Imperadrice:
Ond' io ti prego che, quando tu riedi,
Vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice 115
Dell' onor di Cicilia e d' Aragona,
E dichi il vero a lei, s' altro si dice:
Poscia ch' i' ebbi rotta la persona
Di due punte mortali, io mi rendei
Piangendo a quei che volentier perdona. 120

93. *Fenno* = *fecero*.
99. *Cerchi*, 'he is striving.'
101. *Intrate*, 'proceed.'
115. *Vadi* = *vada*.
116. *Cicilia* is still used for *Sicilia*: cf. *Inf*. XII, 108.
117. *Dichi* = *dica*.

Orribil furon li peccati miei;
Ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei.
Se il pastor di Cosenza, che alla caccia
Di me fu messo per Clemente, allora 125
Avesse in Dio ben letta questa faccia,
L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co del ponte presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.
Or le bagna la pioggia e move il vento 130
Di fuor del regno, quasi lungo il Verde,
Dov' ei le trasmutò a lume spento.
Per lor maledizion sì non si perde
Che non possa tornar l' eterno amore,
Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde. 135
Ver è che quale in contumacia more
Di santa Chiesa, ancor che al fin si penta,
Star gli convien da questa ripa in fuore
Per ogni tempo ch' egli è stato, trenta,
In sua presunzïon, se tal decreto 140
Più corto per buon preghi non diventa.
Vedi oramai se tu mi puoi far lieto,
Rivelando alla mia buona Costanza
Come m' hai visto, ed anco esto divieto!
Chè qui per quei di là molto s' avanza.' 145

122. Cf. Ps. li (Vulg. l); also John vi, 37, 'him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.'

126. If the Archbishop of Cosenza, sent by Clement IV to hunt me down, 'had read aright this page in God's book' — i. e., one of the passages referred to in the preceding note.

128. *Co* is a dialect form for *capo:* cf. *Inf.* XX, 76.

129. *Mora*, 'pile' of stones.

132. *A lume spento:* without candles, as was customary in the burial of the excommunicated.

135. Green is the color of hope.

138. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 327-30.

144. *Divieto:* the 'prohibition' of entering Purgatory.

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

THE top of the cliff can be reached only by crawling up through a crack in the rock, so narrow that it crowds the climbers on either side. Above is an open slope, difficult of ascent. On this declivity, lazily reclining in the shade of a boulder, are the shades of the 'negligent' of the second class — those who postponed repentance through indolence. They must wait outside of Purgatory for a period equal to their life on earth. Among them is the mocking, humorous Florentine called Belacqua, evidently a friend of our poet, and, according to the early commentators, a maker of musical instruments. His real name was probably Duccio di Bonavia. He first betrays his presence by his amusement at Dante's naïve surprise on seeing the sun at the left, or north, as he faces east. As the sun's course is confined within the tropics, it is always south of the north temperate, and north of the south temperate zone. The European observer, in the middle of the morning, sees the sun in the southeast; Dante now beholds it in the northeast. Something similar was noted by Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, III, 247–8 and IX, 538–9:

> 'Ignotum vobis, Arabes, venistis in orbem,
> Umbras mirati nemorum non ire sinistras.'

> 'At tibi, quæcumque es Libyco gens igne diremta,
> In Noton umbra cadit, quæ nobis exit in Arcton.'

In the opening lines of this canto Dante discusses a psychological phenomenon to which he reverts more than once. The attention, he says, can be so monopolized by one of the senses that the mind is dead to all other perceptions. According to the Aristotelian philosophy, 'l' anima principalmente,' he tells us in *Conv.*, III, ii, 85–6, 'ha tre potenze, cioè vivere, sentire, e ragionare.' Compare *Vulg. El.*, II, ii, 46–55. These three powers — often called souls — are the vegetative, the sensitive, and the intellective. The vegetative power, possessed by all plants and animals, is simply life. Above it is the sensitive, or power of feeling, which belongs to animals. 'E questa sensitiva potenza è fonda-

mento della intellettiva, cioè della ragione' (l. c., 105–7), which is peculiar to man. How these powers are genetically related to one another is explained in *Purg.* XXV, 52–75. 'Quella anima che tutte queste potenze comprende,' adds Dante in *Conv.*, III, ii, 112–4, — meaning the soul of man, — 'è perfettissima di tutte l' altre.' The intellective power is, of course, the highest. Moreover (l. c., 122–3), 'in questa nobilissima parte dell' Anima sono più virtù' — there are several faculties, namely, knowledge, reason, judgment, etc. When the soul is all absorbed in the operation of one of the senses, no impressions can reach it from another sense; and, furthermore, the intellective power is then held in check, so that reason and judgment are inactive. On the other hand, the soul may be so engrossed by intellectual activity that the senses are dormant. An example of the former kind of absorption is given in *Conv.*, II, xiv, 187–93; 'Ancora la Musica trae a sè gli spiriti umani (che sono quasi principalmente vapori del cuore), sicchè quasi cessano da ogni operazione, — sì è l' anima intera quando l' ode, — e la virtù di tutti quasi corre allo spirito sensibile che riceve il suono.' The 'spirits' are the senses, which were thought of as fine vapors. The activity of all the other senses, then, is transferred to the sense of hearing. 'Sì è l' anima intera' seems to mean: 'the soul is so undisturbed' by any other faculty or power. The phrase 'l' anima intera' recurs in our canto, line 11.

For the doctrine of attention, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xxxvii, Art. 1.

Quando, per dilettanze ovver per doglie
  Che alcuna virtù nostra comprenda,
  L' anima bene ad essa si raccoglie,
Par che a nulla potenza più intenda;
  E questo è contra quello error che crede 5
  Che un' anima sopr' altra in noi s' accenda.

2. 'Which any force (of our sensitive power) experiences.'
3. *Si raccoglie*, 'concentrates.'
4. 'It (the soul) seems to care for no other power': the intellective power is inoperative.
5, 6. Dante adds parenthetically that this absorption of the soul in one faculty is a proof that the Platonists and the Manichæans, who maintain that man has several souls — 'one kindled upon another,' — are wrong: if we had two souls, we could attend to two things at once. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 3.

E però, quando s' ode cosa, o vede,
Che tenga forte a sè l' anima volta,
Vassene il tempo, e l' uom non se n' avvede.
Ch' altra potenza è quella che l' ascolta, 10
Ed altra quella che ha l' anima intera:
Questa è quasi legata, e quella è sciolta.
Di ciò ebb' io esperïenza vera,
Udendo quello spirto ed ammirando;
Chè ben cinquanta gradi salito era 15
Lo sole, ed io non m' era accorto, quando
Venimmo dove quell' anime ad una
Gridaro a noi: 'Qui è vostro domando.'
Maggiore aperta molte volte impruna
Con una forcatella di sue spine 20
L' uom della villa, quando l' uva imbruna,
Che non era la calla onde salìne
Lo Duca mio ed io appresso, soli,
Come da noi la schiera si partìne.
Vassi in Sanleo e discendesi in Noli, 25
Montasi su Bismantova in cacume,

10. It is the sensitive power that listens.
11. 'It is a different one' — the intellective — 'which leaves the soul intact,' i. e., does not disturb it or attract its attention.
12. 'The latter' — the intellective power — 'is, as it were, bound; the former' — the sensitive — 'is free' to operate.
15. Inasmuch as fifteen degrees correspond to an hour of time, three hours and twenty minutes have passed since sunrise.
17. *Ad una*, 'together.'
18. *Vostro domando*, 'what you ask.'
19. *Impruna*, 'hedges up,' i. e., fills up a break in the hedge.
20. *Forcatella*, 'forkful.'
21. *Villa*, 'farm.' — *Imbruna*, 'is darkening,' i. e., ripening, and more likely to be stolen.
22. *Calla*, 'passage.' — *Salìne* = *salì*: the ending *ne* was often attached to verb forms ending in an accented vowel; cf. *Inf.* XI, 31, XVIII, 87.
24. *Partìne* = *partì*.
25. San Leo, or Leone, is on Monte Feltrato, a huge rock of sheer precipices. Noli, a little town on the shore, not far from Genoa, is at the foot of steep cliffs.
26. Bismantova is on the top of a high, bare peak in the Apennines, near Canossa.

Con esso i piè; ma qui convien ch' uom voli —
Dico con l' ali snelle e con le piume
Del gran disio, diretro a quel condotto
Che speranza mi dava e facea lume. 30
Noi salivam per entro il sasso rotto,
E d' ogni lato ne stringea lo stremo,
E piedi e man voleva il suol di sotto.
Poi che noi fummo in su l' orlo supremo
Dell' alta ripa, alla scoperta piaggia: 35
'Maestro mio,' diss' io, 'che via faremo?'
Ed egli a me: 'Nessun tuo passo caggia;
Pur su al monte, retro a me, acquista,
Fin che n' appaia alcuna scorta saggia.'
Lo sommo er' alto che vincea la vista, 40
E la costa superba più assai
Che da mezzo quadrante a centro lista.
Io era lasso, quando cominciai:
'O dolce padre, volgiti, e rimira
Com' io rimango sol, se non ristai.' 45
'Figliuol mio,' disse, 'infin quivi ti tira,'
Additandomi un balzo poco in sue,
Che da quel lato il poggio tutto gira.
Sì mi spronaron le parole sue
Ch' io mi sforzai, carpando appresso lui, 50
Tanto che il cinghio sotto i piè mi fue.

27. *Con esso i piè*, 'with one's own feet.' For the use of *esso* to reinforce a preposition, see *Inf.* XXIII, 54.
28. *Dico*, 'I mean.'
29. *Condotto*, 'guidance.'
37. *Caggia* = *cada*, 'fall back,' 'descend.'
42. The hillside was far steeper than a line (*lista*) drawn from the centre of a circle to the middle of one of its quadrants. Such a line makes an angle of 45°.
47. *Balzo*, 'ledge.' — *Sue* = *su*: words ending in an accented vowel, if they were followed by a pause, were lengthened in early Italian by the addition of an indistinct *e*. Cf. *giue* in *Inf.* XXXII, 53; see also *Inf.* IV, 56.
51. *Cinghio*, 'belt' of rock: the ledge. — *Fue* = *fu*.

A seder ci ponemmo ivi ambedui
Volti a levante, ond' eravam saliti;
Chè suole a riguardar giovare altrui.
Gli occhi prima drizzai a' bassi liti; 55
Poscia gli alzai al sole, ed ammirava
Che da sinistra n' eravam feriti.
Ben s' avvide il Poeta che io stava
Stupido tutto al carro della luce,
Dove tra noi ed Aquilone intrava. 60
Ond' egli a me: 'Se Castore e Polluce
Fossero in compagnia di quello specchio
Che su e giù del suo lume conduce,
Tu vederesti il Zodiaco rubecchio
Ancora all' Orse più stretto rotare, 65
Se non uscisse fuor del cammin vecchio.
Come ciò sia, se il vuoi poter pensare,
Dentro raccolto, immagina Sïòn
Con questo monte in sulla terra stare
Sì che amdedue hanno un solo orizzon 70

54. 'For it always cheers a man to look back' on the difficulties he has overcome.

60. *Aquilone*, 'Aquilo,' the north wind, often used, as here, for 'the north.'

61. Castor and Pollux compose the sign of Gemini, which accompanies the sun from May 21 to June 21. The clause means, then, 'if it were June (instead of April).'

62. The sun is often called a 'mirror,' because it reflects the divine light.

63. The sun 'leads with its light' on both sides of the equator, being half the year 'above' it, half the year 'below.'

64. The zodiac is the belt of constellations through which the sun passes in its annual slanting course around the earth. The 'ruddy zodiac' is the part in which the sun is — or, in other words, the sun itself.

65. The sun, in that case, would be 'circling' further north, — 'closer' to the Big and Little 'Bears,' or Dippers, — because the 21st of June is the day on which it reaches the point of its course furthest north of the equator.

66. Its 'old road' is the ecliptic, the annual path of the sun, which crosses the equator diagonally on March 21 and Septemper 21 (the equinoxes). On June 21 it is furthest north, on December 21 furthest south.

68. *Dentro raccolto*, 'turning thy mind within,' i. e., 'concentrating' thy faculties. — *Sion*, 'Mt. Zion.'

70. See the third paragraph of the Argument to Canto II. It must be re-

E diversi emisperi; onde la strada
Che mal non seppe carreggiar Feton
Vedrai come a costui convien che vada
Dall' un, quando a colui dall' altro fianco,
Se l' intelletto tuo ben chiaro bada.' 75
'Certo, Maestro mio,' diss' io, 'unquanco
Non vidi chiaro sì com' io discerno
Là dove mio ingegno parea manco.
Chè il mezzo cerchio del moto superno,
Che si chiama Equatore in alcun' arte, 80
E che sempre riman tra il sole e il verno,
Per la ragion che di', quinci si parte
Verso settentrïon quanto gli Ebrei
Vedevan lui verso la calda parte.
Ma se a te piace, volentier saprei 85
Quanto avemo ad andar; chè il poggio sale
Più che salir non posson gli occhi miei.'
Ed egli a me: 'Questa montagna è tale

membered that Mt. Zion, or Jerusalem, and the mountain of Purgatory are on opposite sides of the earth, separated by 180°, so that they have a common horizon midway between them. — *Orizzon* = *orizzonte*. The rhymes of ll. 68, 70, 72 are *tronche:* see *Inf.* IV, 56.

72. *Feton* = *Fetonte*, 'Phaëthon.' 'The road which, unhappily for him, he knew not how to drive' is the ecliptic. The story of Phaëthon's disastrous attempt to drive the chariot of the sun is told in *Met.*, II.

73, 74. The ecliptic 'must pass on one side' of Purgatory when it passes 'on the other side' of Zion. Jerusalem and Purgatory being in different hemispheres, on different sides of the equator and the tropics, it follows that when the sun is approaching one of these places, it is receding from the other; the more it is south of Jerusalem, the less it is north of Purgatory, and the less it is south of Jerusalem, the more it is north of Purgatory.

76. *Unquanco*, 'ever.' Cf. *Inf.* XXXIII, 139.

79. The 'mid circle' of the 'upper motion' — the revolution of the spheres — is the celestial equator. Cf. *Conv.*, III, v, 76, 144.

80. *Alcun' arte*, 'a certain science': astronomy.

81. When it is winter in any place, the sun is on the other side of the equator from that place.

82. *Di'* = *dici*. — The equator is as far north from Purgatory, on one side of the globe, as it is south from Jerusalem, on the other.

86. *Avemo* = *abbiamo*.

Che sempre al cominciar di sotto è grave,
E quanto uom più va su, e men fa male. 90
Però quand' ella ti parrà soave
Tanto che il su andar ti fia leggiero
Come a seconda giù andar per nave,
Allor sarai al fin d' esto sentiero.
Quivi di riposar l' affanno aspetta. 95
Più non rispondo, e questo so per vero.'
E com' egli ebbe sua parola detta,
Una voce di presso sonò: 'Forse
Che di sedere in prima avrai distretta.'
Al suon di lei ciascun di noi si torse, 100
E vedemmo a mancina un gran petrone,
Del qual nè io nè ei prima s' accorse.
Là ci traemmo; ed ivi eran persone
Che si stavano all' ombra dietro al sasso,
Com' uom per negligenza a star si pone. 105
Ed un di lor, che mi sembrava lasso,
Sedeva ed abbracciava le ginocchia,
Tenendo il viso giù tra esse basso.
'O dolce Signor mio,' diss' io, 'adocchia
Colui che mostra sè più negligente 110
Che se pigrizia fosse sua sirocchia.'
Allor si volse a noi e pose mente,
Movendo il viso pur su per la coscia,
E disse: 'Or va su tu, che se' valente.'
Conobbi allor chi era; e quell' angoscia 115

90. For the untranslatable *e* before *men*, see *Inf.* XIX, 3.
92. *Fia* =*sarà*.
93. *A seconda*, 'with the stream.'
95. *Quivi:* at the end of the road. — *Affanno*, 'panting.
99. *Distretta*, 'need.'
111. *Sirocchia*, 'sister.'
115. *Angoscia*, 'fatigue.'

Che m' avacciava un poco ancor la lena,
Non m' impedì l' andare a lui; e poscia
Che a lui fui giunto, alzò la testa appena,
Dicendo: 'Hai ben veduto come il sole
Dall' omero sinistro il carro mena?' 120
Gli atti suoi pigri e le corte parole
Mosson le labbra mie un poco a riso;
Poi cominciai: 'Belacqua, a me non duole
Di te omai. Ma dimmi, perchè assiso
Quiritta sei? Attendi tu iscorta, 125
O pur lo modo usato t' hai ripriso?'
Ed ei: 'Frate, l' andare in su che porta?
Chè non mi lascerebbe ire ai martiri
L' uccel di Dio che siede in su la porta.
Prima convien che tanto il ciel m' aggiri 130
Di fuor da essa quanto fece in vita, —
Perch' io indugiai al fine i buon sospiri, —
Se orazione in prima non m' aïta
Che surga su di cor che in grazia viva.
L' altra che val, che in ciel non è udita?' 135
E già il Poeta innanzi mi saliva,
E dicea: 'Vienne omai, vedi ch' è tocco
Meridïan dal sole, e dalla riva
Copre la notte già col piè Morrocco.'

116. *Avacciava*, 'quickened': cf. *Inf.* X, 116.
123. Dante sees that Belacqua is, after all, among the elect.
125. *Quiritta*, 'here.'
126. *Ripriso* = *ripreso*: cf. *sorpriso* in I, 97.
127. *Che porta*, 'what avails it?'
129 The guardian angel at the gate of Purgatory.
137. *Vienne*, 'come on.' — *Tocco* = *toccato*. It is noon in Purgatory, midnight in Jerusalem; the whole Hemisphere of Water is light, the Hemisphere of Land is dark. The sun has reached the meridian of Purgatory; night, striding across the other hemisphere from the bank (of the Ganges), has already set foot on Morocco (the Strait of Gibraltar) — that is, it extends from the eastern to the western extremity of the habitable world.

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

The third class of the 'negligent' comprises those who, cut short by a violent death, repented at their last gasp. They come wandering horizontally across the mountain-side. Their principal spokesman is Count Buonconte da Montefeltro, a Ghibelline leader, captain of the Aretines in the disastrous battle of Campaldino in 1289. There he met his death, but, as we are told by Dante (who almost certainly took part in this fight), his body was not found on the field. This curious circumstance allows the poet to introduce a romantic account of Buonconte's end — his appeal to Mary with his dying breath, his salvation 'by one little tear' of genuine contrition, and the contest between angel and demon for the possession of his soul. Such a conflict we find portrayed in ancient Etruscan art, and, in Christian times, described as early as Gregory I and Bede. In the *Commedia* it occurs — with a different outcome — in only one other instance, that of Buonconte's father, Guido (*Inf.* XXVII, 112–29), whose fate is thus contrasted with his son's. By means of these two extreme examples Dante illustrates the dependence of everlasting welfare or perdition upon the real fitness of the soul at the instant of departure.

The foiled devil wreaks his vengeance on the corpse. He conjures up a storm, and Buonconte's body is swept into the Arno. In Ephesians ii, 2, the fiend is called 'prince of the power of the air.' According to St. Thomas, the elements are subject to spiritual beings; and demons, who dwell partly in Hell and partly in the dark air, are able to produce wind and rain.

For Guido da Montefeltro, see Argument to *Inf.* XXVII. For the contest between angel and devil: Gregory I, *Dialogi*, IV, xxxvi (Migne, LVII, 381); Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, xix (Migne, XCV, 146 ff.). For the nature and power of demons: St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxiv, Art. 4; Prima, Qu. cxii, Art. 2; Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxx, Art. 2.

Io era già da quell' ombre partito
E seguitava l' orme del mio Duca,
Quando diretro a me, drizzando il dito,

Una gridò: 'Ve' che non par che luca
  Lo raggio da sinistra a quel di sotto, 5
  E come vivo par che si conduca.'
Gli occhi rivolsi al suon di questo motto,
  E vidile guardar per maraviglia
  Pur me, pur me, e il lume ch' era rotto.
'Perchè l' animo tuo tanto s' impiglia,' 10
  Disse il Maestro, 'che l' andare allenti?
  Che ti fa ciò che quivi si pispiglia?
Vien retro a me, e lascia dir le genti;
  Sta come torre ferma, che non crolla
  Giammai la cima per soffiar de' venti. 15
Chè sempre l' uomo in cui pensier rampolla
  Sopra pensier, da sè dilunga il segno,
  Perchè la foga l' un dell' altro insolla.'
Che poteva io ridir, se non: 'Io vegno'?
  Dissilo, alquanto del color consperso 20
  Che fa l' uom di perdon talvolta degno.
E intanto per la costa, di traverso,
  Venivan genti innanzi a noi un poco,
  Cantando *Miserere* a verso a verso.
Quando s' accorser ch' io non dava loco 25

4. *Ve'* = *vedi*.
5. As Dante is climbing straight up the east side of the mountain, facing west, — the sun being now in the north, — his shadow falls on the left (or south) side.
16. *Rampolla*, 'sprouts.' Cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 10; *Par.* IV, 130.
17. The man in whose mind one thought immediately begets a different one 'puts the target further from him,' i. e., makes his goal more difficult of attainment. Dante is particularly fond of metaphors taken from archery.
18. 'Because the one weakens the force of the other.'
21. Shame is becoming in women and youths, not in mature men: cf. *Conv.*, IV, xix, 82–92.
22. *Di traverso*, 'crosswise.'
24. Ps. li (Vulg. l): 'Have mercy upon me, O God.' — *A verso a verso* probably indicates a division of the singers into two choirs, which sing the verses alternately.

Per lo mio corpo al trapassar de' raggi,
Mutar lor canto in un 'oh!' lungo e roco;
E due di loro, in forma di messaggi,
Corsero incontro a noi, e domandarne:
'Di vostra condizion fatene saggi.' 30
E il mio Maestro: 'Voi potete andarne
E ritrarre a color che vi mandaro
Che il corpo di costui è vera carne.
Se per veder la sua ombra restaro,
Com' io avviso, assai è lor risposto. 35
Facciangli onore, ed esser può lor caro.'
Vapori accesi non vid' io sì tosto
Di prima notte mai fender sereno,
Nè, sol calando, nuvole d' agosto,
Che color non tornasser suso in meno, 40
E, giunti, là con gli altri a noi dier volta,
Come schiera che scorre senza freno.
'Questa gente che preme a noi è molta,
E vengonti a pregar,' disse il Poeta;
'Però pur va, ed in andando ascolta.' 45
'O anima, che vai per esser lieta
Con quelle membra con le quai nascesti,'
Venian gridando, 'un poco il passo queta.
Guarda se alcun di noi unque vedesti,
Sì che di lui di là novelle porti! 50

28. *Messaggi* = *messaggeri*: cf. XXII, 78.
29. *Domandarne* = *ci domandarono*.
36. 'It may profit them,' because they are in need of the prayers of the living, which Dante may procure for them.
37. *Vapori accesi* comprise both meteors and lightning. Meteors, cleaving the clear sky in the early night, and lightning, cleaving the August clouds at sunset, move less swiftly than the messengers.
40. '(So swiftly) that they (the messengers) did not go up again in less (time).'
41. *Dier* (= *diedero*) *volta*, 'turned.'

Deh perchè vai? deh perchè non t' arresti?
Noi fummo già tutti per forza morti,
E peccatori infino all' ultim' ora;
Quivi lume del ciel ne fece accorti
Sì che, pentendo e perdonando, fuora 55
Di vita uscimmo a Dio pacificati,
Che del disio di sè veder n' accora.'
Ed io: 'Perchè ne' vostri visi guati,
Non riconosco alcun; ma se a voi piace
Cosa ch' io possa, spiriti ben nati, 60
Voi dite; ed io farò per quella pace,
Che, retro ai piedi di sì fatta guida,
Di mondo in mondo cercar mi si face.'
Ed uno incominciò: 'Ciascun si fida
Del beneficio tuo senza giurarlo, 65
Pur che il voler nonpossa non ricida.
Ond' io, che solo innanzi agli altri parlo,
Ti prego, se mai vedi quel paese
Che siede tra Romagna e quel di Carlo,
Che tu mi sie de' tuoi preghi cortese 70
In Fano sì che ben per me s' adori,
Perch' io possa purgar le gravi offese.
Quindi fu' io; ma li profondi fori,
Onde uscì il sangue in sul qual io sedea,

57. *N' accora*, 'saddens us.'
58. *Perchè . . . guati*, 'though I gaze.'
62. *Sì fatta*, 'such.'
63. *Face* =*fa*.
66. 'Provided inability cut not short thy (good) will.'
69. The March of Ancona is the country between the Romagna and the land of Charles — i. e., the kingdom of Naples, which belonged to Charles II of Anjou. The speaker is Jacopo del Cassero, a leading citizen of Fano, who in 1296 was mayor of Bologna. He fell out with Azzo VIII of Este, and in 1298, while on his way to take the place of mayor of Milan, he was murdered by the marquis's hirelings.
73. *Fori*, 'wounds.'
74. *In sul qual io sedea*, 'in which I (the soul) dwelt.' Cf. Levit. xvii, 14:

Fatti mi furo in grembo agli Antenori, 75
Là dov' io più sicuro esser credea:
Quel da Esti il fe' far, che m' avea in ira
Assai più là che dritto non volea.
Ma s' io fossi fuggito inver la Mira,
Quando fui sopraggiunto ad Orïago, 80
Ancor sarei di là dove si spira.
Corsi al palude, e le cannucce e il brago
M' impigliar sì ch' io caddi, e lì vid' io
Delle mie vene farsi in terra lago.'
Poi disse un altro: 'Deh, se quel disio 85
Si compia che ti tragge all' alto monte,
Con buona pïetate aiuta il mio.
Io fui di Montefeltro, io son Buonconte.
Giovanna o altri non ha di me cura;
Per ch' io vo tra costor con bassa fronte.' 90
Ed io a lui: 'Qual forza o qual ventura
Ti travïò sì fuor di Campaldino
Che non si seppe mai tua sepoltura?'
'Oh,' rispos' egli, 'a piè del Casentino
Traversa un' acqua che ha nome l' Archiano, 95

'anima enim omnis carnis in sanguine est'; the English version is not so close — 'for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof.'

75. The territory of the Paduans. According to an ancient tradition, Padua was founded by Antenor (cf. *Æn.*, I, 247–9), who, as we have seen, was regarded as an arch-traitor: see the second paragraph of the Argument to *Inf.* XXXII.

78. *Più là che*, 'beyond what.'

79. La Mira is a village between Padua and Oriago. The speaker cannot forgive himself for having, in his terror, turned in the wrong direction, when he was 'overtaken' by the assassins: had he fled toward the village, instead of running into the swamp, he might still be in the land of the living, in which case he would have repented in due season and so spared himself, after death, this long waiting outside of Purgatory.

85. The *se*, with the subjunctive, *compia*, is hortative: cf. II, 16; also *Inf.* X, 82.

89. Giovanna was his wife.

94. The Casentino is a mountainous district in Tuscany, on the upper Arno.

95. The Archiano is a mountain torrent that runs into the Arno near Bibbiena.

Che sopra l' Ermo nasce in Apennino.
Dove il vocabol suo diventa vano
Arriva' io forato nella gola,
Fuggendo a piede e sanguinando il piano.
Quivi perdei la vista, e la parola 100
Nel nome di Maria finii; e quivi
Caddi, e rimase la mia carne sola.
Io dirò il vero, e tu il ridi' tra i vivi!
L'Angel di Dio mi prese, e quel d' inferno
Gridava: "O tu del ciel, perchè mi privi? 105
Tu te ne porti di costui l' eterno
Per una lagrimetta che il mi toglie;
Ma io farò dell' altro altro governo."
Ben sai come nell' aere si raccoglie
Quell' umido vapor che in acqua riede, 110
Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie.
Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede,
Con l' intelletto, e mosse il fummo e il vento
Per la virtù che sua natura diede.
Indi la valle, come il dì fu spento, 115
Da Pratomagno al gran giogo coperse
Di nebbia, e il ciel di sopra fece intento
Sì che il pregno aere in acqua si converse.
La pioggia cadde, ed ai fossati venne
Di lei ciò che la terra non sofferse. 120

96. The 'Hermitage' is the monastery of Camaldoli, founded, in the mountains, by St. Romualdo.
97. The 'name' of the Archiano 'becomes useless' when it joins the Arno.
103. *Ridi' = ridici.*
108. *Governo*, 'disposal.'
112. The demon 'combined that ill will, which seeks only harm, with intelligence.'
113. *Fummo=fumo.*
116. Pratomagno, a ridge on the southwest of the Casentino, the 'great chain' being the main range on the northeast.
117. *Intento*, 'tense,' ready to burst.

E come a' rivi grandi si convenne,
Ver lo fiume real tanto veloce
Si ruïnò, che nulla la ritenne.
Lo corpo mio gelato in su la foce
Trovò l' Archian rubesto, e quel sospinse 125
Nell' Arno, e sciolse al mio petto la croce
Ch' io fei di me quando il dolor mi vinse.
Voltommi per le ripe e per lo fondo,
Poi di sua preda mi coperse e cinse.'
'Deh, quando tu sarai tornato al mondo, 130
E riposato della lunga via,'
Seguitò il terzo spirito al secondo,
'Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia!
Siena mi fe', disfecemi Maremma.
Salsi colui che innanellata pria, 135
Disposando, m' avea con la sua gemma.'

122. The 'royal stream' is the Arno.
125. *Rubesto*, 'raging': cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 106.
127. *Fei* = *feci*.
132. The unexpected intervention of this 'third spirit' is as startling as her reticence is pathetic.
133. Pia de' Tolomei of Siena, it was said, was wedded to Nello della Pietra de' Pannocchieschi, who, wishing to marry another woman, murdered her, or had her murdered, in his castle in the Tuscan Maremma. *Bull.*, XVII, 125.
135–136. *Salsi* = *se lo sa*. 'That he knows who, earlier, had ringed me (encircled my finger) with his gem in wedlock (*disposando*).' For *disposando* many texts have *disposata;* in *Giorn. dant.*, XX, 153, L. Filomusi Guelfi proposes the adoption of this reading (without the following comma) and the interpretation of *innanellata* (with a comma before it) as 'unwedded.'

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

THE leading personage of this canto is that 'Lombard soul' who so fired the imagination of two great poets. Browning saw in Sordello the representative of a changing age, an infinitely varied and interesting civilization; in Dante's eyes he was the critic of corrupt and incompetent government. The real Sordello was one of those roving Italians who, in the 13th century, helped to maintain the waning glory of Provençal verse, and profited by its immense vogue in foreign countries. Born in the Mantuan town of Goito, he lived the restless and sometimes scandalous life of a handsome adventurer and clever poet at various courts in Lombardy and Piedmont, then in France and Spain, and found at last a mighty protector in the Count of Provence. Passing into the service of the count's son-in-law, Charles of Anjou, he probably saw the Sicilian campaign and the battle of Benevento. By this time he was certainly a man of considerable importance. Charles, after a reproof from Pope Clement IV for his neglect of the poet, bestowed upon him some castles in the Abruzzi. Sordello had evidently risen to knighthood, and we may assume that the notoriety of his youthful career was overshadowed by the fame of his later years. Dante, in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xv, 9–14, describes him as a man of great eloquence who had renounced his native dialect not only in poetry but in speech. His lyric work, as we possess it, does not rise above mediocrity; but his *Ensenhamen d'Onor*, a long didactic poem, though not brilliant in style, contains much that surely appealed to Dante — a high standard of chivalrous conduct and a vigorous invective against the mean-spirited rich. Dante's conception of him, however, was obviously based, in the main, upon a single short piece of verse, a lament over the death of Blacatz, a Provençal patron of letters: Sordello compares the virtues of the departed with the vices and weaknesses of those that are left, and turns his elegy into scathing satire, fearless and merciless condemnation of the potentates of his time, from the Emperor down. Dante regards him, then, as the type of the unflinching patriot and reformer, the scourge of

kings. He invests his figure with more than regal dignity. Though a member of the fourth class of the 'negligent' (those whose minds were over engrossed by public cares), Sordello sits 'all alone,' apart from the monarchs whom he judged. The instant kindling of the flame of love by the mere mention of his native Mantua, — contrasted as it is with the majestic indifference of his first attitude, and rendered the more effective by the amazing swiftness of the action, — leads up naturally to the apostrophe to Italy which concludes the canto, a denunciation that vents all the pent-up bitterness of the exile's heart. Its savage irony recalls the poem and the letter addressed by Guittone d'Arezzo to the Florentines on the morrow of their great defeat at Montaperti. For many centuries it bore a stern message to Italians.

See V. Crescini, *A proposito di Sordello* in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, LXV, ii; E. G. Parodi in *Bull.*, IV, 185; Novati, 143. For Sordello's life and works, see C. De Lollis, *Vita e poesie di Sordello di Goito*, 1896.

Quando si parte il giuoco della zara,
  Colui che perde si riman dolente,
  Ripetendo le volte, e tristo impara;
Con l' altro se ne va tutta la gente:
  Qual va dinanzi, e qual di retro il prende, 5
  E qual da lato gli si reca a mente.
Ei non s' arresta, e questo e quello intende;
  A cui porge la man più non fa pressa;
  E così dalla calca si difende.
Tal era io in quella turba spessa, 10
  Volgendo a loro e qua e là la faccia,
  E promettendo mi sciogliea da essa.
Quivi era l' Aretin che dalle braccia
  Fiere di Ghin di Tacco ebbe la morte,

1. 'Hazard,' a game played with three dice, was very much in vogue, in spite of prohibitions.

3. *Volte*, 'throws.'

13. The 'Aretine' is Benincasa of Laterina in the county of Arezzo, a jurist, who visited Florence 1282; he was murdered in Rome, while sitting in court, by the famous robber, Ghino di Tacco (Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, X, 2), whose brother he had condemned to death.

E l' altro che annegò correndo in caccia. 15
Quivi pregava con le mani sporte
Federigo Novello, e quel da Pisa
Che fe' parer lo buon Marzucco forte.
Vidi Cont' Orso, e l' anima divisa
Dal corpo suo per astio e per inveggia, 20
Come dicea, non per colpa commisa:
Pier dalla Broccia dico; e qui provveggia,
Mentr' è di qua, la donna di Brabante,
Sì che però non sia di peggior greggia.
Come libero fui da tutte quante 25
Quell' ombre, che pregar pur ch' altri preghi,
Sì che s' avacci il lor divenir sante,
Io cominciai: 'E' par che tu mi neghi,
O luce mia, espresso in alcun testo,
Che decreto del cielo orazion pieghi; 30
E questa gente prega pur di questo.

15. 'The other' Aretine is said to be Guccio Tarlati of Pietramala, who was drowned in the Arno while 'hunting' the enemy.

17. 'Frederick, junior,' the son of Count Guido Novello and a daughter of Frederick II, was killed in war in the Casentino in 1291. — *Quel da Pisa* is apparently Giovanni or Gano, called Farinata, the son of the Marzucco of l. 18.

18. Marzucco was a Pisan, prominent in public affairs, who in 1287 left the world and became a Franciscan monk. According to the most plausible of the conflicting early explanations, his fortitude was shown by pardoning the murderer of his son. Cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 123.

19. Count Orso of Mangona was murdered, it is said, by his cousin Albert. The fathers of Orso and Albert killed each other: cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 55-8.

22. Pierre de la Brosse of Turenne, — 'the soul parted from its body by hate and envy,' — was chamberlain of Louis IX and Philip III of France. Through the wiles of Philip's second wife, Mary of Brabant, whom Pierre had accused of the murder of the heir to the throne, he was hanged in 1278. — *Provveggia* = *provveda*, 'let her look to it,' while she is alive, that she be not consigned, after death, to the 'worse flock' of the damned. Mary lived until 1321.

26. *Che pregar pur ch' altri preghi*, 'who prayed only that one pray' for them.

27. *Avacci:* cf. IV, 116.

29. When the shade of the unburied Palinurus begs Æneas to take him over the Styx, the Sibyl replies (*Æn.*, VI, 373-6):

'Unde hæc, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
Tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
Eumenidum aspicies? ripamve injussus adibis?
Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando.'

Sarebbe dunque loro speme vana?
O non m' è il detto tuo ben manifesto?'
Ed egli a me: 'La mia scrittura è piana,
E la speranza di costor non falla, 35
Se ben si guarda con la mente sana.
Chè cima di giudizio non s' avvalla
Perchè foco d' amor compia in un punto
Ciò che dee satisfar chi qui s' astalla;
E là dov' io fermai cotesto punto 40
Non si ammendava per pregar difetto,
Perchè il prego da Dio era disgiunto.
Veramente a così alto sospetto
Non ti fermar, se quella nol ti dice,
Che lume fia tra il vero e l' intelletto. 45
Non so se intendi: io dico di Beatrice.
Tu la vedrai di sopra, in sulla vetta
Di questo monte, ridere e felice.'
Ed io: 'Signore, andiamo a maggior fretta;
Chè già non m' affatico come dianzi, 50
E vedi omai che il poggio l' ombra getta.'
'Noi anderem con questo giorno innanzi,'
Rispose, 'quanto più potremo omai;
Ma il fatto è d' altra forma che non stanzi.

33. Dante questions his own understanding, not Virgil's statement.
37. 'The summit of justice (*apex juris*) is not overturned.'
38. *Perchè*, 'though.' — *In un punto*, 'in a single moment.'
39. *Dee* =*deve*. — *S' astalla*, 'is stationed.' — Satisfaction, an atonement for the injury done, can be made by other loving hearts as well as by the guilty one. See the last paragraph of the Argument to Canto III.
42. Palinurus was a pagan, not 'living in grace' (IV, 134), and his prayer was not addressed to God nor received by him.
43. *Veramente*, 'nevertheless': cf. II, 98. — *Alto sospetto*, 'deep doubt.' A question involving the doctrine of grace transcends the power of reason, and is not to be 'settled' without revelation.
46. This mention of the name — the first since the beginning of the journey — makes Dante more eager to climb.
54. *Stanzi*, 'decidest': cf. *Inf.* XXV, 10.

Prima che sii lassù, tornar vedrai 55
  Colui che già si copre della costa
  Sì che i suoi raggi tu romper non fai.
Ma vedi là un' anima, che posta
  Sola soletta verso noi riguarda;
  Quella ne insegnerà la via più tosta.' 60
Venimmo a lei. O anima lombarda,
  Come ti stavi altera e disdegnosa
  E nel mover degli occhi onesta e tarda!
Ella non ci diceva alcuna cosa;
  Ma lasciavane gir, solo sguardando 65
  A guisa di leon quando si posa.
Pur Virgilio si trasse a lei, pregando
  Che ne mostrasse la miglior salita;
  E quella non rispose al suo domando,
Ma di nostro paese e della vita 70
  C' inchiese. E il dolce Duca incominciava:
  'Mantova.' . . . E l' ombra, tutta in sè romita,
Surse ver lui del loco ove pria stava,
  Dicendo: 'O Mantovano, io son Sordello
  Della tua terra.' E l' un l' altro abbracciava. 75
Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,
  Nave senza nocchiere in gran tempesta,
  Non donna di provincie, ma bordello!

57. In the middle of the afternoon the whole eastern side of the mountain is in the shade, and Dante no longer casts a shadow.

66. Cf. Gen. xlix, 9: 'he couched as a lion.'

72. *Romita*, 'withdrawn.'

75. See the second paragraph of the Argument to Canto II.

76. *Ostello:* cf. *V. N.*, Sonnet II, 23.

77. *Nocchiere:* cf. *Conv.*, IV, iv, 50–72.

78. Several old writers call Italy 'domina provinciarum'; cf. Lamentations of Jeremiah i, 1, 'princess among the provinces (*princeps provinciarum*).' Guittone d'Arezzo, in an epistle to Florence, after the battle of Montaperti, says: 'che devenuta se' non già reina, ma ancilla conculcata e sottoposta a tributo.'

Quell' anima gentil fu così presta,
  Sol per lo dolce suon della sua terra, 80
  Di fare al cittadin suo quivi festa;
Ed ora in te non stanno senza guerra
  Li vivi tuoi, e l' un l' altro si rode
  Di quei che un muro ed una fossa serra.
Cerca, misera, intorno dalle prode, 85
  Le tue marine, e poi ti guarda in seno
  Se alcuna parte in te di pace gode.
Che val perchè ti racconciasse il freno
  Giustinïano, se la sella è vota?
  Senz' esso fora la vergogna meno. 90
Ahi gente, che dovresti esser devota,
  E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella, —
  Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota, —
Guarda com' esta fiera è fatta fella
  Per non esser corretta dagli sproni, 95
  Poi che ponesti mano alla predella!
O Alberto Tedesco, che abbandoni
  Costei ch' è fatta indomita e selvaggia,
  E dovresti inforcar li suoi arcioni,
Giusto giudizio dalle stelle caggia 100

88. In ll. 88–102 Italy is pictured as a horse. Justinian (*Par.* VI) 'patched its bridle' by codifying the laws, but there is no Emperor to fill the saddle.

91. *Gente:* the clergy.

93. Mat. xxii, 21: 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's.'

96. *Predella,* 'rein': ever since the clergy usurped temporal authority.

97. Albert of Hapsburg was elected King of the Romans in 1298, but never went to Italy to be crowned.

100. In 1307 Albert's oldest son died after a short sickness; the next year Albert himself was murdered by his nephew, John the Parricide. If Dante was apostrophizing Albert as still alive at the time of writing, this canto must have been composed between these two events. If, on the other hand, the poet was putting himself back into the year 1300, the 'judgment' would naturally be the assassination of Albert, and the 'successor' would be the next Emperor, Henry VII, who descended into Italy.

Sopra il tuo sangue, e sia nuovo ed aperto,
Tal che il tuo successor temenza n' aggia!
Chè avete (tu e il tuo padre) sofferto —
Per cupidigia di costà distretti —
Che il giardin dell' imperio sia diserto. 105
Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti,
Monaldi e Filippeschi, uom senza cura:
Color già tristi, e questi con sospetti.
Vien, crudel, vieni, e vedi la pressura
De' tuoi gentili, e cura lor magagne; 110
E vedrai Santafior com' è sicura.
Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne,
Vedova e sola, e dì e notte chiama:
'Cesare mio, perchè non m' accompagne?'
Vieni a veder la gente quanto s' ama! 115
E se nulla di noi pietà ti move,
A vergognarti vien della tua fama!
E se licito m' è, o sommo Giove,
Che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso,
Son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti altrove? 120
O è preparazion, che nell' abisso
Del tuo consiglio fai, per alcun bene
In tutto dall' accorger nostro scisso?

103. *Il padre:* Rudolph, who was as remiss as his son.
104. 'Held by greed of things up yonder': the desire to increase their German states.
106, 107. Dante cites a few of the great houses that were ravaged by strife: the Montecchi of Verona, Ghibellines; the Cappelletti of Cremona, of the Church party; the Monaldi and Filippeschi, rival families (Guelf and Ghibelline) of Orvieto. There is no evidence that the 'Capulets' were ever neighbors of the 'Montagues' in Verona: cf. *Bull.*, XII, 240.
108. *Con sospetti*, 'apprehensive.'
110. *Pressura:* cf. Luke xxi, 25, 'pressura gentium,' 'distress of nations.'
111. The Counts of Santafiora, a great Ghibelline family, lost, at the close of the 13th century, a great part of their territory to Siena. Santa Fiora is in the Maremma.
114. *Accompagne* = *accompagni*.
123. *Scisso*, 'severed': inaccessible to our understanding.

Chè le città d' Italia tutte piene
Son di tiranni, ed un Marcel diventa 125
Ogni villan che parteggiando viene.
Fiorenza mia, ben puoi esser contenta
Di questa digression, che non ti tocca
Mercè del popol tuo che si argomenta.
Molti han giustizia in cor, ma tardi scocca, 130
Per non venir senza consiglio all' arco;
Ma il popol tuo l' ha in sommo della bocca.
Molti rifiutan lo comune incarco;
Ma il popol tuo sollecito risponde
Senza chiamare, e grida: 'Io mi sobbarco.' 135
Or ti fa lieta, chè tu hai ben onde:
Tu ricca, tu con pace, tu con senno!
S' io dico 'l ver, l' effetto nol nasconde.
Atene e Lacedemona, che fenno
L' antiche leggi e furon sì civili, 140
Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno
Verso di te, che fai tanto sottili
Provvedimenti che a mezzo novembre
Non giunge quel che tu d' ottobre fili.

125. C. Claudius Marcellus ('Marcellus . . . loquax,' as Julius Cæsar calls him in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, I, 313) was a strenuous opponent of Cæsar and a partisan of Pompey.

129. *Si argomenta*, 'strives,' does its best. Ll. 127–44 are bitterly ironical.

130. *Tardi scocca*, 'it is slow in shooting'; it does not quickly find expression.

131. *Per non venir*, 'because it does not come.'

135. *Senza chiamare*, 'without being called.' — *Io mi sobbarco*, 'I bend my back' for the 'common burden' of public service.

136. *Onde*, 'wherefore': thou hast good reason.

138. *L'effetto nol* (=*non lo*) *nasconde*, 'the result shows.'

139. *Fenno* =*fecero*.

141. Athens and Lacedæmon 'offered but a slight suggestion of right living,' compared to Florence.

142. *Sottili*, 'delicate.' Dante plays upon the double sense of *sottile*, which means 'shrewd' and 'flimsy.' The fabric of laws which Florence spins in October does not last until mid November. The two months were perhaps suggested by the vicissitudes of 1301, in which year the White priors who took office on Oct. 18 were deposed by the Blacks on Nov. 8.

Quante volte, del tempo che rimembre, 145
  Legge, moneta, officio, e costume
  Hai tu mutato, e rinnovato membre!
E se ben ti ricordi e vedi lume,
  Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma
  Che non può trovar posa in su le piume, 150
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma.

145. *Rimembre* = *rimembri:* cf. l. 114.
147. *Membre* = *membra,* pl.
151. 'But fights her pain by tossing.' Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessiones,* VI, xvi, 3: 'Versa et reversa in tergum et in latera et in ventrem, et dura sunt omnia.'

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

'WALK while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth' (John xii, 35). In ll. 107–8 of the first canto the wayfarers were told that the sun — the emblem of spiritual enlightenment, or righteous choice — was to be their guide in their upward journey; now (and again in XVII, 62–3 and XXVII, 74–5) they learn that without that guidance they cannot ascend at all. The life of the penitent is divided between the day of active advancement on the path of reformation, where every step must be wisely directed, and the night of prayerful meditation. Day is ushered in by the constellation of cardinal, or practical, virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice (I, 22–7); night, by the three bright stars of Christian contemplation, the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Love (VIII, 85–93).

Each of the three nights passed by Dante on the island is spent in repose. His first resting-place is the beautiful Valley of the Princes, a hollow in the mountain-side, where are gathered great rulers whose worldly cares made them postpone until the last moment their reconciliation with God. Those who were enemies on earth sit side by side in fraternal harmony, Rudolph of Hapsburg with Ottocar of Bohemia, Charles of Anjou with Peter of Aragon. Here, as in the first life, Sordello is the judge of kings: he points out and describes to the travellers the dwellers in the dale. The conception of this charming, peaceful spot was probably suggested to Dante — as was that of the Noble Castle of *Inf.* IV, 106 — by Virgil's picture of the Elysian Fields in *Æn.*, VI, 637 ff. As Sordello shows the dell to Virgil and Dante from a bank, so Anchises leads the Sibyl and Æneas to a height (754–5):

> 'Et tumulum capit, unde omnes longo ordine possit
> Adversos legere, et venientum discere vultus.'

In both poems the spirits are seen reclining on the greensward, singing together (656–7):

> 'Conspicit ecce alios dextra lævaque per herbam
> Vescentes, lætumque choro pæana canentes.'

Like Sordello, Anchises surveys and recognizes souls destined to rise (679–81):

> 'At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
> Inclusas animas, superumque ad lumen ituras,
> Lustrabat studio recolens.'

Poscia che l' accoglienze oneste e liete
  Furo iterate tre e quattro volte,
  Sordel si trasse e disse: 'Voi chi siete?'
'Prima che a questo monte fosser volte
  L' anime degne di salire a Dio, 5
  Fur l' ossa mie per Ottavian sepolte.
Io son Virgilio; e per null' altro rio
  Lo ciel perdei, che per non aver fè.'
  Così rispose allora il Duca mio.
Qual è colui che cosa innanzi sè 10
  Subita vede, ond' ei si maraviglia,
  Che crede e no, dicendo: 'Ell' è, non è,'
Tal parve quegli; e poi chinò le ciglia,
  Ed umilmente ritornò ver lui
  Ed abbracciollo ove il minor s' appiglia. 15
'O gloria de' Latin,' disse, 'per cui
  Mostrò ciò che potea la lingua nostra,
  O pregio eterno del loco ond' io fui,
Qual merito o qual grazia mi ti mostra?
  S' io son d' udir le tue parole degno, 20

3. Not until he has lovingly greeted his countryman several times does Sordello ask his name. Dante remains comparatively unnoticed until Canto VIII, l. 62.

4. Before the descent of Christ into Hell no souls went to Purgatory or Heaven: cf. *Inf.* IV, 63. Ever since the redemption the souls of the elect have reached Heaven through Purgatory. Virgil died in 19 A. D.

6. Cf. III, 27.

8, 10, 12 are *versi tronchi*: cf. *Inf.* IV, 56; *Purg.* IV, 47.

15. 'The inferior lays hold' — i. e., clasps his superior — either under the arms (D'Ovidio, 12) or at the feet (XXI, 130).

18. Mantua issued coins bearing Virgil's image, and in the 14th century erected a statue to him.

Dimmi se vien d' inferno, e di qual chiostra.'
'Per tutti i cerchi del dolente regno,'
Rispose lui, 'son io di qua venuto.
Virtù del ciel mi mosse, e con lei vegno.
Non per far, ma per non far, ho perduto 25
Di veder l' alto Sol che tu disiri,
E che fu tardi da me conosciuto.
Loco è laggiù non tristo da martiri
Ma di tenebre solo, ove i lamenti
Non suonan come guai, ma son sospiri. 30
Quivi sto io coi parvoli innocenti,
Dai denti morsi della morte avante
Che fosser dall' umana colpa esenti.
Quivi sto io con quei che le tre sante
Virtù non si vestiro, e senza vizio 35
Conobber l' altre e seguir tutte quante.
Ma se tu sai e puoi, alcuno indizio
Dà noi, perchè venir possiam più tosto
Là dove Purgatorio ha dritto inizio.'
Rispose: 'Loco certo non c' è posto; 40
Licito m' è andar suso ed intorno.
Per quanto ir posso, a guida mi t' accosto.
Ma vedi già come dichina il giorno,
Ed andar su di notte non si puote;
Però è buon pensar di bel soggiorno. 45
Animo sono a destra qua rimote;

21. *Chiostra:* cf. *Inf.* XXIX, 40.
30. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 26.
33. Before baptism: cf. *Inf.* IV, 35–6; *Par.* XXXII, 40–5, 82–4.
36. Though the virtuous souls in Limbus were ignorant of the three theological virtues, 'they knew the others' — the four cardinal virtues — 'and followed them all.' See the third paragraph of the Argument to Canto I.
39. *Dritto inizio,* 'real beginning.'
40. *Certo,* 'fixed.' — *Posto,* 'assigned.'
44. *Puote = può.*

Se 'l mi consenti, io ti merrò ad esse,
E non senza diletto ti fien note.'
'Com' è ciò?' fu risposto: 'chi volesse
Salir di notte, fora egli impedito 50
D' altrui? o non sarria chè non potesse?'
E il buon Sordello in terra fregò il dito,
Dicendo: 'Vedi, sola questa riga
Non varcheresti dopo il sol partito.
Non però che altra cosa desse briga, 55
Che la notturna tenebra, ad ir suso:
Quella col non poter la voglia intriga.
Ben si poria con lei tornare in giuso,
E passeggiar la costa intorno errando,
Mentre che l' orizzonte il dì tien chiuso.' 60
Allora il mio Signor, quasi ammirando:
'Menane dunque,' disse, 'là ove dici
Che aver si può diletto dimorando.'
Poco allungati c' eravam di lici
Quand' io m' accorsi che il monte era scemo, 65
A guisa che i vallon li sceman quici.
'Colà,' disse quell' ombra, 'n' anderemo
Dove la costa face di sè grembo,
E quivi il nuovo giorno attenderemo.'
Tra erto e piano era un sentiero sghembo, 70

47. *Merrò* = *menerò*: cf. *V. N.*, Canzone I, 87.
48. *Fien* = *saranno*.
50. *Fora* = *sarebbe*.
51. *Sarria* = *salirebbe*. 'Would he not climb because he had not the power?'
55. *Briga*, 'hindrance': to going up (l. 56).
56. *Che*, 'than,' dependent on *altra* in l. 55.
57. *Intriga*, 'impedes.'
58. *Poria* = *potrebbe*. — *Lei*: *tenebra* (l. 56).
64. *Lici* = *lì*.
66. 'Just as valleys hollow them (i. e., mountains) here (with us).'
68. *Face* = *fa*.
70. 'There was a slanting path, neither steep nor level.'

Che ne condusse in fianco della lacca,
Là dove più che a mezzo muore il lembo.
Oro ed argento fino, cocco e biacca,
Indico legno lucido e sereno,
Fresco smeraldo in l' ora che si fiacca, 75
Dall' erba e dalli fior dentro a quel seno
Posti, ciascun saria di color vinto,
Come dal suo maggiore è vinto il meno.
Non avea pur natura ivi dipinto,
Ma di soavità di mille odori 80
Vi facea un incognito e indistinto.
Salve Regina in sul verde e in su i fiori
Quivi seder cantando anime vidi,
Che per la valle non parean di fuori:
'Prima che il poco sole omai s' annidi,' 85
Cominciò il Mantovan che ci avea volti,
'Tra costor non vogliate ch' io vi guidi.
Da questo balzo meglio gli atti e i volti
Conoscerete voi di tutti quanti

71. *In fianco della lacca,* 'to the edge of the dingle': cf. *Inf.* VII, 16.
72. 'At a point where the bank was more than half gone.' The sloping valley opens out as it descends, and its banks diminish until they blend into the mountain-side.
73. *Cocco e biacca,* 'cochineal and white lead,' from which red and white colors were extracted.
74. *Indico legno* is probably amber, which, according to Pliny, is a tree-gum that sometimes comes from India: cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* XVIII, 356. Most commentators take it to mean 'indigo,' but the epithets *lucido e sereno* fit amber much better.
75. *Fiacca,* 'splits.'
76, 77. 'Each (of the things just enumerated) would be surpassed in color by the grass and flowers set within that dale.'
78. *Il meno,* 'the less,' i. e., the inferior thing.
79. *Non . . . pur . . . dipinto,* 'not merely painted.'
81. *Un:* sc. *odore.*
82. *Salve Regina* is an antiphon recited after sunset in the service of certain seasons. It is an appeal to Mary from the 'exiled sons of Eve' 'in this valley of tears.'
84. *Per la valle non parean,* 'on account of the depression, were not visible.'
88. *Balzo:* cf. IV, 47.
89. *Tutti quanti,* 'all of them.'

Che nella lama giù tra essi accolti. 90
Colui che più sied' alto, e fa sembianti
D' aver negletto ciò che far dovea,
E che non move bocca agli altrui canti,
Ridolfo imperador fu, che potea
Sanar le piaghe ch' hanno Italia morta 95
Sì che tardi per altri si ricrea.
L' altro, che nella vista lui conforta,
Resse la terra dove l' acqua nasce
Che Molta in Albia, ed Albia in mar ne porta:
Ottacchero ebbe nome, e nelle fasce 100
Fu meglio assai che Vincislao suo figlio
Barbuto, cui lussuria ed ozio pasce.
E quel Nasetto, che stretto a consiglio
Par con colui ch' ha sì benigno aspetto,
Morì fuggendo e disfiorando il giglio: 105
Guardate là, come si batte il petto.
L' altro vedete ch' ha fatto alla guancia

90. *Lama*, 'level,' bottom: cf. *Inf.* XX, 79.
94. Rudolph of Hapsburg, crowned Emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1273, was the first of the Austrian Emperors. Cf. VI, 103. — *Potea sanar*, 'might have cured.'
96. *Tardi . . . si ricrea*, 'she will not soon be revived.' For this use of the present, cf. XIV, 66.
97. *L' altro*, 'the next.' — *Nella vista*, 'as his expression shows.'
98. Bohemia.
99. *Molta*, 'Moldau.' — *Albia*, 'Elbe.'
100. Ottocar II, King of Bohemia and Duke of Austria, was killed, in 1278, in war with Rudolph, whom he would not recognize as King of Rome. — *Fasce*, 'swaddling clothes': he was worth more in his infancy than his son Wenceslaus in mature age.
101. Wenceslaus IV, son and heir of Ottocar, son-in-law of Rudolph. He lived until 1305. Cf. *Par.* XIX, 125.
102. *Pasce:* i. e., *pascono*.
103. 'Small-Nose' is Philip III, the Bold, of France, son and successor of Louis IX, and nephew of Charles of Anjou. To help his uncle against Peter of Aragon (l. 112), whom the Sicilian revolutionists had elected king, he invaded Catalonia by land and sea; but his fleet was defeated, and his army, contracting the plague, was obliged to flee. The king himself died at Perpignan in 1285.
104. Henry the Fat of Navarre, brother and successor of the Thibault of *Inf.* XXII, 52, died in 1274.
107. *L' altro:* Henry.

Della sua palma, sospirando, letto.
Padre e suocero son del mal di Francia;
Sanno la vita sua viziata e lorda, 110
E quindi viene il duol che sì li lancia.
Quel che par sì membruto, e che s' accorda
Cantando con colui del maschio naso,
D' ogni valor portò cinta la corda.
E se re dopo lui fosse rimaso 115
Lo giovinetto che retro a lui siede,
Bene andava il valor di vaso in vaso —
Che non si puote dir dell' altre rede:
Jacomo e Federico hanno i reami;
Del retaggio miglior nessun possiede. 120
Rade volte risurge per li rami
L' umana probitate; e questo vuole
Quei che la dà, perchè da lui si chiami.
Anche al Nasuto vanno mie parole
(Non men ch' all' altro, Pier, che con lui canta), 125

109. Philip the Bold was father, Henry the Fat was father-in-law, of the 'Curse of France,' Philip IV, the Fair. In the many passages in which Dante assails this sovereign (who did so much harm to Italy and the Church), he avoids mentioning his name. He died in 1314: cf. *Par.* XIX, 120.

112. The 'large-limbed' sovereign is Peter III of Aragon, the husband of Manfred's daughter Constance (cf. III, 115), elected king of Sicily when the French were expelled in 1282. He died in 1285.

113. 'The one with the masculine nose' is Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France, and conqueror of Naples and Sicily.

114. Cf. Isaiah xi, 5: 'And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.'

116. Alfonso III, Peter's oldest son, succeeded his father as king of Aragon, but died while still young in 1291. He so little deserved Dante's praise that some commentators think the *giovinetto* must have been the youngest brother, Peter.

117. 'Goodness would indeed have been emptied from vessel to vessel.' Cf. Jeremiah xlviii, 11.

119. James and Frederick, 'the other heirs,' i. e., the second and third sons of Peter, were kings of Aragon and Sicily when Dante wrote. Cf. III, 115.

120. The 'better heritage' is the father's goodness.

123. 'Crist,' who bestows it, 'wol we clayme of him our gentilesse' (Chaucer. *Wyf of Bath's Tale*, 1117). Cf. Epistle of James i, 17.

Onde Puglia e Provenza già si duole.
Tant' è del seme suo minor la pianta,
Quanto più che Beatrice e Margherita
Costanza di marito ancor si vanta.
Vedete il re della semplice vita 130
Seder là solo, Arrigo d' Inghilterra;
Questi ha ne' rami suoi migliore uscita.
Quel che più basso tra costor s' atterra,
Guardando in suso, è Guglielmo Marchese,
Per cui ed Alessandria e la sua guerra 135
Fa pianger Monferrato e Canavese.'

126. Apulia and Provence 'mourn' under the rule of Charles's degenerate son, Charles II, who died in 1309.

127, 128, 129. Charles II is as much inferior to Charles I as Charles I is to Peter III. Beatrice of Provence and Margaret of Burgundy were the successive wives of Charles I, Constance (daughter of Manfred) was the wife of Peter; and Charles I was not a devoted husband. 'The plant (the son) is inferior to the seed (the father) to the same extent that Constance boasts of her husband (Peter) more than Beatrice and Margaret boast of theirs (Charles).'

130, 131, 132. Henry III of England was reputed to have little wit; his son, Edward I, was highly esteemed.

134. William VII, or 'Longsword,' sits in a lower place on the ground because he is of lower rank than the others. He was, however, Marquis of Montferrat and Canavese, Imperial vicar, a great feudal lord and Ghibelline leader.

135, 136. In 1292 he was treacherously captured at Alessandria in Lombardy, and was kept in an iron cage until his death. His son, to avenge him, attacked Alessandria, but was defeated, unhappily for his domains. *Ed* (both) *Alessandria e la sua guerra* is the subject of *fa*.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

The penitent who, completely renouncing his past life, has once begun his expiation under the protection of grace and the guidance of the Church is exempt from temptation or fear of sin; so the souls within Dante's Purgatory have no apprehension. Those outside the gate, however, — the remorseful evildoers who are still waiting and striving, — are exposed to the wiles of the serpent and feel the 'chaste dread' (*timor castus*) of wickedness itself, different from the 'servile terror' (*timor servilis*) of the consequences of wrongdoing (cf. *Inf.* I, 44). But inasmuch as they are on their way to God, he constantly watches over them; in time of need he sends the green Angels of Hope, armed with the blunted sword of defence, to protect them from the adversary. Such is the lesson which Dante expressly bids us discover behind the 'thin veil' of allegory. Once before, in *Inf.* IX, 61–3, he warned us to look 'under the veil of the strange verses.'

It is in the evening that temptation creeps upon the repentant sinner — evening, which softens the hearts of sailors just parted from home, and 'pricks with love' the unhardened traveller as he hears the bell of compline, or *compieta*, tolling the knell of 'dying day.' That is the hour at which the Church sings the hymn (attributed to St. Ambrose), *Te lucis ante*, and recites a prayer calling for the guardianship of holy angels and protection against the snares of the enemy. This hymn is now sung by the souls in the valley. The first two of the three stanzas are as follows:

Te lucis ante terminum,
Rerum Creator, poscimus,
Ut tua pro clementia
Sis præsul et custodia.

Procul recedant somnia
Et noctium phantasmata;
Hostemque nostrum comprime,
Ne polluantur corpora.'

Among the singers, two are singled out for special notice: one, Nino Visconti, was known to Dante in the first life; the other, Conrad Malaspina, belonged to a family whose hospitality the poet once enjoyed. Nino, a grandson of the Ugolino of *Inf.* XXXIII, was judge, or governor, of Gallura, one of the four provinces into which the Pisans divided their Sardinian domain;

Fra Gomita (*Inf.* XXII, 81) was his dishonest vicar there. Moreover, he ruled Pisa with his grandfather, and on the death of the latter waged war for five years — 1288–93 — against that city and the Ghibelline forces of Guido da Montefeltro (*Inf.* XXVII). He was an ally of Florence — to which he made several visits in 1289 — and other Guelf towns of Tuscany, and became captain general of the Guelf league. We learn from *Inf.* XXI, 94–6, that Dante had a hand in one of his campaigns, being present at the siege of Caprona in 1289. Although Nino's life was devoted mainly to politics and strife, he seems to have been fond of poetry. He lived until 1296. Conrad Malaspina, who died two years earlier, was the lord of Villafranca on the Magra (which flows into the sea near the Gulf of Spezia) and other holdings in the north-west. For a century his house had been famous for its gallantry and its liberality to troubadours; and 'the glory of the purse and the sword' had not declined. In October, 1306, Dante acted as attorney for the family in concluding a treaty of peace. One of the letters ascribed to him (Epistola III) is addressed to Moroello Malaspina, his former host, to whom obscure reference is made in *Inf.* XXIV, 145–50. The poet's splendid tribute of just praise is a grateful return for kindness to the exile.

Era già l' ora che volge il disio
  Ai naviganti e intenerisce il core,
  Lo dì ch' han detto ai dolci amici addio,
E che lo nuovo peregrin d' amore
  Punge, se ode squilla di lontano 5
  Che paia il giorno pianger che si more,
Quand' io incominciai a render vano
  L' udire, ed a mirare una dell' alme
  Surta, che l' ascoltar chiedea con mano.
Ella giunse e levò ambo le palme, 10
  Ficcando gli occhi verso l' orïente,

7. Cf. IV, 1–12: Dante becomes so absorbed in gazing that he can hear nothing.
9. Cf. Acts xiii, 16: 'Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said,' etc. Also *Met.*, I, 205–6; *Æn.*, XII, 692.
10. *Giunse*, 'clasped.'

Come dicesse a Dio: 'D' altro non calme.'
Te lucis ante sì devotamente
Le uscì di bocca, e con sì dolci note,
Che fece me a me uscir di mente. 15
E l' altre poi dolcemente e devote
Seguitar lei per tutto l' inno intero,
Avendo gli occhi alle superne rote.
Aguzza qui, Lettor, ben gli occhi al vero,
Chè il velo è ora ben tanto sottile, 20
Certo, che il trapassar dentro è leggiero.
Io vidi quello esercito gentile
Tacito poscia riguardare in sue,
Quasi aspettando pallido ed umile.
E vidi uscir dell' alto e scender giue 25
Due angeli con due spade affocate,
Tronche e private delle punte sue.
Verdi, come fogliette pur mo nate,
Erano in veste, che da verdi penne
Percosse traean dietro e ventilate. 30
L' un poco sopra noi a star si venne
E l' altro scese in l' opposita sponda,
Sì che la gente in mezzo si contenne.
Ben discerneva in lor la testa bionda;
Ma nelle facce l' occhio si smarria, 35
Come virtù che al troppo si confonda.
'Ambo vegnon del grembo di Maria,'
Disse Sordello, 'a guardia della valle,
Per lo serpente che verrà via via.'

12. *Calme* = *mi cale.*
15. 'That it made me forget myself.'
18. The 'upper wheels' are the revolving heavens.
23. *Sue* = *su:* see IV, 47. Cf. *giue* in l. 25.
28. *Pur mo*, 'only now,' 'just.'
36. *Virtù*, 'faculty.' — *Troppo*, 'excess,' i. e., of light. — Cf. II, 39.
39. *Via via*, 'presently.'

Ond' io, che non sapeva per qual calle, 40
Mi volsi intorno, e stretto m' accostai,
Tutto gelato, alle fidate spalle.
E Sordello anco: 'Ora avvalliamo omai
Tra le grandi ombre, e parleremo ad esse.
Grazïoso fia lor vedervi assai.' 45
Solo tre passi credo ch' io scendesse,
E fui di sotto, e vidi un che mirava
Pur me, come conoscer mi volesse.
Tempo era già che l' aere s' annerava,
Ma non sì che tra gli occhi suoi e i miei 50
Non dichiarisse ciò che pria serrava.
Ver me si fece, ed io ver lui mi fei.
Giudice Nin gentil, quanto mi piacque,
Quando ti vidi non esser tra i rei!
Nullo bel salutar tra noi si tacque; 55
Poi domandò: 'Quant' è che tu venisti
A piè del monte per le lontane acque?'
'O,' diss' io lui, 'per entro i lochi tristi
Venni stamane, e sono in prima vita,
Ancor che l' altra sì andando acquisti.' 60
E come fu la mia risposta udita,
Sordello ed egli indietro si raccolse,
Come gente di subito smarrita.
L' uno a Virgilio, e l' altro ad un si volse

46. *Tre passi:* the bank is not high (VII, 72), and Dante has been observing the spirits at close range (VII, 88–9). Cf. XXVIII, 70. — *Scendesse* = *scendessi.*

51. It was not too late for the darkening air to 'disclose what it had locked up (concealed) before': now that they are so near, Dante and Nino can discern each other's features.

52. *Fei* = *feci.*

54. *I rei:* the damned.

60. *Ancor che,* 'although.' — *Acquisti,* 'I am winning.'

62. *Si raccolse:* i. e., *si raccolsero,* 'drew.' Sordello, up to this time, has not noticed that Dante is alive.

Che sedea lì, gridando: 'Su, Corrado, 65
Vieni a veder che Dio per grazia volse.'
Poi volto a me: 'Per quel singular grado
Che tu dei a colui che sì nasconde
Lo suo primo perchè che non gli è guado,
Quando sarai di là dalle larghe onde, 70
Di' a Giovanna mia, che per me chiami
Là dove agl' innocenti si risponde.
Non credo che la sua madre più m' ami,
Poscia che trasmutò le bianche bende,
Le quai convien che misera ancor brami. 75
Per lei assai di lieve si comprende
Quanto in femmina foco d' amor dura,
Se l' occhio o il tatto spesso non l' accende.
Non le farà sì bella sepoltura
La vipera, che i Milanesi accampa, 80
Com' avria fatto il gallo di Gallura.'
Così dicea, segnato della stampa,
Nel suo aspetto, di quel dritto zelo

65. This Conrad reappears in l. 109.
66. *Che*, 'what.' — *Volse* = *volle:* cf. *Inf.* II, 118, XXIX, 102.
67. *Singular grado*, 'peculiar gratitude.'
68. *Dei* = *devi.*
69. *Perchè*, 'wherefore,' i. e., reason. — *Non gli è guado*, 'there is no ford to it': it is impenetrable.
71. Joan was Nino's only child. In 1308 she was married to Rizzardo di Camino. Cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 124.
73. Nino's wife was Beatrice, daughter of Obizzo II d'Este (cf. *Inf.* XII, 111). In June, 1300, she married Galeazzo di Matteo Visconti. As it is now April, 1300, we may suppose, either that Dante did not know the exact date of the marriage, or that Nino is here speaking of it only as something contemplated.
74. Married women wore a veil, called *bende;* the widow's veil was white.
75. In 1302 the Visconti were driven from Milan, and Galeazzo and his wife were compelled to take refuge with her family in Ferrara.
77. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 569–70: 'varium et mutabile semper Femina.'
80. The cognizance of the Visconti, the lords of Milan, was a blue viper swallowing a red Saracen. These arms will not adorn her tomb so well as would Nino's, the cock, the emblem of Gallura. In the 13th century the Milanese, when at war, never pitched their camp until they had hoisted the Visconti standard.

Che misuratamente in core avvampa.
Gli occhi miei ghiotti andavan pure al cielo, 85
Pur là dove le stelle son più tarde,
Sì come rota più presso allo stelo.
E il Duca mio: 'Figliuol, che lassù guarde?'
Ed io a lui: 'A quelle tre facelle,
Di che il polo di qua tutto quanto arde.' 90
Ed egli a me: 'Le quattro chiare stelle
Che vedevi staman son di là basse,
E queste son salite ov' eran quelle.'
Com' ei parlava, e Sordello a sè il trasse
Dicendo: 'Vedi là il nostro avversaro!' 95
E drizzò il dito, perchè in là guardasse.
Da quella parte onde non ha riparo
La picciola vallea, era una biscia,
Forse qual diede ad Eva il cibo amaro.
Tra l' erba e i fior venia la mala striscia, 100
Volgendo ad or ad or la testa al dosso,
Leccando come bestia che si liscia.
Io non vidi, e però dicer non posso,
Come mosser gli astor celestïali,
Ma vidi bene l' uno e l' altro mosso. 105
Sentendo fender l' aere alle verdi ali,
Fuggì 'l serpente, e gli angeli dier volta,

87. *Stelo*, 'stem,' i. e., axle. Near the pole, the end of the axis of the heavens, the stars revolve slowest.
88. *Guarde* = *guardi*.
89. The 'three torches' represent the three theological virtues: see the first paragraph of the Argument to Canto VII.
91. Cf. I, 22–7.
94. *E* is superfluous: cf. *Inf.* XIX, 3.
97. Apparently from the lower end, where the valley opens.
99. Gen. iii, 4–6.
100. *Striscia*, 'trail.'
103. *Dicer* = *dire*.
107. *Dier* = *diedero*.

Suso alle poste rivolando eguali.
L' ombra che s' era al Giudice raccolta,
Quando chiamò, per tutto quell' assalto 110
Punto non fu da me guardare sciolta.
'Se la lucerna che ti mena in alto
Trovi nel tuo arbitrio tanta cera
Quant' è mestier infino al sommo smalto,'
Cominciò ella, 'se novella vera 115
Di Valdimacra o di parte vicina
Sai, dilla a me, che già grande là era.
Chiamato fui Corrado Malaspina:
Non son l' antico, ma di lui discesi.
A' miei portai l' amor che qui raffina.' 120
'O,' diss' io lui, 'per li vostri paesi
Giammai non fui; ma dove si dimora,
Per tutta Europa, ch' ei non sien palesi?
La fama che la vostra casa onora
Grida i signori e grida la contrada, 125
Sì che ne sa chi non vi fu ancora.
Ed io vi giuro, s' io di sopra vada,
Che vostra gente onrata non si sfregia
Del pregio della borsa e della spada.

110. Cf. l. 64.
112. This is the hortative use of *se: Inf.* X, 82; *Purg.* II, 16. The meaning is: 'As thou hopest that illuminating grace (the lantern which leads thee up) may find in thy free will the responsive spirit (the wax, food for the flame) that is needed to take thee to the Earthly Paradise.'
114. *Smalto*, 'enamel,' is used figuratively by Italian poets in two senses, 'stone,' and 'greensward' or 'garden': here it has the second meaning.
116. The valley of the Magra (*Inf.* XXIV, 145) is a part of the district of Lunigiana.
119. The older and more famous Conrad Malaspina, who lived in the first half of the 13th century, was the grandfather of the present speaker.
120. *Raffina*, 'is purified.'
122. In 1300 Dante had not been there.
125. *Grida*, 'proclaims,' celebrates.
127. The *se* of asseveration (*Inf.* X, 82): 'as I hope to go.'
128. *Non si sfregia*, 'does not despoil itself.'

Uso e natura sì la privilegia 130
  Che, perchè il capo reo lo mondo torca,
  Sola va dritta e il mal cammin dispregia.'
Ed egli: 'Or va, chè il sol non si ricorca
  Sette volte nel letto che il Montone
  Con tutti e quattro i piè copre ed inforca, 135
Che cotesta cortese opinïone
  Ti fia chiavata in mezzo della testa
  Con maggior chiovi che d' altrui sermone,
Se corso di giudizio non s' arresta.'

131. 'No matter how the wicked head (Rome) may twist the world awry.'

133, 134, 135. The sun will not return seven times to the sign of Aries, the Ram: seven years will not pass. The sun is in Aries from March 21 to April 21. The prophecy is made in April, 1300. Dante's 'courteous opinion' of the Malaspina is, then, to be confirmed ('nailed in his head') by experience before March 21, 1307. We know that he was with them on Oct. 6, 1306.

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

DURING each of the three nights that Dante spends on the island he has an allegorical vision, related to his present state or his immediate future. In the first dream he fancies himself carried up through the sky by a golden eagle; and this flight is but the image of a real spiritual ascent. Souls earnestly striving to reach God are always mysteriously assisted by grace, which comes to meet them and so speeds them on their way that their swift progress passes their understanding. 'They that wait upon the Lord,' says Isaiah xl, 31, 'shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.' Lucia, then, the symbol of Illuminating Grace, who came to Dante's help at the beginning of his struggle (*Inf.* II, 97–108) and who reappears to him at his journey's end (*Par.* XXXII, 137), now lifts him up in his sleep and bears him, at daybreak, over the long, steep incline to the very gate of Purgatory.

There he beholds, seated on the steps, an angelic guardian, who represents Ecclesiastical Authority. In the hand of this 'porter,' reflecting the sun's rays, is a bare sword, 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God' (Ephesians vi, 17). From beneath his garment he draws the keys entrusted by Christ to Peter and his successors — 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mat. xvi, 19). They are two, the golden key of power and the silver key of discernment; or, as Peter Lombard describes them in his *Sententiæ*, IV, xviii, 502, 'scientia discernendi peccata et potestas judicandi de peccatis.' The priest needs not only the authority to loose and bind, delegated to him by God, but also judgment to direct him in the use of it. The golden key, purchased with Christ's blood, is 'the more precious'; but the other, the silver key of discrimination, 'requires vast skill and wit' to 'disentangle the knot.'

The stone threshold of Purgatory, which is the angel's seat, seems to Dante to be of adamant; it evidently typifies the firm foundation of ecclesiastical power — 'thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church' (Mat. xvi, 18). Leading up to it are three steps: the first is of white, smooth marble; the second,

of rough, dark stone, scorched and cracked; the third, 'piled upon' the second, is blood-red. Apparently they stand for the three stages in the career of man which led up to the founding of the Church: original innocence, sin, and atonement. The same three stages recur in the life of every transgressor who finds salvation. The feet of the gatekeeper rest upon the red step of atonement; there it is that Dante prostrates himself and beats his breast. Most commentators see in the three stairs the three parts of the sacrament of penance — contrition, confession, satisfaction. But according to the literal sense of the poem the souls reaching the gate should have accomplished these duties (for the most part at least) before death; otherwise they would not have attained the mountain at all. And in Dante's symbolical journey through Purgatory (indicating the purification of his soul by discipline on earth) he is not yet ready for this sacrament, which forms the culmination of his expiatory task. Contrition, confession, and satisfaction await him at the top of the mountain, where they are administered by Beatrice herself: *Purg.* XXX, 97-9; XXXI, 1-36, 88-90.

For still different explanations of the steps, see Flam., II, 101; Tor., 395. For the keys, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xvii, Art. 3. — Cf. *Romania*, XXXIX, 582-3.

La concubina di Titone antico
  Già s' imbiancava al balco d' orïente,
  Fuor delle braccia del suo dolce amico;
Di gemme la sua fronte era lucente,

1. In two places in the *Æneid* — IV, 584-5 and IX, 459-60 — we find the lines:

'Et jam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.'

In the *Georgics*, I, 447, the second line occurs once more. Tithonus was therefore well known to Dante as the husband of Aurora, the dawn. Having to describe moonrise, the lunar dawn, — two or three hours after sunset on the island, — the poet fancifully calls the lunar aurora 'the concubine of old Tithonus,' as contrasted with sunrise, his lawful spouse.

2. The lunar aurora 'was already whitening in the balcony of the east': the white light of the moon was appearing on the eastern horizon.

4, 5, 6. In the eastern sky, where the moon was to appear, was the constellation of Scorpio. This is astronomically correct: see Moore, III, 74-85. For the description of the 'cold creature,' cf. Rev. ix, 5: 'and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man' — 'cum percutit hominem' (i. e., 'percote la gente'). See also *Met.*, XV, 371:

'Scorpius exibit, caudaque minabitur unca.'

Poste in figura del freddo animale 5
Che con la coda percote la gente;
E la notte de' passi con che sale
Fatti avea due nel loco ov' eravamo,
E il terzo già chinava in giuso l' ale,
Quand' io, che meco avea di quel d' Adamo, 10
Vinto dal sonno, in sull' erba inchinai
Ove già tutti e cinque sedevamo.
Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai
La rondinella, presso alla mattina,
Forse a memoria de' suoi primi guai, 15
E che la mente nostra peregrina
Più dalla carne, e men da' pensier presa,
Alle sue visïon quasi è divina,
In sogno mi parea veder sospesa
Un' aquila nel ciel, con penne d' oro, 20
Con l' ali aperte, ed a calare intesa;
Ed esser mi parea là dove foro
Abbandonati i suoi da Ganimede,
Quando fu ratto al sommo consistoro.
Fra me pensava: 'Forse questa fiede 25

7. The 'steps' with which night ascends are the hours between sunset and midnight. Nearly three hours have passed since nightfall.

9. The third step 'was bending its wings downward': the third hour had nearly finished its flight. Such incongruous mixed metaphors are not uncommon in Dante.

10. The 'stuff of Adam' is the body.

12. Sordello, Virgil, Dante, Nino, Conrad.

15. An allusion to the familiar and tragic story of Philomela and Progne, told by Ovid in *Met.*, VI, 423–674. According to the version followed by Dante, it was the outraged princess, Philomela, who was turned into a swallow: cf. XVII, 19–21.

18. Cf. *Conv.*, II, ix, 101–8; also Cicero, *De Senectute*, XXII, 81 ('Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam.') Dreams that occurred shortly before dawn were thought to be prophetic: cf. *Inf.* XXVI, 7.

22. On Mt. Ida, in Phrygia, whence the youthful hunter, Ganymede, was caught up by an eagle, from the midst of his guardians and dogs, to be cupbearer to the gods: *Æn.*, V, 252–7; cf. *Met.*, X, 155–61.

Pur qui per uso, e forse d' altro loco
Disdegna di portarne suso in piede.'
Poi mi parea che, roteata un poco,
Terribil come folgor discendesse,
E me rapisse suso infino al foco. 30
Ivi pareva ch' ella ed io ardesse;
E sì l' incendio imaginato cosse
Che convenne che il sonno si rompesse.
Non altrimenti Achille si riscosse,
Gli occhi svegliati rivolgendo in giro, 35
E non sappiendo là dove si fosse,
Quando la madre da Chiron a Schiro
Trafugò lui dormendo in le sue braccia
(Là onde poi li Greci il dipartiro),
Che mi scoss' io, sì come dalla faccia 40
Mi fuggì il sonno, e diventai ismorto,
Come fa l' uom che spaventato agghiaccia.
Dallato m' era solo il mio conforto,
E il sole er' alto già più che due ore,
E il viso m' era alla marina torto. 45

27. 'He disdains to carry off on high in his feet' (*pedibus . . . uncis: Æn.*, V, 255): cf. Ruggerone di Palermo, *Ben mi degio alegrare* (E. Monaci, *Crestomazia*, 77, No. 37), 16-19: —

'E fa come lo nibio ciertamente,
Ch' elgli è bello e possanti e non vole pilgliare —
Per non troppo affanare —
Se non cosa quale sia parisciente.'

Help comes from above only to those who have climbed as high as their own power will take them.

30. The sphere of fire is between the earth's atmosphere and the heaven of the moon.

34. To prevent her son Achilles from going to the Trojan war, Thetis took him in his sleep from his teacher, the centaur Chiron (*Inf.* XII, 71), to the court of the peaceful Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. When Achilles awoke, he did not know where he was. See Statius, *Achilleid*, I, 104-250.

39. Ulysses and Diomed discovered Achilles disguised in women's garments and took him away.

44. It is the morning of Easter Monday. The poets are still on the eastern side of the mountain.

'Non aver tema,' disse il mio Signore:
'Fatti sicur, chè noi siamo a buon punto.
Non stringer, ma rallarga ogni vigore!
Tu se' omai al Purgatorio giunto.
Vedi là il balzo che il chiude d' intorno; 50
Vedi l' entrata là 've par disgiunto.
Dianzi, nell' alba che precede al giorno,
Quando l' anima tua dentro dormia
Sopra li fiori onde laggiù è adorno,
Venne una donna, e disse: "Io son Lucìa! 55
Lasciatemi pigliar costui che dorme,
Sì l' agevolerò per la sua via."
Sordel rimase, e l' altre gentil forme.
Ella ti tolse, e come il dì fu chiaro,
Sen venne suso, ed io per le sue orme. 60
Qui ti posò; e pria mi dimostraro
Gli occhi suoi belli quell' entrata aperta;
Poi ella e il sonno ad una se n' andaro.'
A guisa d' uom che in dubbio si raccerta,
E che muta in conforto sua paura, 65
Poi che la verità gli è discoperta,
Mi cambia' io; e come senza cura
Videmi il Duca mio, su per lo balzo
Si mosse, ed io diretro inver l' altura.
Lettor, tu vedi ben com' io innalzo 70
La mia materia, e però con più arte
Non ti maravigliar s' io la rincalzo.
Noi ci appressammo, ed eravamo in parte,

50. A ledge — *balzo* (cf. IV, 47) — runs around the mountain outside of Purgatory.
59. There was no ascent until the sunlight appeared: cf. VII, 44.
72. *Rincalzo*, 'support.' Dante calls attention to the elaborate allegory he has contrived for the loftier theme that follows.

Che là dove pareami prima un rotto,
Pur come un fesso che muro diparte, 75
Vidi una porta, e tre gradi di sotto,
Per gire ad essa, di color diversi,
Ed un portier che ancor non facea motto.
E come l' occhio più e più v' apersi,
Vidil seder sopra il grado soprano, 80
Tal nella faccia ch' io non lo soffersi.
Ed una spada nuda aveva in mano,
Che rifletteva i raggi sì ver noi
Ch' io dirizzava spesso il viso invano.
'Dite costinci, che volete voi?' 85
Cominciò egli a dire: 'Ov' è la scorta?
Guardate che il venir su non vi noi!'
'Donna del ciel, di queste cose accorta,'
Rispose il mio Maestro a lui, 'pur dianzi
Ne disse: "Andate là, quivi è la porta."' 90
'Ed ella i passi vostri in bene avanzi,'
Ricominciò il cortese portinaio:
'Venite dunque a' nostri gradi innanzi.'
Là 've venimmo, allo scaglion primaio,
Bianco marmo era, sì pulito e terso 95
Ch' io mi specchiava in esso quale io paio.
Era il secondo, tinto più che perso,
D' una petrina ruvida ed arsiccia,
Crepata per lo lungo e per traverso.
Lo terzo, che di sopra s' ammassiccia, 100
Porfido mi parea sì fiammeggiante

85. Cf. *Inf.* XII, 63.
87. *Noi:* present subjunctive of *noiare*, 'harm' (cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 15). — The angel sees that Virgil and Dante are not souls fit for Purgatory. Reason, without grace, is not a sufficient guide on the road of penance which Purgatory symbolizes.
97. 'Perse' is a very dark purple color: cf. *Inf.* V, 89.

Come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia.
Sopra questo teneva ambo le piante
L' Angel di Dio, sedendo in sulla soglia,
Che mi sembiava pietra di diamante. 105
Per li tre gradi su di buona voglia
Mi trasse il Duca mio, dicendo: 'Chiedi
Umilemente che il serrame sciogli.'
Divoto mi gittai a' santi piedi;
Misericordia chiesi che m' aprisse; 110
Ma pria nel petto tre fiate mi diedi.
Sette *P* nella fronte mi descrisse
Col punton della spada, e: 'Fa che lavi,
Quando sei dentro, queste piaghe,' disse.
Cenere, o terra che secca si cavi, 115
D' un color fora col suo vestimento,
E di sotto da quel trasse due chiavi.
L' una era d' oro e l' altra era d' argento.
Pria con la bianca e poscia con la gialla
Fece alla porta sì ch' io fui contento. 120
'Quandunque l' una d' este chiavi falla
Che non si volga dritta per la toppa,'
Diss' egli a noi, 'non s' apre questa calla.
Più cara è l' una; ma l' altra vuol troppa
D' arte e d' ingegno avanti che disserri, 125
Perch' ell' è quella che il nodo disgroppa.
Da Pier le tengo; e dissemi ch' io erri

111. *Diedi*, 'smote': in remorse for sins of thought, word, and deed.

112. *P* stands for *peccatum*, 'sin': the seven letters are the emblem of the seven capital vices, of which Dante's soul is to be cleansed by penance. Cf. Rev. xiii, 16; xx, 4.

116. The gray color of the angel's garment betokens the humility of the priest, who is God's servant.

121. *Quandunque*, 'whenever.'

123. *Calla*, 'passage': cf. IV, 22.

126. *Il nodo disgroppa*, 'unties the knot.'

Anzi ad aprir che a tenerla serrata,
Purchè la gente a' piedi mi s' atterri.'
Poi pinse l' uscio alla porta sacrata, 130
Dicendo: 'Entrate! Ma facciovi accorti
Che di fuor torna chi 'ndietro si guata.'
E quando fur ne' cardini distorti
Gli spigoli di quella regge sacra,
Che di metallo son, sonanti e forti, 135
Non rugghiò sì, nè si mostrò sì acra
Tarpeia, come tolto le fu il buono
Metello, per che poi rimase macra.
Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono,

132. The sinner must enter upon the course of penance with no mental reservation; if he looks back upon his former life, at the moment of leaving it, he is unworthy to proceed. Cf. Luke ix, 62: 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' Also Gen. xix, 17: 'Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.' See, furthermore, Boethius, *Cons.*, III, Met. xii (the story of Orpheus and Eurydice) near the end:

'Ne dum Tartara liquerit
Fas sit lumina flectere.
. . . . .
Vos hæc fabula respicit,
Quicumque in superum diem
Mentem ducere quæritis.'

This warning applies only to the entrance: once within the gate, souls are safe from temptation.

134. *Spigoli*, 'pivots.' — *Regge*, 'portal.'

136. When Cæsar entered Rome, after crossing the Rubicon, he wished to take possession of the public treasure, kept in the temple of Saturn at the foot of the Tarpeian rock. The tribune Metellus, after a futile resistance, departed, leaving the temple unprotected. Then the gates were opened and the rock resounded (Lucan, *Phars.*, III, 153–5):

'Protinus abducto patuerunt templa Metello.
Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusas
Testatur stridore fores.'

The gate of Purgatory roars because, owing to the perversity of man, it is so seldom opened: cf. X, 2.

138. After the spoliation of the temple the Tarpeian rock 'was left lean.' Cf. *Phars.*, III, 167–8:

'Tristi spoliantur templa rapina,
Pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Cæsare Roma.'

139. *Tuono* here, apparently, means not 'thunder' but 'tone,' and refers not to what precedes but to the following line: I seemed to hear *Te Deum* from within the gate, and 'turned attentive at the first note.'

E *Te Deum laudamus* mi parea 140
Udir in voce mista al dolce suono.
Tale imagine appunto mi rendea
Ciò ch' io udiva qual prender si suole
Quando a cantar con organi si stea:
Che or sì or no s' intendon le parole. 145

140. This hymn of praise to God, who opens Heaven to the faithful, is appropriate to the place.

144. 'When people are singing with an organ.' — *Stea* = *stia*. — On reading these lines, one is reminded of the old and immensely heavy bronze doors in the ancient baptistery of S. Giovanni in Laterano, in Rome; when they are slowly pushed open, these doors emit a succession of loud musical notes that sound like organ peals.

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

Purgatory proper consists of seven flat, narrow terraces running around the mountain and separated from one another by steep cliffs. On each shelf are souls doing penance for one of the capital vices — pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice and prodigality, gluttony, lust. These wicked dispositions are the source of all sin. Inasmuch as pride is an ingredient in every transgression (which is an assumption of superiority to law), all souls have to suffer in the first circle; in the ensuing circles they are punished according to the nature of their wrongdoing. The terraces are connected by stairways cut into the precipice. When a spirit has cleansed itself of the evil that is expiated on one shelf, it passes on upward to the next terrace that claims it — or, if it has no other stain, to the top of the mountain. At the beginning of each ascent a friendly angel is seen, who removes the last impress of the discarded vice; and a beatitude (Mat. v, 3–8) is heard, appropriate to the circle that is left below. To sustain them, the souls are furnished, on every terrace, with examples of the particular sin that belongs to that spot, and of the opposite virtue. The latter examples — the 'goad' — generally appear to Dante as he enters each circle, the former — the 'check' — as he is about to depart from it. They take different shapes on the various shelves; on the first, they present themselves to the eye as beautiful carvings on the upright wall of the mountain and on the floor. These illustrations of good and evil are drawn from both Christian and pagan lore, but the first example of each of the seven virtues is taken from the life of the Virgin.

Allegorically the torments cheerfully endured on the several terraces represent the forms of discipline to which the sinner must subject himself, under priestly direction, in order to restore his lost innocence and thus fit himself for Heaven. In the first circle, for instance, the spirits crouching under heavy burdens are the image of self-imposed humiliation, the painful subjugation of pride. Dante's journey up through Purgatory signifies the moral training by means of which, obedient to ecclesiastical authority,

he removes from his soul every disposition to evil and regains the purity of heart that enables him to see God. While in the literal sense of the poem he is only an observer of the spirits and their punishments, symbolically he is himself the punished spirit; in the circles of pride, envy, anger, and lust, — if we look for the inner beneath the external meaning, — we can see the poet in the throes of penance.

Poi fummo dentro al soglio della porta
Che il malo amor dell' anime disusa,
Perchè fa parer dritta la via torta,
Sonando la sentii esser richiusa.
E s' io avessi gli occhi volti ad essa, 5
Qual fora stata al fallo degna scusa?
Noi salivam per una pietra fessa,
Che si moveva d' una e d' altra parte,
Sì come l' onda che fugge e s' appressa.
'Qui si convien usare un poco d' arte,' 10
Cominciò il Duca mio, 'in accostarsi
Or quinci, or quindi, al lato che si parte.'
E ciò fece li nostri passi scarsi
Tanto che pria lo scemo della luna
Rigiunse al letto suo, per ricorcarsi, 15
Che noi fossimo fuor di quella cruna.
Ma quando fummo liberi ed aperti
Su dove il monte indietro si raüna,
Io stancato, ed ambedue incerti

2. Love, wrongly directed, so perverts human souls that few of them attain Purgatory: the gate falls into disuse.

5. Cf. IX, 131–2.

8. The narrow crack by which the poets ascend runs zigzag up through the cliff.

12. *Si parte*, 'recedes.' The climbers have to cling now to one side, now to the other, according to the changing direction of the crack.

14. 'Lo scemo della luna': the waning moon, which, of course, sets later than the full moon; it is several hours after sunrise.

16. *Cruna*, 'needle's eye,' i. e., the narrow passage: cf. Mat. xix, 24.

18. *Si rauna*, 'gathers itself': withdraws, leaving a flat terrace.

Di nostra via, ristemmo su in un piano 20
Solingo più che strade per diserti.
Dalla sua sponda, ove confina il vano,
Al piè dell' alta ripa, che pur sale,
Misurrebbe in tre volte un corpo umano;
E quanto l' occhio mio potea trar d' ale, 25
Or dal sinistro ed or dal destro fianco,
Questa cornice mi parea cotale.
Lassù non eran mossi i piè nostri anco
Quand' io conobbi quella ripa intorno, —
Che, dritta, di salita aveva manco, — 30
Esser di marmo candido, e adorno
D' intagli sì che non pur Policreto
Ma la natura lì avrebbe scorno.
L' angel che venne in terra col decreto
Della molt' anni lagrimata pace, 35
Che aperse il ciel dal suo lungo divieto,
Dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace —
Quivi intagliato in un atto soave —
Che non sembiava imagine che tace.
Giurato si saria ch' ei dicesse '*Ave*,' 40
Però che ivi era imaginata quella
Che ad aprir l' alto amor volse la chiave.
Ed avea in atto impressa esta favella,
'*Ecce ancilla Dei*,' propriamente

24. *Misurrebbe* = *misurerebbe*. The width of the shelf, from its outer edge to the foot of the upright cliff, is three times the length of a human body.
25. *Trar d'ale*, 'fly.'
30. 'Which, being vertical, was devoid of ascent,' i. e., could not be climbed.
32. The Greek sculptor, Polycletus, was known by name to Mediæval writers.
33. *Avrebbe scorno*, 'would have been put to shame.'
34. 'The angel' is Gabriel. The first example of humility represents the Virgin at the Annunciation. Cf. Luke i, 26 ff.
40. *Ave*, 'hail,' the greeting of Gabriel to Mary: Luke i, 28.
44. 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord,' Mary's reply to Gabriel: Luke i, 38.

Come figura in cera si suggella. 45
'Non tener pure ad un loco la mente,'
Disse il dolce Maestro, che m' avea
Da quella parte onde il core ha la gente.
Per ch' io mi mossi col viso, e vedea
Diretro da Maria, da quella costa 50
Onde m' era colui che mi movea,
Un' altra storia nella roccia imposta;
Per ch' io varcai Virgilio, e femmi presso,
Acciocchè fosse agli occhi miei disposta.
Era intagliato lì nel marmo stesso 55
Lo carro e i buoi traendo l' arca santa,
Per che si teme officio non commesso.
Dinanzi parea gente; e tutta quanta,
Partita in sette cori, a' due miei sensi
Faceva dir l' un 'No,' l' altro 'Sì, canta.' 60
Similemente, al fummo degl' incensi
Che v' era immaginato, gli occhi e il naso
Ed al sì ed al no discordi fensi.
Lì precedeva al benedetto vaso,
Trescando alzato, l' umile Salmista; 65

47, 48. Virgil had Dante on his left. On Virgil's right was another carving.
52. *Imposta*, 'designed': cf. *Inf.* XVII, 18.
53. *Femmi* = *mi feci*.
56. The second example of humility pictures King David dancing 'with all his might' before the ark of the covenant, as it is drawn into the city on a 'new cart': 2 Samuel vi, 12–6.
57. We have here a brief, parenthetical reference to an incident not represented in the carving — the story of Uzzah, which makes us chary of assuming offices not entrusted to us. Uzzah, one of the drivers of the cart, seeing the ark shaken and fearing it would fall, 'put forth his hand . . . and took hold of it'; whereupon 'God smote him' for his presumption, and 'there he died': 2 Samuel vi, 3–7.
59. The 'seven choirs' appear in the Vulgate, but not in the English Bible: 2 Samuel vi, 12.
61. *Fummo* = *fumo*.
63. *Fensi* = *si fecero*.
65. *Alzato:* 'and David was *girded* with a linen ephod' (2 Samuel vi, 14). When he returned home, his wife, Michal, Saul's daughter, reproached him for

E più e men che re era in quel caso.
D' incontra effigïata ad una vista
D' un gran palazzo Micol ammirava,
Sì come donna dispettosa e trista.
Io mossi i piè del loco dov' io stava, 70
Per avvisar da presso un' altra storia
Che diretro a Micol mi biancheggiava.
Quivi era storïata l' alta gloria
Del roman principato il cui valore
Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria 75
(Io dico di Traiano imperadore);
Ed una vedovella gli era al freno,
Di lagrime atteggiata e di dolore.
Intorno a lui parea calcato e pieno
Di cavalieri, e l' aquile nell' oro 80
Sopr' esso in vista al vento si movieno.
La miserella intra tutti costoro
Parea dicer: 'Signor, fammi vendetta

uncovering himself 'in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself': 2 Samuel vi, 20.

66. David replied to Michal: 'I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight: and of the maidservants which thou hast spoken of, of them shall I be had in honour' (2 Samuel vi, 22).

67. *Vista*, 'view-point,' 'outlook.' 'Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart': 2 Samuel vi, 16.

68. *Ammirava*, 'looked on.'

74. The third example of humility is furnished by Trajan, the 'Roman prince' who acknowledged the justice of the poor widow's claim. For the origin of this story, which had wide currency in the Middle Ages, see G. Paris, *La légende de Trajan*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études*, 1878; A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, 1889, II, 1; *Giorn. dant.*, XIV, 199.

75. According to a legend universally believed in Dante's time, St. Gregory was so moved by the thought of Trajan's justice that he interceded with God for him; whereupon Trajan's soul was allowed to return from Limbus to earth and inhabit its body long enough to embrace Christianity, thus winning salvation: cf. *Par.* XX, 43–8, 106–17. This was the 'great victory.'

78. *Atteggiata*, 'in guise.'

80. The Roman eagles on a golden background, in banners.

81. *Movieno* = *movevano*.

Del mio figliuol ch' è morto, ond' io m' accoro.'
Ed egli a lei rispondere: 'Ora aspetta 85
Tanto ch' io torni.' Ed ella: 'Signor mio,'
Come persona in cui dolor s' affretta,
'Se tu non torni?' Ed ei: 'Chi fia dov' io
La ti farà.' Ed ella: 'L' altrui bene
A te che fia, se il tuo metti in obblio?' 90
Ond' elli: 'Or ti conforta, chè conviene
Ch' io solva il mio dovere, anzi ch' io mova.
Guistizia vuole, e pietà mi ritiene.'
Colui che mai non vide cosa nova
Produsse esto visibile parlare, 95
Novello a noi, perchè qui non si trova.
Mentr' io mi dilettava di guardare
Le imagini di tante umilitadi,
E, per lo fabbro loro, a veder care,
'Ecco di qua, ma fanno i passi radi,' 100
Mormorava il Poeta, 'molte genti.
Questi ne invïeranno agli alti gradi.'
Gli occhi miei, ch' a mirar eran intenti
Per veder novitadi, onde son vaghi,
Volgendosi ver lui non furon lenti. 105
Non vo' però, Lettor, che tu ti smaghi
Di buon proponimento, per udire
Come Dio vuol che il debito si paghi.
Non attender la forma del martire:
Pensa la succession; pensa che, a peggio, 110

88. *Chi fia dov' io*, 'he who shall be in my place.'
89, 90. 'What shall another's welldoing avail thee?'
94. *Colui:* God.
106. *Ti smaghi*, 'be distraught': cf. XXVII, 104. Dante fears that the horror of the penance may divert the reader from his 'good resolution' to make amends.
109. *Non attender*, 'heed not.' Cf. Romans viii, 18.
110. *Succession*, 'consequence.'

Oltre la gran sentenza non può ire.
Io cominciai: 'Maestro, quel ch' io veggio
Mover a noi non mi sembran persone,
E non so che, sì nel veder vaneggio.'
Ed egli a me: 'La grave condizione 115
Di lor tormento a terra li rannicchia
Sì che i miei occhi pria n' ebber tenzone.
Ma guarda fiso là, e disviticchia
Col viso quel che vien sotto a quei sassi.
Già scorger puoi come ciascun si picchia.' 120
O superbi Cristian miseri lassi,
Che, della vista della mente infermi,
Fidanza avete ne' ritrosi passi,
Non v' accorgete voi che noi siam vermi
Nati a formar l' angelica farfalla, 125
Che vola alla giustizia senza schermi?
Di che l' animo vostro in alto galla,
Poi siete quasi entomata in difetto,
Sì come vermo, in cui formazion falla?
Come per sostentar solaio o tetto, 130
Per mensola talvolta una figura

111. In any case the suffering will stop at the day of judgment.
112. *Veggio* =*vedo*.
117. *Tenzone*, 'controversy.'
118. *Disviticchia*, 'unscrew.'
124. Cf. Job xxv, 6: 'man, that is a worm.'
125. Cf. Mat. xxii, 30: 'For in the resurrection they . . . are as the angels of God in heaven.'
127. *Di che*, 'wherefore.' — *Galla*, 'soars.'
128. *Entomata in difetto*, 'defective insects.' The Greek word is ἔντομον, pl. ἔντομα. Dante probably found *entoma* in his Latin version of Aristotle, and, taking it for a singular, formed a plural on the model of *poema, poemata*, and other words.
129. *Falla*, 'is lacking.' Albertus Magnus speaks of the incompleteness of caterpillars and such creatures: *De Animalibus*, XVII, Tract. ii, Cap. 1, beginning.
130. *Solaio*, 'ceiling.'
131. *Mensola*, 'corbel,' 'bracket.'

Si vede giunger le ginocchia al petto, —
La qual fa del non ver vera rancura
Nascere a chi la vede, — così fatti
Vid' io color, quando posi ben cura. 135
Ver è che più e meno eran contratti,
Secondo ch' avean più e meno addosso.
E qual più pazïenza avea negli atti,
Piangendo parea dicer: 'Più non posso.'

133. The 'unreal' suffering of the cariatid arouses a 'real pang' of pity in the beholder.
138, 139. Even the most patient among them seemed to be at the limit of his endurance.

CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

Among the victims of pride are representatives of three types — the arrogance of noble birth, the vanity of artistic excellence, and the haughtiness of power. Humbert, son of William, of the ancient and mighty Ghibelline family of the Aldobrandeschi, was count of Santafiore in the Maremma (cf. VI, 111). Like his father he was hostile to Siena, and in 1250 he was killed by Sienese troops at his stronghold of Campagnatico. in the valley of the Ombrone, after a fierce and bloody fight. Oderisi of Gubbio, in the Duchy of Urbino, was a famous illuminator of manuscripts in the second half of the 13th century. He spent some years in Bologna and Rome, and died, it would seem, in the latter city in 1299. Provenzano Salvani, a sagacious and valiant Ghibelline chief, was all-powerful in Siena at the time of her defeat of Florence at Montaperti in 1260. Nine years later, at the battle of Colle di Valdelsa, Florence was victorious, and Provenzano, the leader of the Sienese army, was defeated and beheaded. It is related of him that, when at the height of his power, to save the life of a friend held for ransom by Charles of Anjou, he meekly begged of the passers-by until he had collected the 10,000 florins required. The practice of soliciting alms to pay fines was common enough in the Middle Ages, but usually the mendicants went from house to house; Provenzano, — who might have procured the money by force, and who, moreover, was acting in behalf of another, — took his stand in the Campo, or great public square, of Siena, where he was exposed to the sight of all. This act of generous humility, according to Oderisi, so atoned for his many acts of presumption that, although he postponed repentance until the end, he was admitted to Purgatory immediately after his death.

' O Padre nostro, che nei cieli stai,
Non circonscritto, ma per più amore

1. The canto opens (ll. 1–24) with an expanded paraphrase of the Lord's prayer (Mat. vi, 9–13), recited by the spirits of the first circle. Such paraphrases were not uncommon in the Middle Ages.

2. God dwells in Heaven, not because he is 'circumscribed,' restricted to one place, but because he is fondest of his 'first works' — the angels and the heavens.

Che ai primi effetti di lassù tu hai,
Laudato sia il tuo nome e il tuo valore
Da ogni creatura, com' è degno 5
Di render grazie al tuo dolce vapore.
Vegna ver noi la pace del tuo regno,
Chè noi ad essa non potem da noi,
S' ella non vien, con tutto nostro ingegno.
Come del süo voler gli angeli tuoi 10
Fan sacrificio a te, cantando *Osanna*,
Così facciano gli uomini de' suoi.
Dà oggi a noi la cotidiana manna,
Senza la qual per questo aspro diserto
A retro va chi più di gir s' affanna. 15
E come noi lo mal che avem sofferto
Perdoniamo a ciascuno, e tu perdona
Benigno, e non guardar lo nostro merto.
Nostra virtù, che di leggier s' adona,
Non spermentar con l' antico avversaro, 20
Ma libera da lui, che sì la sprona.
Quest' ultima preghiera, Signor caro,
Già non si fa per noi, chè non bisogna,
Ma per color che dietro a noi restaro.'
Così a sè e noi buona ramogna 25

5. *È degno*, 'it is meet.'
6. *Vapore*, 'emanation': the goodness that flows from God.
8. *Potem* = *possiamo:* see *Inf.* IV, 42. Cf. *Avem* in l. 16.
10. *Suo*, 'their.'
11. 'Hosanna': Mat. xxi, 9, 15. Cf. *V. N.*, Canzone II, 188.
13. The 'daily manna' (Exod. xvi, 14, 31) is spiritual food. The souls in Purgatory, toiling to reach Paradise, are like the Israelites in the desert on their way to the Promised Land.
17. *E*, 'so': cf. *Inf.* XIX, 3.
19. *S'adona*, 'is subdued': cf. *Inf.* VI, 34. The figure is that of a rider (the devil) taming a horse (our virtue).
23. Once inside the gate, souls are free from temptation.
25. *Ramogna*, according to several of the early commentators, signifies 'journey'; the meaning of the word is not otherwise known.

Quell' ombre orando, andavan sotto il pondo, —
Simile a quel che talvolta si sogna, —
Disparmente angosciate, tutte a tondo,
E lasse, su per la prima cornice,
Purgando le caligini del mondo. 30
Se di là sempre ben per noi si dice,
Di qua che dire e far per lor si puote
Da quei ch' hanno al voler buona radice?
Ben si dee loro aitar lavar le note
Che portar quinci, sì che mondi e lievi 35
Possano uscire alle stellate rote.
'Deh! se giustizia e pietà vi disgrevi
Tosto, sì che possiate mover l' ala
Che secondo il disio vostro vi levi,
Mostrate da qual mano in ver la scala 40
Si va più corto; e se c' è più d' un varco,
Quel ne insegnate che men erto cala.
Chè questi che vien meco, per l' incarco
Della carne d' Adamo, ond' ei si veste,
Al montar su, contra sua voglia, è parco.' 45
Le lor parole, che rendero a queste
Che dette avea colui cu' io seguiva,
Non fur da cui venisser manifeste;
Ma fu detto: 'A man destra per la riva
Con noi venite, e troverete il passo 50
Possibile a salir persona viva.

27. The incubus, or nightmare.

28. *Disparmente,* 'unequally' tormented under the weight: some had heavier weights than others. — *A tondo,* 'round and round.'

32, 33. What can be done for them here on earth by those whose will is rooted in the divine will?

36. Cf. VIII, 18.

37. *Se:* cf. *Inf.* X, 82; *Purg.* II, 16. — *Vi disgrevi,* 'unburden you.'

48. It was not clear from whom the words came, because the faces were all hidden.

E s' io non fossi impedito dal sasso
  Che la cervice mia superba doma,
  Onde portar convienmi il viso basso,
Cotesti che ancor vive, e non si noma, 55
  Guardere' io, per veder s' io 'l conosco,
  E per farlo pietoso a questa soma.
Io fui Latino, e nato d' un gran Tosco:
  Guglielmo Aldobrandesco fu mio padre —
  Non so se il nome suo giammai fu vosco. 60
L' antico sangue e l' opere leggiadre
  De' miei maggior mi fer sì arrogante
  Che, non pensando alla comune madre,
Ogni uomo ebbi in dispetto tanto avante
  Ch' io ne mori', — come i Sanesi sanno, 65
  E sallo in Campagnatico ogni fante.
Io sono Omberto; e non pure a me danno
  Superbia fa, chè tutti i miei consorti
  Ha ella tratti seco nel malanno.
E qui convien ch' io questo peso porti 70
  Per lei, tanto che a Dio si satisfaccia,
  Poi ch' io nol fei tra' vivi, qui tra' morti.'
Ascoltando, chinai in giù la faccia;
  Ed un di lor (non questi che parlava)
  Si torse sotto il peso che lo impaccia; 75
E videmi e conobbemi e chiamava,

60. *Vosco* = *con voi.* — The speaker has already learned modesty.
63. The 'common mother' is the earth: cf. Ecclus. xl, 1.
64. *Tanto avante,* 'to such an extent.'
66. *Sallo* = *lo sa.* Cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 127.
68. *Superbia* is the subject of *fa.* — *Consorti,* 'relatives.'
71. *Lei : superbia.*
72. *Fei* = *feci.*
73. This humble attitude (cf. l. 78), which is natural enough in the literal sense, seems to indicate allegorically Dante's participation in the penance. See XIII, 136–8.
75. For this use of the present for the imperfect, in the rhyme, cf. XVII, 51.

Tenendo gli occhi con fatica fisi
A me, che tutto chin con loro andava.
'O,' dissi lui, 'non sei tu Oderisi,
L' onor d' Agobbio, e l' onor di quell' arte 80
Che alluminare chiamata è in Parisi?'
'Frate,' diss' egli, 'più ridon le carte
Che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese;
L' onore è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.
Ben non sare' io stato sì cortese 85
Mentre ch' io vissi, per lo gran disio
Dell' eccellenza, ove mio core intese.
Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio.
Ed ancor non sarei qui, se non fosse
Che, possendo peccar, mi volsi a Dio. 90
O vanagloria dell' umane posse!
Com' poco verde in sulla cima dura,
Se non è giunta dall' etati grosse!
Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido, 95
Sì che la fama di colui è oscura.
Così ha tolto l' uno all' altro Guido

81. The art of 'illuminating' (French *enluminer*, Ital. *miniare*), or illustrating and decorating manuscripts, was held in great esteem before the invention of printing. — *Parisi* = *Parigi*, 'Paris.'

83. Franco of Bologna was known to Vasari, who possessed some of his drawings. We have no other information about him.

90. *Possendo* (= *potendo*) *peccar:* while still alive.

92. *Com' poco*, 'how short a time': how quickly fame withers!

93. 'If it is not followed by barbarous times,' in which no successor comes to obscure the fame of the departed.

94. The Florentine, Giovanni Cimabue, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, put new life into the Byzantine style and was regarded as the restorer of painting in Florence.

95. Giotto, Cimabue's pupil, was the greatest painter of Dante's time, and also a famous architect and sculptor. Dante probably knew him.

97. Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's 'first friend,' still alive in April, 1300, surpassed Guido Guinizelli of Bologna (XXVI, 92), the father of the 'sweet new style.'

La gloria della lingua, e forse è nato
Chi l' uno e l' altro caccerà di nido.
Non è il mondan romore altro che un fiato 100
Di vento, che or vien quinci ed or vien quindi,
E muta nome, perchè muta lato.
Che voce avrai tu più, se vecchia scindi
Da te la carne, che se fossi morto
Innanzi che lasciassi il *pappo* e il *dindi*, 105
Pria che passin mill' anni? Ch' è più corto
Spazio, all' eterno, che un mover di ciglia
Al cerchio che più tardi in cielo è torto.
Colui che del cammin sì poco piglia,
Dinanzi a me, Toscana sonò tutta, 110
Ed ora a pena in Siena sen pispiglia,
Ond' era sire, quando fu distrutta
La rabbia fiorentina, che superba
Fu a quel tempo, sì com' ora è putta.
La vostra nominanza è color d' erba, 115
Che viene e va, e quei la discolora
Per cui ell' esce della terra acerba.'
Ed io a lui: 'Lo tuo ver dir m' incora

99. This conjecture of Oderisi is simply a general deduction from antecedent probability. Dante, however, in writing it, must have known that the reader would immediately apply it to him. Whatever pride is betrayed by the remark belongs to Dante the author, not to Dante the protagonist of the poem.

100. Cf. Boethius, *Cons.*, II, Pr. vii: 'populares auras inanesque rumores.'

103. 'What more repute shalt thou have,' a thousand years hence (l. 106), if thou strippest off thy flesh when it is old' than if thou hadst died young?

105. *Il pappo e il dindi:* baby talk, childish prattle. *Pappo* and *dindi* are childish pronunciations of *pane* and *denaro*.

106. *Che*, 'which,' i. e., a thousand years.

108. 'The circle which is slowest turned,' — the eighth or starry sphere, — moves only one degree in a hundred years: *Conv.*, II, xv, 102–4 113–8. Cf. *Cons.*, II, Pr. vii.

109. *Colui* is the object of *sonò* in l. 110, *Toscana* the subject.

115. Cf. Isaiah xl, 7: 'The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.'

117. *Acerba*, 'unripe,' green, fresh: it goes with *ella*, i. e., *erba*.

118. *M' incora*, 'puts into my heart.'

Buona umiltà, e gran tumor m' appiani.
Ma chi è quei di cui tu parlavi ora?' 120
'Quegli è,' rispose, 'Provenzan Salvani;
Ed è qui, perchè fu presuntüoso
A recar Siena tutta alle sue mani.
Ito è così, e va senza riposo,
Poi che morì: cotal moneta rende 125
A satisfar chi è di là tropp' oso.'
Ed io: 'Se quello spirito che attende,
Pria che si penta, l' orlo della vita,
Laggiù dimora, e quassù non ascende, —
Se buona orazïon lui non aïta, — 130
Prima che passi tempo quanto visse,
Come fu la venuta a lui largita?'
'Quando vivea più glorïoso,' disse,
'Liberamente nel Campo di Siena,
Ogni vergogna deposta, s' affisse; 135
E lì, per trar l' amico suo di pena
Che sostenea nella prigion di Carlo,
Si condusse a tremar per ogni vena.
Più non dirò, e scuro so che parlo;
Ma poco tempo andrà che i tuoi vicini 140
Faranno sì che tu potrai chiosarlo.
Quest' opera gli tolse quei confini.'

126. *Oso*, 'bold.' *È oso* = *ausus est*.
138. 'He brought himself to quiver in every vein': a forceful picture of the mortification of a haughty spirit. Dante, in the time of his exile, knew this feeling all too well.
142. 'This deed relieved him of those restrictions,' enabled him to enter Purgatory without waiting outside among the 'negligent.'

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

The conception of the lifelike carvings on the floor, which, in this canto, furnish the warning illustrations of pride, was manifestly a delight to the artistic soul of the poet. In the very phrasing of his descriptions Dante affects a kind of architectural symmetry: first we have four tiercets beginning each with *Vedea* (ll. 25, 28, 31, 34), then four with *O* (ll. 37, 40, 43, 46), next four with *Mostrava* (ll. 49, 52, 55, 58), and finally one tiercet (ll. 61–3), in which the three lines begin with these same three words. The list of examples presents an alternation of biblical and mythological instances.

Di pari, come buoi che vanno a giogo,
  M' andava io con quella anima carca,
  Fin che il sofferse il dolce pedagogo.
Ma quando disse: 'Lascia lui, e varca,
  Chè qui è buon con la vela e coi remi, 5
  Quantunque può ciascun, pinger sua barca,'
Dritto, sì come andar vuolsi, rife' mi
  Con la persona, avvegna che i pensieri
  Mi rimanessero e chinati e scemi.
Io m' era mosso, e seguia volentieri 10
  Del mio Maestro i passi, ed ambedue
  Già mostravam come eravam leggieri,
Quando mi disse: 'Volgi gli occhi in giue!
  Buon ti sarà, per tranquillar la via,

1. Once more we have an indication that Dante, allegorically, shares in the penance. — Note the regular, plodding movement of this verse.

7. *Sì come andar vuolsi* (=*si vuole*), 'as man should walk.' Dante's penance is ended. — *Rife' mi* =*mi rifeci*.

8. *Avvegna che*, 'although.' — An abiding meekness has resulted from the penance.

Veder lo letto delle piante tue.' 15
Come, perchè di lor memoria sia,
Sopra i sepolti le tombe terragne
Portan segnato quel ch' elli eran pria
(Onde lì molte volte se ne piagne
Per la puntura della rimembranza, 20
Che solo ai pïi dà delle calcagne),
Sì vid' io lì, ma di miglior sembianza
Secondo l' artificio, figurato
Quanto per via difuor dal monte avanza.
Vedea colui che fu nobil creato 25
Più ch' altra creatura, giù dal cielo
Folgoreggiando scender da un lato.
Vedea Brïarëo, fitto dal telo
Celestïal, giacer dall' altra parte,
Grave alla terra per lo mortal gelo. 30
Vedea Timbreo, vedea Pallade e Marte,
Armati ancora, intorno al padre loro,
Mirar le membra de' Giganti sparte.
Vedea Nembrot a piè del gran lavoro,

16. *Perchè di lor memoria sia*, 'to preserve their memory.'
17. *Tombe terragne*, 'underground graves,' covered with flat stones which form a floor.
19. *Se ne piagne*, 'people weep for them.'
21. 'Which spurs only the faithful.'
23. *Secondo l' artificio*, 'in respect to workmanship.'
24. 'All that juts out of the mountain to form a road,' i. e., the whole floor of the terrace.
27. Luke x, 18: 'I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.'
28. Briareus was one of the giants who fought against the gods: cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 98.
30. *Per lo mortal gelo*, 'in the chill of death.'
31. Thymbræus is one of the appellations of Apollo, who had a temple at Thymbra in the Troad: Cf. *Æn.*, III, 85. — The carving represents the bodies of the defeated giants, upon which Apollo, Pallas, Mars, and Jove are gazing. Cf. *Met.*, X, 150–1:

Cecini plectro graviore Gigantas
Sparsaque Phlegræis victricia fulmina campis.

34. For Nimrod, the builder of the tower of Babel in the land of Shinar, see Gen. x, 8–10, and xi, 2–9. Cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 77.

Quasi smarrito, e riguardar le genti 35
Che in Sennaar con lui superbi foro.
O Niobè, con che occhi dolenti
Vedeva io te segnata in sulla strada
Tra sette e sette tuoi figliuoli spenti!
O Saül, come in sulla propria spada 40
Quivi parevi morto in Gelboè,
Che poi non sentì pioggia nè rugiada!
O folle Aragne, sì vedea io te
Già mezza aragna, trista in su gli stracci
Dell' opera che mal per te si fe'. 45
O Roboam, già non par che minacci
Quivi il tuo segno; ma pien di spavento
Nel porta un carro prima che altri il cacci.
Mostrava ancor lo duro pavimento
Come Almëon a sua madre fe' caro 50
Parer lo sventurato adornamento.

37. Niobe, wife of King Amphion of Thebes, proud of her seven sons and seven daughters, presumptuously disparaged Latona, who had only two children, Apollo and Diana. These gods avenged their mother by shooting all of Niobe's offspring; Niobe then turned to stone. See *Met.*, VI, 165–312.

40. Defeated by the Philistines on Mount Gilboa, King Saul threw himself upon a sword and killed himself: 1 Samuel xxxi, 1–6.

42. In his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, David said (2 Samuel i, 21): 'Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you.'

43. Arachne, who had challenged Pallas to a trial of skill in weaving, was turned by her into a spider: *Met.*, VI, 5–145.

45. *Fe'* =*fece*. — Ll. 41, 43, 45 are *versi tronchi:* cf. *Inf.* IV, 56.

46. After having threatened to add to the burdens of the people of Israel, 'king Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over the tribute; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. Therefore king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem' (1 Kings xii, 18).

48. *Nel* =*ne lo*.

49. Amphiaraus, the soothsayer (*Inf.* XX, 34), to avoid going to the Theban war where he knew he would be killed, hid himself, but was betrayed by his wife Eriphȳle and met his death at Thebes. As Eriphyle had been bribed by an ill-fated golden necklace, Dante chooses to regard her as an example of vanity. She was killed by her son Alcmæon in vengeance for the loss of his father: cf. *Par.* IV, 103–5. See Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 265 ff.; IV, 187 ff.

Mostrava come i figli si gittaro
Sopra Sennacherib dentro dal tempio,
E come, morto lui, quivi il lasciaro.
Mostrava la ruïna e il crudo scempio 55
Che fe' Tamiri, quando disse a Ciro:
'Sangue sitisti, ed io di sangue t' empio.'
Mostrava come in rotta si fuggiro
Gli Assiri, poi che fu morto Oloferne,
Ed anche le reliquie del martiro. 60
Vedëa Troia in cenere e in caverne.
O Ilïon, come te basso e vile
Mostrava il segno che lì si discerne!
Qual di pennel fu maestro o di stile
Che ritraesse l' ombre e i tratti, ch' ivi 65
Mirar farieno ogn' ingegno sottile?
Morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi.
Non vide me' di me chi vide il vero,

52. Sennacherib, the haughty king of the Assyrians, despised the Israelites and their God. 'And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that . . . his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia' (2 Kings xix, 37).

55. Thamÿris (or Tomyris), queen of the Scythians, to avenge the death of her son and the defeat of her army, lured Cyrus, king of Persia, and his 200,000 men into an ambush and destroyed them. She then had Cyrus's head put into a skin full of human blood, and addressed it in terms similar to those cited by Dante: Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos*, II, vii.

58. Judith delivered the Israelites by cutting off the head of the Assyrian king, Holofernes. When his troops heard of his death, 'fear and trembling fell upon them' and 'they fled into every way of the plain, and of the hill country' (Judith xv, 1, 2).

60. By 'the remnants of the killing' is probably meant the headless body of the king. 'Behold Holofernes lieth upon the ground without a head' (Judith xiv, 16).

61. Cf. *Æn.*, III, 2-3:

'Ceceditque superbum
Ilium, et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troja.'

63. *Segno*, 'image.'

67. In an old Venetian version of the Voyage of St. Brendan there are carvings similarly described: F. Novati, *La 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' in antico veneziano*, 1892, ch. XXXIV.

68. *Me'* =*meglio.*

Quant' io calcai fin che chinato givi.
Or superbite, e via col viso altiero, 70
Figliuoli d' Eva, e non chinate il volto
Sì che veggiate il vostro mal sentiero!
Più era già per noi del monte volto,
E del cammin del sole assai più speso,
Che non stimava l' animo non sciolto, 75
Quando colui, che sempre innanzi atteso
Andava, incominciò: 'Drizza la testa!
Non è più tempo da gir sì sospeso.
Vedi colà un Angel che s' appresta
Per venir verso noi; vedi che torna 80
Dal servigio del dì l' ancella sesta.
Di riverenza gli atti e il viso adorna,
Sì che i diletti lo invïarci in suso!
Pensa che questo dì mai non raggiorna!'
Io era ben del suo ammonir uso, 85
Pur di non perder tempo, sì che in quella
Materia non potea parlarmi chiuso.
A noi venia la crëatura bella
Bianco vestita, e nella faccia quale
Par tremolando mattutina stella. 90
Le braccia aperse, ed indi aperse l' ale;
Disse: 'Venite! Qui son presso i gradi,
Ed agevolemente omai si sale.
A questo annunzio vengon molto radi.

77. Cf. Luke xxi, 28: 'look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.'

81. The sixth hour of daylight is drawing to a close; it is nearly noon.

82. *Adorna* is imperative.

83. *I* =*gli*, dependent on the verb *diletti*, of which *lo inviarci* is subject.

94. Cf. Mat. vii, 14: 'Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.' We cannot be perfectly sure whether ll. 94, 95, 96 are a part of the angel's speech or a reflection of the poet.

O gente umana, per volar su nata, 95
Perchè a poco vento così cadi?'
Menocci ove la roccia era tagliata.
Quivi mi battèo l' ali per la fronte;
Poi mi promise sicura l' andata.
Come a man destra, per salire al monte 100
Dove siede la Chiesa che soggioga
La ben guidata sopra Rubaconte,
Si rompe del montar l' ardita foga
Per le scalee (che si fero ad etade
Ch' era sicuro il quaderno e la doga), 105
Così s' allenta la ripa che cade
Quivi ben ratta dall' altro girone;
Ma quinci e quindi l' alta pietra rade.
Noi volgendo ivi le nostre persone,
'*Beati pauperes spiritu,*' voci 110
Cantaron sì che nol diria sermone.
Ahi, quanto son diverse quelle foci
Dalle infernali! Chè quivi per canti
S' entra, e laggiù per lamenti feroci.
Già montavam su per li scaglion santi, 115

97. *Menocci* = *ci menò.*
98. *Battèo* = *battè.*
101. 'The church that dominates the well-governed city across the Rubaconte bridge' is San Miniato. *Ben guidata* is of course ironical. The bridge, now called Ponte alle Grazie, was first named after honest Messer Rubaconte da Mandello, who was mayor when it was begun in 1237.
103. *L'ardita foga*, 'the bold sweep.'
105. By way of contrasting the 'age' of Rubaconte with later, degenerate times, Dante here refers to two notorious local scandals of his own day. In 1299 a certain Niccolò Acciaiuoli, to conceal a false entry made in his favor with the connivance of the mayor, tore a leaf out of the municipal record (*quaderno*). A salt commissioner, Durante de' Chiaramontesi, enriched himself by receiving the salt from the commune with an honest measure, and dealing it out with a measure diminished by one stave (*doga*): cf. *Par.* XVI, 105.
108. The flight of steps is so narrow that the wall 'grazes' on either side.
110. Mat. v, 3: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' This beatitude suits those who are leaving pride behind.
112. *Foci*, 'passes.'

Ed esser mi parea troppo più lieve
Che per lo pian non mi parea davanti.
Ond' io: 'Maestro, di', qual cosa greve
Levata s' è da me, che nulla quasi
Per me fatica andando si riceve?' 120
Rispose: 'Quando i *P* che son rimasi
Ancor nel volto tuo, presso ch' estinti,
Saranno, come l' un, del tutto rasi,
Fien li tuoi piè dal buon voler sì vinti
Che non pur non fatica sentiranno, 125
Ma fia diletto loro esser su pinti.'
Allor fec' io come color che vanno
Con cosa in capo non da lor saputa,
Se non che i cenni altrui sospicar fanno;
Per che la mano ad accertar s' aiuta, 130
E cerca e trova, e quell' officio adempie
Che non si può fornir per la veduta:
E, con le dita della destra scempie,
Trovai pur sei le lettere che incise
Quel dalle chiavi a me sopra le tempie. 135
A che guardando il mio Duca sorrise.

116. *Troppo*, 'far.' — It is now easier for Dante to climb than it has been for him to walk on the level terrace. By the removal of pride, the foundation of all evil, Dante is relieved of the greater part of his other sins. The angel has obliterated the *P* of pride, and the other six letters have thereby become dim (l. 122). See Ecclus. x, 15: 'the beginning of all sin is pride.' Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxxiv, Art. 2.

122. *Presso ch' estinti*, 'almost extinct.'

124. *Fien* = *saranno*.

126. *Pinti* = *spinti*, 'urged.'

129. *Sospicar*, 'suspect': cf. *Inf.* X, 57.

133. *Scempie*, 'spread.' — Cf. the surprise of Cipus when he saw in a spring the reflection of horns on his head (*Met.*, XV, 566-8):

> 'Vidit enim, falsamque in imagine credens
> Esse fidem, digitis ad frontem sæpe relatis
> Quæ vidit, tetigit.'

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

To purge ourselves of envy, we must cultivate a spirit of humility and resolutely shut our eyes — agonizing as the effort may be — to all that has beguiled them. The spirits in the second circle, then, sit in a row, meanly clad, like beggars, their eyes sewed up with an iron wire. Falcons that were tamed full-grown used to have their eyes closed in this cruel way. In the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa the poet had read: '*Invideo tibi*, idest non video tibi, idest non fero videre te bene agentem'; and this definition of envy may have suggested to him the particular form of punishment. Line 57 is probably intended to indicate that, in the mystic (but not the literal) sense, Dante himself is subjected to this discipline; but we learn from lines 133–5 that he merits but a slight penance here, having sinned far less from envy than from pride.

Turning to the right, — as they do on every terrace of Purgatory, — the travellers proceed toward the north, facing the noonday sun, the symbol of enlightenment. Here they find no carvings on wall or pavement: such lessons would have been wasted on the sightless penitents. Instead, the examples of love — the opposite of envy — are called aloud by mysterious voices. The first illustration is drawn, as in the other circles, from the life of the Virgin.

Among the willing sufferers is a certain woman of Siena, who (as she declares), in spite of her name, Sapía, was not wise. In 1269, having passed the age of thirty-five, she was still so full of envy of her fellow-townsmen that when, under the leadership of Provenzano Salvani (XI, 121), they met the Florentines in battle at Colle di Valdelsa, she prayed God that they might be worsted. This, as it proved, was what the Lord had already decreed, for the Sienese were overwhelmingly defeated by a smaller force of Florentines. Thereupon Sapia's exultation was so mad that she did not care what fate God might send her. Only the intercession of one of her countrymen, Pier Pettinagno, — a poor comb-dealer, so honest, pious, and kindly that he was regarded as a saint, — secured for her prompt admission to Purgatory.

Siena and Florence, like other rival cities, had many standing jokes at each other's expense. Dante puts into the mouth of Sapia, who in life had hated her own people, two of Florence's stock gibes at Siena. This ambitious town aspired to become a maritime power, like Venice and Genoa; in 1303 she succeeded in acquiring a little seaport on the shore of the Tuscan Maremma, called Talamone, and in improving it she spent large sums of money. At one time the Florentines asked for a concession there. Furthermore, Siena, perched on the top of a hill, had difficulty in getting water; it was said that her inhabitants were continually digging to find an underground river, the Diana, which was supposed to flow under the city.

For Sapia, see *Bull.*, VIII, 131.

Noi eravamo al sommo della scala,
  Ove secondamente si risega
  Lo monte che salendo altrui dismala.
Ivi così una cornice lega
  Dintorno il poggio, come la primaia, 5
  Se non che l' arco suo più tosto piega.
Ombra non gli è, nè segno che si paia;
  Par sì la ripa, e par sì la via schietta
  Col livido color della petraia.
'Se qui per domandar gente s' aspetta,' 10
  Ragionava il Poeta, 'io temo forse
  Che troppo avrà d' indugio nostra eletta.'
Poi fisamente al sole gli occhi porse;
  Fece del destro lato al mover centro,
  E la sinistra parte di sè torse. 15

2. *Si risega*, 'is cut in again,' by the second shelf, which, of course, has a smaller circumference than the first (l. 6).
3. 'The mountain which cures by climbing.'
7. Cf. XII, 65.
9. A 'livid color' is the proper hue of envy: cf. XIV, 84.
12. *Eletta*, 'choice': whether to turn to the right or to the left, as they face the cliff.
13. Cf. I, 107.
15. He turns to the right, wheeling on his right foot. The stronger part of his nature directs the weaker.

'O dolce lume, a cui fidanza i' entro
Per lo nuovo cammin, tu ne conduci,'
Dicea, 'come condur si vuol quinc' entro.
Tu scaldi il mondo, tu sopr' esso luci;
S' altra ragione in contrario non pronta, 20
Esser den sempre li tuoi raggi duci.'
Quanto di qua per un migliaio si conta,
Tanto di là eravam noi già iti,
Con poco tempo, per la voglia pronta.
E verso noi volar furon sentiti, 25
Non però visti, spiriti, parlando
Alla mensa d' amor cortesi inviti.
La prima voce che passò volando
'*Vinum non habent!*' altamente disse,
E retro a noi l' andò reïterando. 30
E prima che del tutto non s' udisse
Per allungarsi, un' altra 'Io sono Oreste!'
Passò gridando, ed anco non s' affisse.
'O,' diss' io, 'Padre, che voci son queste?'
E com' io domandava, ecco la terza 35
Dicendo: 'Amate da cui male aveste!'

20. *Pronta*, 'disposes.' — Unless a higher power ordain otherwise, our own enlightened election should guide us. — Some texts have *cagione* for *ragione*.

21. *Den* = *devono*.

22. *Migliaio* (= *miglio*, 'mile') counts as two syllables: cf. XIV, 66.

29. At the marriage feast in Cana, 'when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine' (John ii, 3); and Jesus turned the water into wine. This speech is cited here as an example of loving solicitude; in XXII, 142–4, it appears again as an example of temperance.

32. When the tyrant Ægisthus had condemned Orestes, whom he did not know by sight, Orestes and his friend Pylades both claimed that name, each wishing to save the other. Cf. Cicero, *De Amicitia*, VII, xxiv. In *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* (a work which Dante repeatedly cites) V, xxii, Cicero tells how excited the audience at the theatre becomes on hearing the words 'I am Orestes' in Pacuvius's tragedy.

36. A condensation of Mat. v, 44: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.'

E 'l buon Maestro: 'Questo cinghio sferza
La colpa della invidia, e però sono
Tratte d' amor le corde della ferza.
Lo fren vuol esser del contrario suono; 40
Credo che l' udirai, per mio avviso,
Prima che giunghi al passo del perdono.
Ma ficca gli occhi per l' aere ben fiso,
E vedrai gente innanzi a noi sedersi,
E ciascun è lungo la grotta assiso.' 45
Allora più che prima gli occhi apersi;
Guarda'mi innanzi, e vidi ombre con manti
Al color della pietra non diversi.
E poi che fummo un poco più avanti,
Udi' gridar: 'Maria, ora per noi!' 50
Gridar Michele, e Pietro, e tutti i Santi.
Non credo che per terra vada ancoi
Uomo sì duro che non fosse punto
Per compassion di quel ch' io vidi poi:
Chè quand' io fui sì presso di lor giunto 55
Che gli atti loro a me venivan certi,
Per gli occhi fui di grave dolor munto.
Di vil cilicio mi parean coperti,
E l' un sofferia l' altro con la spalla,
E tutti dalla ripa eran sofferti. 60
Così li ciechi, a cui la roba falla,

40. By 'the check' is meant the examples of the sin of 'this belt' — envy.
42. *Giunghi* = *giunga*. — 'The pass of forgiveness' is the beginning of the ascent to the next circle.
48. Cf. l. 9.
51. 'I heard Michael, etc., called upon, invoked.' The souls seem to be repeating the second half of the *Confiteor*: cf. *Romanic Review*, I, 208.
52. *Ancoi*, 'to this day.'
57. 'I was milked of hard pain through my eyes,' i. e., painful tears of sympathy were drawn from my eyes. For the curious figure, cf. *Inf.* XII, 135–6.
61. *A cui la roba falla*, 'who lack sustenance': cf. *Inf.* XXIV, 7. For *falla* cf. *Purg.* X, 129.

Stanno ai perdoni a chieder lor bisogna,
E l' uno il capo sopra l' altro avvalla,
Perchè in altrui pietà tosto si pogna,
Non pur per lo sonar delle parole, 65
Ma per la vista che non meno agogna.
E come agli orbi non approda il sole,
Così all' ombre, là 'v' io parlav' ora,
Luce del ciel di sè largir non vuole;
Chè a tutte un fil di ferro il ciglio fora 70
E cuce sì, come a sparvier selvaggio
Si fa, però che queto non dimora.
A me pareva andando fare oltraggio,
Veggendo altrui, non essendo veduto;
Perch' io mi volsi al mio consiglio saggio. 75
Ben sapev' ei che volea dir lo muto;
E però non attese mia domanda,
Ma disse: 'Parla, e sii breve ed arguto.'
Virgilio mi venia da quella banda
Della cornice onde cader si puote, 80
Perchè da nulla sponda s' inghirlanda;
Dall' altra parte m' eran le devote
Ombre, che per l' orribile costura
Premevan sì che bagnavan le gote.
Volsimi a loro, ed: 'O gente sicura,' 85

62. On the 'pardon' days of various churches, pilgrims come in crowds for indulgences, and beggars collect at the doors.
63. *Avvalla*, 'sinks.'
64. *Pogna* = *ponga:* cf. XVI, 123; *Par.* VIII, 81.
66. *Agogna*, 'craves': cf. *Inf.* VI, 28.
67. *Approda*, 'profits': cf. *Inf.* XXI, 78.
73. This delicate scruple reveals a fineness of feeling, an instinctive gentleness, that contrasts strangely with Dante's sterner moods.
78. *Arguto*, 'to the point.'
81. The outer 'side of the shelf' is 'wreathed with no rim,' i. e., has no parapet. Cf. *Inf.* XIV, 10.
82. Virgil is on Dante's right; on his left, against the wall, are the 'devout shades.'
85. Dante begins with words of good cheer.

Incominciai, 'di veder l' alto lume
Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura,
Se tosto grazia risolva le schiume
Di vostra coscïenza, sì che chiaro
Per essa scenda della mente il fiume, 90
Ditemi (chè mi fia grazioso e caro)
S' anima è qui tra voi che sia latina;
E forse a lei sarà buon, s' io l' apparo.'
'O frate mio, ciascuna è cittadina
D' una vera città; ma tu vuoi dire, 95
Che vivesse in Italia peregrina.'
Questo mi parve per risposta udire
Più là alquanto che là dov' io stava;
Ond' io mi feci ancor più là sentire.
Tra l' altre vidi un' ombra che aspettava 100
In vista; e se volesse alcun dir: 'Come?'
Lo mento, a guisa d' orbo, in su levava.
'Spirto,' diss' io, 'che per salir ti dome,
Se tu se' quelli che mi rispondesti,
Fammiti conto o per loco o per nome.' 105
'I' fui Sanese,' rispose, 'e con questi
Altri rimondo qui la vita ria,
Lagrimando a colui, che sè ne presti.

88. The hortative *se: Inf.* X, 82; *Purg.* II, 16.
90. 'So that the river of memory may flow down through it undefiled': so that the conscience shall retain no recollection of sin.
93. *Apparo* =*imparo:* cf. Canzone XVI, 25.
94. Ephesians ii, 19: 'Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.'
96. *Peregrina:* cf. II, 63.
100, 101. *Aspettava in vista,* 'looked expectant.'
102. If anyone should ask me how it showed its expectancy, I should reply that 'it was lifting up its chin like a blind man.'
103. *Dome* =*domi.*
105. *Conto,* 'known': cf. *Inf.* III, 76.
107. *Rimondo,* 'I am making clean again.'
108. *Che sè ne presti,* 'that he (God) may lend himself to us.'

Savia non fui, avvegna che Sapia
  Fossi chiamata, e fui degli altrui danni 110
  Più lieta assai che di ventura mia.
E perchè tu non credi ch' io t' inganni,
  Odi se fui, com' io ti dico, folle,
  Già discendendo l' arco de' miei anni.
Eran li cittadin miei presso a Colle 115
  In campo giunti coi loro avversari,
  Ed io pregava Iddio di quel ch' ei volle.
Rotti fur quivi, e volti negli amari
  Passi di fuga; e, veggendo la caccia,
  Letizia presi a tutte altre dispari — 120
Tanto ch' io volsi in su l' ardita faccia,
  Gridando a Dio: "Omai più non ti temo!"
  Come fa il merlo per poca bonaccia.
Pace volli con Dio in su lo stremo
  Della mia vita; ed ancor non sarebbe 125
  Lo mio dover per penitenza scemo,
Se ciò non fosse che a memoria m' ebbe
  Pier Pettinagno in sue sante orazioni,
  A cui di me per caritate increbbe.
Ma tu chi se', che nostre condizioni 130
  Vai domandando, e porti gli occhi sciolti,
  Sì come io credo, e spirando ragioni?'
'Gli occhi,' diss' io, 'mi fieno ancor qui tolti;
  Ma picciol tempo, chè poca è l' offesa
  Fatta per esser con invidia volti. 135

112. *Credi* = *creda*.

123. This characteristic of the blackbird was probably known from general observation: see Sacchetti, *Novelle*, CXLIX; also T. Gautier, *Le merle*. The variant reading *fe'* for *fa* has led some to see in the line a reference to a popular fable, but no such fable has been found: see Ida Luisi in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 109.

126. *Dover*, 'due': cf. X, 92.

133. Dante's 'eyes shall be taken' from him, in the literal sense of the poem, when he shall return to this circle after death.

Troppa è più la paura, ond' è sospesa
  L' anima mia, del tormento di sotto,
  Chè già lo incarco di laggiù mi pesa.'
Ed ella a me: 'Chi t' ha dunque condotto
  Quassù tra noi, se giù ritornar credi?' 140
  Ed io: 'Costui ch' è meco, e non fa motto.
E vivo sono; e però mi richiedi,
  Spirito eletto, se tu vuoi ch' io mova
  Di là per te ancor li mortai piedi.'
'O questa è ad udir sì cosa nuova,' 145
  Rispose, 'che gran segno è che Dio t' ami;
  Però col prego tuo talor mi giova.
E chieggioti per quel che tu più brami,
  Se mai calchi la terra di Toscana,
  Che a' miei propinqui tu ben mi rinfami. 150
Tu li vedrai tra quella gente vana
  Che spera in Talamone, e perderagli
  Più di speranza che a trovar la Diana;
Ma più vi metteranno gli ammiragli.'

138. 'The load' of the circle of pride 'already weighs' upon Dante.
144. *Mortai* = *mortali*.
148. *Chieggioti* = *ti chiedo*.
150. *Mi rinfami*, 'restore my good fame.'
151. Cf. *Inf.* XXIX, 122.
152. *Perderagli* = *vi perderà*.
154. The meaning seems to be: 'But those who shall spend, or waste, most upon Talamone shall be those who expect to be admirals,' to command the non-existent Sienese fleet.

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

There is an uncanny realism in the discussion of Dante by two blind spirits from Romagna; the poet is standing close beside them, but in their sightlessness they converse about him as if he were miles away. One of the speakers is Guido del Duca, a gentleman of Bertinoro, probably a Guelf, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. The other is the Guelf Rinieri (or Ranieri) of the powerful family of the lords of Cálboli, a stronghold near Rocca San Casciano in the valley of the Montone; prominent in peace and war, he was mayor of various cities, was defeated by Guido da Montefeltro (*Inf.* XXVII) in 1276, and was killed at Forlì in 1296.

Questioned by the penitents, Dante modestly withholds — as in the *Vita Nuova* — not only his own name but that of his city and that of the river Arno. This reticence leads to a description of the stream and a satirical picture of the dwellers on its banks. The passage falls into three parts of twelve lines each. First comes a general introductory portrayal of the river and of the Tuscans, who 'avoid virtue as if it were a snake' and resemble those unhappy men whom the enchantress Circe had turned into beasts. Next we have four tiercets devoted to the inhabitants of the Casentino, Arezzo, Florence, and Pisa, who are likened respectively to swine, curs, wolves, and foxes. The mountainous Casentino, on the upper Arno, was, in fact, a pig-raising country, and the stream near its source flows by a hill called Porciano; in at least one of his lyrics (Canzone XI, 67–70) Dante complains of the rudeness of its people. The Aretines — those 'curs who snarl more than their strength warrants' — were described in nearly the same terms by Sacchetti in a letter to R. Gianfigliazzi, captain of Arezzo (Tor., 437). The greed of the Florentines and the cunning of the Pisans made the wolf and the fox their proper symbols. The general suggestion of the beast-names came, no doubt, from Boethius (*Cons.*, IV, Pr. iii). Following this characterization, the closing twelve lines of the passage contain a prophecy of the slaughter of the Florentine wolves by a bloodthirsty nephew of Rinieri da Calboli.

For Guido del Duca, see F. Torraca in *Nuova Antologia*, XLVII, 5; cf. *Bull.*, X, 329. For Rinieri da Calboli: Tor., 439. For the story of Circe: *Met.*, XIV, 248–307; *Æn.*, VII, 10–20. For a discussion of the passage in Boethius: *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 2; R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, 384. For Romagna, see F. Torraca, *Studi Danteschi*, 1912, 137.

'Chi è costui che il nostro monte cerchia
  Prima che morte gli abbia dato il volo,
  Ed apre gli occhi a sua voglia e coperchia?'
'Non so chi sia; ma so ch' ei non è solo.
  Domandal tu che più gli t' avvicini, 5
  E dolcemente, sì che parli, acco' lo.'
Così due spirti, l' uno all' altro chini,
  Ragionavan di me ivi a man dritta;
  Poi fer li visi, per dirmi, supini,
E disse l' uno: 'O anima, che fitta 10
  Nel corpo ancora in ver lo ciel ten vai,
  Per carità ne consola, e ne ditta
Onde vieni, e chi sei; chè tu ne fai
  Tanto maravigliar della tua grazia
  Quanto vuol cosa che non fu più mai.' 15
Ed io: 'Per mezza Toscana si spazia
  Un fiumicel che nasce in Falterona,
  E cento miglia di corso nol sazia.
Di sopr' esso rech' io questa persona.
  Dirvi chi io sia, saria parlare indarno; 20
  Chè il nome mio ancor molto non suona.'
'Se ben lo intendimento tuo accarno
  Con lo intelletto,' allora mi rispose

5. *Domandal* = *domandalo*.
6. *Acco'* = *accogli:* cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 18.
9. *Fer* = *fecero*. 'Then they made their faces level (threw back their heads) to speak to me.'
10. 'The one' is Guido del Duca.
15. *Vuol*, 'demands.' *Cosa* is the subject.
17. *Falterona:* one of the highest mountains in the Tuscan Apennines.
22. *Accarno*, 'seize.'

Quei che diceva pria, 'tu parli d' Arno.'
E l' altro disse a lui: 'Perchè nascose 25
Questi il vocabol di quella riviera,
Pur com' uom fa dell' orribili cose?'
E l' ombra che di ciò domandata era
Si sdebitò così: 'Non so, ma degno
Ben è che il nome di tal valle pera; 30
Chè dal principio suo (dov' è sì pregno
L' alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro,
Che in pochi lochi passa oltra quel segno)
Infin là 've si rende per ristoro
Di quel che il ciel della marina asciuga, 35
Ond' hanno i fiumi ciò che va con loro,
Virtù così per nimica si fuga
Da tutti come biscia, o per sventura
Del loco o per mal uso che li fruga;
Ond' hanno sì mutata lor natura 40
Gli abitator della misera valle
Che par che Circe gli avesse in pastura.

25. 'The other' is Rinieri da Calboli.
29. *Si sdebitò*, 'paid its scot,' i. e., answered.
30. The valley is the Valdarno. — Cf. Job xviii, 17: 'His remembrance shall perish from the earth.'
31. Its 'source' is in the Falterona, which was regarded also as the source of the Tiber. — *Pregno*, 'teeming,' abundant in water. Cf. *Phars.*, II, 399, 403:

'mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas.'
. . . .
'Fontibus hic vastis immensos *concipit* amnes.'

32. 'The Alpine range from which Pelorus is severed' means the Apennine chain, of which Pelorus, at the eastern end of Sicily, is the continuation. Cf. *Phars.*, II, 438: 'Extremi colles Siculo cessere Peloro.'
33. 'That it is more so (i. e., more teeming) in but few places.' *Passa oltra quel segno*, 'it passes that mark,' i. e., 'it exceeds.' Only a few of the Apennine peaks are wetter than Falterona.
34. Down to its mouth, 'where it (the Arno) gives itself up to replace' the water that evaporates from the sea.
36. 'What goes with them' is their supply of water.
37. All along the Arno, from source to mouth, 'virtue is shunned.'
39. *Fruga*, 'goads,' incites: cf. III, 3.

Tra brutti porci, più degni di galle
 Che d' altro cibo fatto in uman uso,
 Dirizza prima il suo povero calle. 45
Botoli trova poi, venendo giuso,
 Ringhiosi più che non chiede lor possa,
 Ed a lor, disdegnosa, torce il muso.
Vassi cadendo, e quanto ella più ingrossa
 Tanto più trova di can farsi lupi 50
 La maledetta e sventurata fossa.
Discesa poi per più pelaghi cupi,
 Trova le volpi, sì piene di froda
 Che non temono ingegno che le occupi.
Nè lascerò di dir, perch' altri m' oda; 55
 E buon sarà a costui, se ancor s' ammenta
 Di ciò che vero spirto mi disnoda.
Io veggio tuo nipote, che diventa
 Cacciator di quei lupi in sulla riva
 Del fiero fiume, e tutti gli sgomenta. 60
Vende la carne loro, essendo viva;
 Poscia gli ancide come antica belva.
 Molti di vita, e sè di pregio priva.

Down to Romena the Arno is nothing but a brook.

. *Torce il muso*, 'turns away its snout.' The Arno, which descends south ugh the Casentino and then flows eastward toward Arezzo, suddenly turns o the west when it has come within three miles of that city.

. *Vassi* = *si va*. The subject of the verbs in this tiercet is *fossa*, at the end .. 51.

52. *Pelaghi cupi*, 'hollow (i. e., deep) pools.'

54. *Ingegno che le occupi*, 'trap to catch them.'

57. *Disnoda*, 'unties,' i. e., reveals.

58. The nephew of Rinieri, Folcieri da Calboli, while mayor of Florence in 1303, had many White Guelf and Ghibelline citizens tortured and put to death on accusations of treason. He was mayor again in 1312.

62. 'Then he kills them like old cattle,' or, possibly, 'like beasts of old' (of Circe's time). The word *belva*, which properly means 'wild animal,' seems to have been suggested by the passage in *Cons.*, IV, Pr. iii: cf. *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 3. It may be noted that in *Purg.* VI, 94, Dante uses the noun *fiera* for a horse.

Sanguinoso esce della trista selva;
  Lasciala tal che di qui a mill' anni 65
  Nello stato primaio non si rinselva.'
Come all' annunzio de' dogliosi danni
  Si turba il viso di colui che ascolta,
  Da qualche parte il periglio lo assanni,
Così vid' io l' altr' anima, che volta 70
  Stava ad udir, turbarsi e farsi trista,
  Poi ch' ebbe la parola a sè raccolta.
Lo dir dell' una, e dell' altra la vista,
  Mi fe' voglioso di saper lor nomi,
  E domanda ne fei con preghi mista. 75
Per che lo spirto che di pria parlòmi
  Ricominciò: 'Tu vuoi ch' io mi deduca
  Nel fare a te ciò che tu far non vuo' mi.
Ma da che Dio in te vuol che traluca
  Tanta sua grazia, non ti sarò scarso: 80
  Però sappi ch' io son Guido del Duca.
Fu il sangue mio d' invidia sì riarso
  Che, se veduto avessi uom farsi lieto,
  Visto m' avresti di livore sparso.
Di mia semente cotal paglia mieto. 85
  O gente umana, perchè poni il core
  Là 'v' è mestier di consorto divieto?

66. *Primaio* counts as two syllables: cf. *migliaio* in XIII, 22. — *Non si rinselva*, 'it shall not be reforested': cf. VII, 96.
69. *Qualche*, 'whatsoever.' — *Assanni*, 'nips.'
76. *Parlòmi* = *parlommi*, i. e., *mi parlò*: for the imperfect rhyme, see *Inf.* VIII, 17.
77. *Mi deduca*, 'condescend.'
78. *Vuo' mi* = *mi vuoi*. — Dante has avoided giving his name: ll. 20, 21.
85. *Semente*, 'sowing.' Cf. Galatians vi, 7: 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.'
87. 'In that quarter where there must needs be exclusion of sharing': upon earthly possessions, in which there can be no sharing, because no two men can own the same thing. In the next Canto, ll. 44–5, Dante asks for an explanation of this difficult phrase. Cf. *Cons.*, II, Pr. v: 'vestræ vero divitiæ nisi comminutæ in plures transire non possunt.'

Questi è Rinier; quest' è il pregio e l' onore
  Della casa da Calboli, ove nullo
  Fatto s' è reda poi del suo valore. 90
E non pur lo suo sangue è fatto brullo —
  Tra il Po e il monte e la marina e il Reno —
  Del ben richiesto al vero ed al trastullo;
Chè dentro a questi termini è ripieno
  Di venenosi sterpi, sì che tardi 95
  Per coltivare omai verrebber meno.
Ov' è il buon Lizio, ed Arrigo Mainardi,
  Pier Traversaro, e Guido di Carpigna?
  O Romagnoli tornati in bastardi!
Quando in Bologna un Fabbro si ralligna? 100
  Quando in Faenza un Bernardin di Fosco,
  Verga gentil di picciola gramigna?
Non ti maravigliar, s' io piango, Tosco,
  Quando rimembro con Guido da Prata
  Ugolin d' Azzo, che vivette nosco, 105
Federico Tignoso e sua brigata,
  La casa Traversara e gli Anastagi
  (E l' una gente e l' altra è diredata),

90. *Reda* = *erede*.
91. His is not the only family in Romagna that has become 'bare' (cf. *Inf.* XVI, 30; XXXIV, 60), i. e., destitute, of goodness.
92. Romagna is bounded on the north by the Po, on the south by the Apennines, on the east by the Adriatic, on the west by the river Reno.
93. 'Of the goodness requisite for earnest and pastime.'
94. *È* is impersonal: cf. X, 79; XXI, 43.
96. *Per*, 'through.'
97–107. In these lines are enumerated sundry noble and famous citizens and houses of Romagna in the 12th and 13th centuries. For Dante, Romagna included Bologna.
100. *Si ralligna*, 'shall take root': carrying out the figure begun in ll. 95–6 and continued in l. 102.
102. 'Noble scion of a tiny creeper.' Unlike the others mentioned, he was of lowly birth, and rose to importance by his merit alone. In 1249 he was mayor of Siena and Pisa.
108. *Diredata*, 'without heirs.'

Le donne e i cavalier, gli affanni e gli agi
Che ne invogliava amore e cortesia, 110
Là dove i cor son fatti sì malvagi.
O Brettinoro, chè non fuggi via,
Poichè gita se n' è la tua famiglia
E molta gente, per non esser ria?
Ben fa Bagnacaval che non rifiglia, 115
E mal fa Castrocaro, e peggio Conio,
Che di figliar tai Conti più s' impiglia.
Ben faranno i Pagan, dacchè il Demonio
Lor sen girà; ma non però che puro
Giammai rimanga d' essi testimonio. 120
O Ugolin de' Fantolin, sicuro
È il nome tuo, da che più non s' aspetta
Chi far lo possa tralignando oscuro.
Ma va via, Tosco, omai, ch' or mi diletta
Troppo di pianger più che di parlare, 125
Sì m' ha nostra ragion la mente stretta.'

110. 'Which love and courtesy made dear to us.'

112. *Brettinoro* (now Bertinoro), a little town between Forlì and Cesena, was the birthplace of Guido del Duca. The family of the counts of Bertinoro died out in 1177. They and others who have departed are represented as having left the world to avoid the contamination of modern life.

115. *Non rifiglia*, 'gets no sons.' — Bagnacavallo is a little place near Ravenna. Its counts left no male heirs after Dante's generation. Among the heiresses was the wife of Guido da Polenta, Dante's host in Ravenna.

117. *S' impiglia*, 'takes the trouble.' — The counts of Castrocaro (near Forlì) and Cunio (near Imola) were very numerous in 1300. — The good pass away and the wicked multiply.

118. 'The Pagani,' a noble family of Faenza, 'will do well' to get no more sons, 'when their demon,' Maghinardo di Susina (*Inf.* XXVII, 49–51), shall have died. Maghinardo, the head of the family, died in 1302, leaving two daughters and a grandson.

119, 120. But they will not do so well as ever to leave 'clean witness of themselves,' i. e., an undefiled reputation. To do that, they should have died out before Maghinardo came.

121. Ugolino was a worthy gentleman of Faenza, who died in 1278. His two sons died not many years later, and the inheritance fell to his daughters.

123. *Tralignando*, 'by degenerating.'

126. *Ragion*, 'discourse.' — *Stretta*, 'wrung.'

Noi sapevam che quell' anime care
  Ci sentivano andar; però tacendo
  Facevan noi del cammin confidare.
Poi fummo fatti soli procedendo, 130
  Folgore parve, quando l' aere fende,
  Voce che giunse d' incontra, dicendo:
'Anciderammi qualunque m' apprende!'
  E fuggì, come tuon che si dilegua,
  Se subito la nuvola scoscende. 135
Come da lei l' udir nostro ebbe tregua,
  Ed ecco l' altra con sì gran fracasso
  Che somigliò tuonar che tosto segua:
'Io sono Aglauro, che divenni sasso.'
  Ed allor, per ristringermi al Poeta, 140
  Indietro feci e non innanzi il passo.
Già era l' aura d' ogni parte queta,
  Ed ei mi disse: 'Quel fu il duro camo
  Che dovria l' uom tener dentro a sua meta.
Ma voi prendete l' esca, sì che l' amo 145
  Dell' antico avversario a sè vi tira;
  E però poco val freno o richiamo.

129. We knew that if the 'dear souls' had heard us taking the wrong way, they would have warned us.

130. *Poi = poichè*. — When we had left them behind.

133. The first of the examples of envy, proclaimed by spirit voices, is that of Cain: 'every one that findeth me shall slay me' (Gen. iv, 14).

135. *Scoscende*, 'splits.'

136. 'When our hearing had respite from it (*voce*, l. 132).'

137. *Altra*, 'second,' sc., *voce*.

139. The princess Aglauros, of Athens, envious of her sister Herse, who was loved by Mercury, tried to prevent the god from reaching her, and was turned into a statue. Cf. *Met.*, II, 708 ff.

143. Ps. xxxii (Vulg. xxxi), 9: 'whose mouth must be held in with bit (*camo*) and bridle (*freno*)'; quoted in part in *Mon.*, III, xvi, 74.

145. *Voi:* men in general. — Cf. Eccles. ix, 12: 'sicut pisces capiuntur hamo'; in the English version, 'as the fishes that are taken in an evil net.'

147. *Richiamo*, 'lure': cf. *Inf.* III, 117.

Chiamavi il cielo, e intorno vi si gira,
  Mostrandovi le sue bellezze eterne,
  E l' occhio vostro pure a terra mira; 150
Onde vi batte chi tutto discerne.'

151. 'He who sees all' is God: cf. 2 Macc. ix, 5.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

THE most important feature of this canto is a discussion — adroitly introduced in explanation of an obscure phrase — of the difference between spiritual and temporal possessions. In earthly property there can be no companionship, because what one man has another must lack. Not so with heavenly goods, knowledge and love, which all can possess together. God's love is poured out in proportion to the readiness of each soul to accept it, and upon every one of the blest is lavished all the love that it is capable of receiving. The divine love runs to meet the aspiring human affection, and, uniting with it, doubles its ardor and its joy. The more happy spirits there are in Paradise, the greater is the sum total of divine love bestowed; and, — inasmuch as every soul receives love, not only from God directly, but from all its fellows as well, — the greater is the share of each participant.

This doctrine is expounded by Virgil while the two poets are climbing up the stairway from the second terrace to the third. In the circle of wrath the punishment consists of a blinding, suffocating cloud of smoke, which rolls along the path, enveloping the penitents — a symbol of the energetic stifling of angry passion. In this discipline Dante evidently shares.

At the foot of the steps, before their ascent, the travellers are met by an angel so shining that Dante's mortal eyes are blinded. At first he imagines that he is dazzled by the sun, which is directly in front, half way between the meridian and the horizon; but when he shades his brows with his hands, the blaze is in no wise diminished. Then it seems to him that the brightness, from which his arched hands cannot shield him, must be a reflection of the sunbeam from some pool before him. A ray descending at a slant of 45 degrees to a mirror on the ground would be refracted up into his eyes at the same angle. Not until Virgil tells him the truth is he aware of the presence of the heavenly guardian; and he does not note the removal of the *P* from his forehead. He has been saved from envy not so much by conscious renunciation of worldly things as by unconscious contemplation of the divine.

C. E. Norton, in *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Purgatory*, 1902, p. 114, cites some appropriate passages from Milton, Shelley, and Emerson.

Quanto, tra l' ultimar dell' ora terza
E il principio del dì, par della spera
Che sempre a guisa di fanciullo scherza,
Tanto pareva già in ver la sera
Essere al sol del suo corso rimaso: 5
Vespero là, e qui mezza notte era.
E i raggi ne ferian per mezzo il naso,
Perchè per noi girato era sì il monte
Che già dritti andavamo in ver l' occaso,
Quand' io senti' a me gravar la fronte 10
Allo splendore assai più che di prima,
E stupor m' eran le cose non conte.
Ond' io levai le mani in ver la cima
Delle mie ciglia, e fecimi il solecchio,
Che del soperchio visibile lima. 15
Come quando dall' acqua o dallo specchio
Salta lo raggio all' opposita parte,

1, 2. 'As much of the ecliptic as is visible (*par*, l. 2) between the end of the third hour (9 A. M.) and the beginning of day (6 A. M.).' Between dawn and midmorning there is a difference of three hours, or 45°.

2, 3. 'The circle that is always playing like a child' is probably the ecliptic (the sun's annual revolution through the sky), which dodges now to one side, now to the other, of the equator: cf. IV, 63. See *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 108.

4, 5. 'So much (45°) of the sun's course seemed to be left on the evening side': the sun still had 45° to descend. It was three hours before sunset, or mid-afternoon; the sun was therefore in the northwest.

6. 'Vespers,' as Dante uses it, means the last of the four canonical divisions of the day, i. e., from 3 to 6 P. M.: cf. III, 25; *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 156. 'It was the beginning of vespers there, in Purgatory; here, in Italy (where I am writing), it was midnight.' The time of Italy is three hours earlier than that of Jerusalem. It was 3 P. M. in Purgatory, 3 A. M. in Jerusalem, midnight in Italy.

9. The poets, who climbed up the east side of the mountain as far as the first shelf, and walked to the right (or north) on each terrace, are now on the northeast side, facing the declining sun in the northwest.

10. An excessively bright light produces on the beholder an impression of heaviness over the eyes.

12. *Conte*, 'known': cf. XIII, 105.

15. A shade, or visor, 'files down the excess of visibility,' i. e., reduces the excess of visible light.

17. *Raggio*, 'sunbeam.' A ray of light, falling on a horizontal surface of glass or water, is refracted upward at the angle at which it descends, but 'in the opposite direction.'

Salendo su per lo modo parecchio
A quel che scende, e tanto si diparte
Dal cader della pietra in egual tratta, — 20
Sì come mostra esperïenza ed arte, —
Così mi parve da luce rifratta
Ivi dinanzi a me esser percosso,
Per che a fuggir la mia vista fu ratta.
'Che è quel, dolce Padre, a che non posso 25
Schermar lo viso tanto che mi vaglia,'
Diss' io, 'e pare in ver noi esser mosso?'
'Non ti maravigliar, se ancor t' abbaglia
La famiglia del cielo,' a me rispose;
'Messo è, che viene ad invitar ch' uom saglia. 30
Tosto sarà che a veder queste cose
Non ti fia grave, ma fiati diletto
Quanto natura a sentir ti dispose.'
Poi giunti fummo all' Angel benedetto,
Con lieta voce disse: 'Entrate quinci!' 35
Ad un scaleo vie men che gli altri eretto
Noi montavam, già partiti da linci,
E *Beati misericordes* fue
Cantato retro, e: 'Godi tu che vinci!'
Lo mio Maestro ed io soli ambedue 40
Suso andavamo, ed io pensai, andando,

18. *Parecchio*, 'same.'
20. *Cader della pietra*, 'plumb line.' — *Tratta*, 'distance.' — The angle of refraction is equal to the angle of incidence.
21. *Esperienza ed arte*, 'experiment and science.'
33. *Quanto*, 'as great as.'
36. *Scaleo* =*scala*. — *Vie*, 'far.' — Dante, in this case, omits mention of the obliteration of one of the letters from his forehead.
38. Mat. v, 7: 'Blessed are the merciful.' Mercy (*caritas*) is here regarded as the opposite of envy: cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xxxvi, Art. 3.
39. Cf. Mat. v, 12: 'Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven.' Also Rev. ii, 7: 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life.'

Prode acquistar nelle parole sue;
E dirizza' mi a lui sì domandando:
'Che volle dir lo spirto di Romagna,
E "divieto" e "consorto" menzionando?' 45
Per ch' egli a me: 'Di sua maggior magagna
Conosce il danno; e però non s' ammiri
Se ne riprende perchè men sen piagna.
Perchè s' appuntan li vostri disiri
Dove per compagnia parte si scema, 50
Invidia move il mantaco ai sospiri.
Ma se l' amor della spera suprema
Torcesse in suso il desiderio vostro,
Non vi sarebbe al petto quella tema.
Chè per quanti si dice più lì "nostro," 55
Tanto possiede più di ben ciascuno,
E più di caritate arde in quel chiostro.'
'Io son d' esser contento più digiuno,'
Diss' io, 'che se mi fossi pria taciuto,
E più di dubbio nella mente aduno. 60
Com' esser puote che un ben distributo
I più posseditor faccia più ricchi
Di sè che se da pochi è posseduto?'

42. *Prode*, 'profit': from Virgil's teaching.
45. The words of Guido del Duca in XIV, 87.
47. *Non s' ammiri*, 'it is not surprising.'
48. *Ne riprende*, 'he rebukes (men) for it': in order that men may have less cause to mourn for it.
49. *Perchè*, 'inasmuch as.' — *S' appuntan*, 'concentrate.'
50. 'Upon things in which the portion is diminished by sharing.'
52. 'The highest sphere' is the Empyrean, the abode of God, the angels, and the blest.
54. *Tema:* the 'fear' of sharing.
55. 'For there (in the Empyrean), the more there are to say "our,"' i. e., the more sharers there are. Cf. St. Gregory, *Moralia*, IV, xxxi.
58. *Più digiuno* (*di*), 'more empty of,' i. e., further from: cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 42; XXVIII, 87.
60. *Aduno*, 'I collect': cf. *Inf.* VII, 52.

Ed egli a me: 'Perocchè tu rificchi
La mente pure alle cose terrene, 65
Di vera luce tenebre dispicchi.
Quello infinito ed ineffabil bene
Che è lassù, così corre ad amore
Come a lucido corpo raggio viene.
Tanto si dà, quanto trova d' ardore; 70
Sì che quantunque carità si estende,
Cresce sopr' essa l' eterno valore.
E quanta gente più lassù s' intende,
Più v' è da bene amare, e più vi s' ama,
E come specchio l' uno all' altro rende. 75
E se la mia ragion non ti disfama,
Vedrai Beatrice, ed ella pienamente
Ti torrà questa e ciascun' altra brama.
Procaccia pur che tosto sieno spente,
Come son già le due, le cinque piaghe, 80
Che si richiudon per esser dolente.'
Com' io voleva dicer: 'Tu m' appaghe,'
Vidimi giunto in sull' altro girone,
Sì che tacer mi fer le luci vaghe.
Ivi mi parve in una visïone 85

64. *Tu rificchi*, 'thou dost still fix.'
69. Naturally bright objects were thought to attract the sun's rays: see *Conv.*, III, xiv, 21–8. Cf. Guido Guinizelli, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore*, 11–14.
72. 'The eternal goodness is grafted upon it.' God's blessing corresponds to the affection of the loving soul, and is added to it.
73. *S' intende*, 'are affectionate.'
74. 'The more there are deserving of love, and the more love there is.'
76. *Disfama*, 'appeases': cf. l. 58. The use of *disfamare* for 'satisfy' was not uncommon.
81. 'Which are healed by being painful.'
82. *Appaghe* = *appaghi*.
84. *Fer* = *fecero*. — *Le luci vaghe*, 'my eager eyes.'
85. The examples of gentleness — the opposite of wrath — appear as 'ecstatic visions.'

Estatica di subito esser tratto,
E vedere in un tempio più persone,
Ed una donna in sull' entrar con atto
Dolce di madre, dicer: 'Figliuol mio,
Perchè hai tu così verso noi fatto? 90
Ecco, dolenti, lo tuo padre ed io
Ti cercavamo.' E come qui si tacque,
Ciò che pareva prima disparìo.
Indi m' apparve un' altra, con quelle acque,
Giù per le gote, che il dolor distilla, 95
Quando di gran dispetto in altrui nacque;
E dir: 'Se tu se' sire della villa
Del cui nome ne' Dei fu tanta lite,
Ed onde ogni scïenza disfavilla,
Vendica te di quelle braccia ardite 100
Che abbracciar nostra figlia, o Pisistrato!'
E il signor mi parea, benigno e mite,
Risponder lei con viso temperato:
'Che farem noi a chi mal ne disira,
Se quei che ci ama è per noi condannato?' 105
Poi vidi genti accese in foco d' ira
Con pietre un giovinetto ancider, forte

86. The first vision represents the infant Jesus, who, after three days' absence, is found in the temple disputing with the doctors. See Luke ii, 42–50.

88. *Una donna:* Mary. Cf. Luke ii, 48: 'and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.'

93. *Disparìo = disparì.*

94. *Altra:* sc., *donna.* This is the wife of Pisistratus, ruler of Athens, enraged because a young man has dared to embrace their daughter, with whom he is in love. Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia,* V, i, Ext. 2.

96. *Altrui,* 'one.'

97. *Villa,* 'city': Athens.

98. The contest between Neptune and Minerva (as to which should name the city) and the victory of Minerva are told in *Met.,* VI., 70–82.

101. *Abbracciar = abbracciarono.*

105. *Per,* 'by.'

107. For the stoning of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, see Acts vii, 54–60. From early times Stephen was always pictured as a youth.

Gridando a sè pur: 'Martira, martira!'
E lui vedea chinarsi per la morte,
Che l' aggravava già, in ver la terra; 110
Ma degli occhi facea sempre al ciel porte,
Orando all' alto Sire, in tanta guerra,
Che perdonasse a' suoi persecutori,
Con quell' aspetto che pietà disserra.
Quando l' anima mia tornò di fuori 115
Alle cose che son fuor di lei vere,
Io riconobbi i miei non falsi errori.
Lo Duca mio, che mi potea vedere
Far sì com' uom che dal sonno si slega,
Disse: 'Che hai, che non ti puoi tenere, 120
Ma se' venuto più che mezza lega
Velando gli occhi, e con le gambe avvolte
A guisa di cui vino o sonno piega?'
'O dolce Padre mio, se tu m' ascolte,
Io ti dirò,' diss' io, 'ciò che mi apparve 125
Quando le gambe mi furon sì tolte.'
Ed ei: 'Se tu avessi cento larve
Sopra la faccia, non mi sarien chiuse
Le tue cogitazion, quantunque parve.
Ciò che vedesti fu perchè non scuse 130
D' aprir lo core all' acque della pace
Che dall' eterno fonte son diffuse.
Non domandai "Che hai?" per quel che face

108. *Sè*, 'one another.' — *Martira*, 'kill': this trait is not in the Bible.
115. *Di fuori*, 'outward.'
124. *Ascolte* =*ascolti*.
128. *Sarien* =*sarebbero*.
129. *Parve*, 'small.'
130. *Perchè non scuse* (=*scusi*), 'to the end that thou refuse not.'
131. The visions were intended to teach Dante to cool the heat of anger with the waters of peace.
133. 'I did not ask "What ails thee?" for the same reason that he does' who

Chi guarda pur con l' occhio che non vede
Quando disanimato il corpo giace; 135
Ma domandai per darti forza al piede.
Così frugar conviensi i pigri, lenti
Ad usar lor vigilia quando riede.'
Noi andavam per lo vespero attenti
Oltre, quanto potean gli occhi allungarsi 140
Contra i raggi serotini e lucenti,
Ed ecco a poco a poco un fummo farsi
Verso di noi, come la notte oscuro;
Nè da quello era loco da cansarsi.
Questo ne tolse gli occhi e l' aere puro. 145

sees only with mortal eyes. For *per quel che*, cf. XXXIII, 77-8. Virgil's immortal sight, which could penetrate 'a hundred masks,' reads all of Dante's thoughts; he does not ask for information, but only to arouse his companion.

134, 135. 'The eye which ceases to see when the body lies lifeless' is a periphrasis for 'the mortal eye,' which is unable to read the mind. Virgil's sight is spiritual and eternal.

137. *Frugar:* cf. III, 3, XIV, 39.

144. The smoke covered the whole width of the terrace, so that 'there was no room to turn out from it.'

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

The human soul, created at the birth of each infant, is guileless and naturally inclined to good and to gladness; the child of a happy maker, its first tendency is to seek happiness. All that seems excellent, all that appears to promise joy attracts it. But in its inexperience it may mistake false delight for true. It needs guidance; and for this end society, with its laws and rulers, was constituted. The laws still exist, but there is no one left to execute them, since the Papacy has usurped the Imperial power and joined the sword of worldly supremacy to the crozier of ecclesiastical authority. In the old days, when mankind fared well, Rome was the seat of two brother monarchs, neither of whom encroached upon the other — the Pope and the Emperor. Now the temporal chief is gone, and the spiritual leader does not suffice; for he whose province is religious thought cannot possess the gift of practical discrimination. This difference of office is indicated allegorically in the Bible in the Mosaic law which restricts the meat of the Israelites to 'whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, and cheweth the cud' (Levit. xi, 3; Deut. xiv, 6). According to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cii, Art. 6, chewing the cud signifies meditation of the Scriptures, and the cloven foot means, among other things, the distinction of good and evil. The Pope may ruminate, but his own acts show that he does not 'part the hoof.' Lack of temporal direction, then, rather than universal corruption of the human heart, is the cause of modern depravity. The stars are not to blame. The heavenly bodies, indeed, governed by angels, determine, to a certain extent, our characters, so that our first inclinations are generally under their control; but we have the innate knowledge of right and wrong, and free will to combat wicked desires, if only our first steps are guided aright.

Thus speaks Mark the Lombard, a penitent in the circle of wrath. Nothing is known of his family or history, but Villani and the *Novelle Antiche* corroborate his excellent reputation. With his companions he marches in the smoke, chanting the 'Lamb of God': 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; Agnus

Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.' Joining Dante, he deplores with him the decline of courtesy and virtue. In all Lombardy, he declares, — the province which, less than a century before, was the favorite resort of courtiers and poets, — there are but three worthy men left, noble survivors of an elder generation. We are reminded of the 'giusti son duo' of *Inf.* VI, 73, and the 'tre men rei della nostra terra' of Canzone IX, 76. The first of the three Lombards is Conrad (Corrado or Currado) da Palazzo, of Brescia, vicar general of Charles of Anjou in Florence in 1276, mayor of Piacenza in 1288. The second is Gherardo da Camino, captain general of Treviso from 1283 to 1306, upon whom Dante incidentally bestows high praise in the *Convivio* (IV, xiv, 114–23). The third, Guido da Castello, of Reggio, is also favorably mentioned in the *Convivio* (IV, xvi, 65–74); Mark says of him that he is most fitly called, 'in the French fashion, the "simple Lombard,"' but we do not know why. To emphasize the fame of the second of the three — to whom, one would think, he must have been bound by ties of personal gratitude — the poet resorts to an ingenious device. Mark refers to him merely as 'the good Gherardo,' and Dante, asking who is meant, calls forth the statement that no Tuscan can be unfamiliar with that name. If any other epithet than 'good' is needed to identify him, the only suitable one is that suggested by the name of his daughter, Gaia — namely, *gaio*, or 'well bred.' He is 'good' and 'well bred'; in other words, an example of 'valore e cortesia' (l. 116).

For the influence of the stars and its limitations, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cxv, Arts. 4 and 6. For a discussion of free will by Boethius, see R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, 299 ff. For the need of double guidance, cf. *Mon.*, III, xvi, 75–101. For Marco Lombardo: *Bull.*, X, 187; Tor., 455. For Gaia: *Giorn. stor.*, XLIII, 411; *Bull.*, XI, 349; and especially G. B. Picotti in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 81.

Buio d' inferno e di notte privata
  D' ogni pianeta sotto pover cielo,
  Quant' esser può di nuvol tenebrata,
Non fece al viso mio sì grosso velo
  Come quel fummo ch' ivi ci coperse, 5
  Nè a sentir di così aspro pelo;

2. *Pover:* 'poor' in fixed stars.
6. *Pelo*, 'texture,' carrying out the figure of the veil:

Chè l' occhio stare aperto non sofferse.
  Onde la Scorta mia saputa e fida
  Mi s' accostò, e l' omero m' offerse.
Sì come cieco va dietro a sua guida 10
  Per non smarrirsi, e per non dar di cozzo
  In cosa che il molesti o forse ancida,
M' andava io per l' aere amaro e sozzo,
  Ascoltando il mio Duca che diceva
  Pur: 'Guarda, che da me tu non sie mozzo.' 15
Io sentia voci, e ciascuna pareva
  Pregar, per pace e per misericordia,
  L' Agnel di Dio, che le peccata leva.
Pure *Agnus Dei* eran le loro esordia.
  Una parola in tutte era ed un modo, 20
  Sì che parea tra esse ogni concordia.
'Quei sono spirti, Maestro, ch' i' odo?'
  Diss' io. Ed egli a me: 'Tu vero apprendi,
  E d' iracondia van solvendo il nodo.'
'Or tu chi se', che il nostro fummo fendi, 25
  E di noi parli pur come se tue
  Partissi ancor lo tempo per calendi?'
Così per una voce detto fue.
  Onde il Maestro mio disse: 'Rispondi,
  E domanda se quinci si va sue.' 30
Ed io: 'O creatura, che ti mondi
  Per tornar bella a colui che ti fece,

13. Cf. *Æn.*, XII, 588: 'fumoque implevit amaro.'
15. *Mozzo*, 'severed.'
19. *Esordia*, 'beginnings': the first words of each verse of the prayer are 'Agnùs Dei.'
20. *Modo*, 'measure.' The souls sing in unison, after the fashion of a Gregorian chant.
26. *Tue* = *tu:* cf. IV, 47. So in l. 30 *sue* = *su*.
27. *Per calendi*, 'by calends,' i. e., after the mortal way. In Dante's time the Florentines still gave the name of 'calends' to the first day of each month.

Maraviglia udirai se mi secondi.'
'Io ti seguiterò quanto mi lece,'
Rispose; 'e se veder fummo non lascia, 35
L' udir ci terrà giunti in quella vece.'
Allora incominciai: 'Con quella fascia
Che la morte dissolve men vo suso,
E venni qui per la infernale ambascia.
E se Dio m' ha in sua grazia richiuso 40
Tanto che vuol ch' io veggia la sua corte
Per modo tutto fuor del modern' uso,
Non mi celar chi fosti anzi la morte,
Ma dilmi, e dimmi s' io vo bene al varco;
E tue parole fien le nostre scorte.' 45
'Lombardo fui, e fui chiamato Marco.
Del mondo seppi, e quel valore amai
Al quale ha or ciascun disteso l' arco.
Per montar su dirittamente vai.'
Così rispose, e soggiunse: 'Io ti prego 50
Che per me preghi, quando su sarai.'
Ed io a lui: 'Per fede mi ti lego
Di far ciò che mi chiedi. Ma io scoppio
Dentro a un dubbio, s' io non me ne spiego.
Prima era scempio, ed ora è fatto doppio 55

33. *Secondi*, 'dost accompany': cf. XXI, 60.
36. *In quella vece*, 'instead': cf. *Inf.* XXI, 10.
37. *Fascia*, 'swathing band': the mortal body.
44. *Dilmi* =*dimmelo*.
47. *Seppi*, 'I learned the ways.'
48. *Disteso l'arco*, 'unbent his bow,' i. e., ceased to aim: once more Dante's favorite metaphor of shooting at a target.
54. Dante represents himself as enveloped in a 'doubt,' which binds him so tight that he will 'burst' if he does not 'extricate' himself from it. He wonders what is the cause of the degeneracy of modern times.
55. When the doubt was first suggested to him by the words of Guido del Duca in XIV, 37-41, it was 'single'; now it is 'doubled' by Marco's 'speech' in l. 48, which assures him of that with which he 'couples it' (namely, Guido's utterance).

Nella sentenza tua, che mi fa certo
(Qui ed altrove) quello ov' io l' accoppio.
Lo mondo è ben così tutto diserto
D' ogni virtute, come tu mi suone,
E di malizia gravido e coperto. 60
Ma prego che n' additi la cagione,
Sì ch' io la veggia, e ch' io la mostri altrui;
Chè nel cielo uno, ed un quaggiù la pone.'
Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in 'hui,'
Mise fuor prima, e poi cominciò: 'Frate, 65
Lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui.
Voi che vivete ogni cagion recate
Pur suso al ciel, così come se tutto
Movesse seco di necessitate.
Se così fosse, in voi fora distrutto 70
Libero arbitrio, e non fora giustizia,
Per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto.
Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia, —
Non dico tutti; ma, posto ch' io il dica,
Lume v' è dato a bene ed a malizia, 75
E libero voler, che, se fatica
Nelle prime battaglie col ciel dura,
Poi vince tutto, se ben si nutrica.
A maggior forza ed a miglior natura

57. *Qui ed altrove:* here in the circle of wrath and down in the circle of envy.
59. *Suone,* 'proclaimest.' Cf. First Epistle of John v, 19: 'the whole world lieth in wickedness.'
63. Note that *il cielo*, here and in ll. 68, 73, 77, means 'the stars.' Some attribute modern wickedness to planetary influence, some to innate human depravity.
64. *Hui,* 'oo,' a soft moan. Cf. V, 27.
70, 71. *Fora* =*sarebbe.*
74. The stars initiate only bodily impulses; they have no control over the will, which belongs, not to the senses, but to the intellect. — *Posto ch' io il dica,* 'supposing I did say so.'
76. *Fatica* is the object of the verb *dura.*
79. The 'greater power and better nature' than the stars is God, who sets the

Liberi soggiacete, e quella cria 80
La mente in voi, che il ciel non ha in sua cura.
Però, se il mondo presente disvia,
In voi è la cagione, in voi si cheggia,
Ed io te ne sarò or vera spia.
Esce di mano a lui che la vagheggia 85
Prima che sia, — a guisa di fanciulla
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia, —
L' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,
Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla. 90
Di picciol bene in pria sente sapore;
Quivi s' inganna, e dietro ad esso corre,
Se guida o fren non torce suo amore.
Onde convenne legge per fren porre;
Convenne rege aver, che discernesse 95
Della vera cittade almen la torre.
Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse?
Nullo; però che il pastor che precede
Ruminar può, ma non ha l' unghie fesse.
Per che la gente, che sua guida vede 100
Pure a quel ben ferire ond' ell' è ghiotta,
Di quel si pasce, e più oltre non chiede.
Ben puoi veder che la mala condotta

will of man in motion and gives it a general inclination toward the good, leaving to man, however, a free choice between real and apparent good.

80. Without God, man can will nothing at all, but the particular object of his will rests with himself. — *Cria* = *crea*.

83. *Cheggia* = *chieda*.

85. The subject of *esce* is *l' anima* in l. 88. — 'He who loves it before it exists' is God.

91. *Picciol*, 'trivial.' — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xii, 140–61.

95, 96. The 'king' should be one who had at least some inkling of justice — 'who could discern at least the tower (the most conspicuous part) of the city of truth.' — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, iv, 62–9.

101. The flock sees its 'shepherd, who walks ahead,' 'snatch only at the kind of good for which it is greedy' — i. e., temporal possessions.

È la cagion che il mondo ha fatto reo,
E non natura che in voi sia corrotta. 105
Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo,
Due Soli aver, che l' una e l' altra strada
Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo.
L' un l' altro ha spento, ed è giunta la spada
Col pastorale; e l' un con l' altro insieme 110
Per viva forza mal convien che vada,
Però che, giunti, l' un l' altro non teme.
Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga,
Ch' ogni erba si conosce per lo seme.
In sul paese ch' Adige e Po riga 115
Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi,
Prima che Federigo avesse briga;
Or può sicuramente indi passarsi
Per qualunque lasciasse per vergogna
Di ragionar coi buoni o d' appressarsi. 120
Ben v' en tre vecchi ancora in cui rampogna
L' antica età la nuova, e par lor tardo
Che Dio a miglior vita li ripogna:
Corrado da Palazzo, e il buon Gherardo,
E Guido da Castel, che me' si noma 125

106. *Feo* = *fece*. — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 60–9.
107. Cf. *Mon.*, III, xvi, 75–82.
109. In 1300 Italy had known no Imperial guidance since the death of Frederick II, fifty years before.
113. *Spiga*, 'ear' of corn, i. e., 'fruit.'
114. *Lo seme:* 'the seed' that it bears. Cf. Mat. vii, 16: 'Ye shall know them by their fruits.' Also Luke vi, 43–4.
115. Lombardy in the Middle Ages included most of northern Italy.
117. Frederick II was at odds with the Church during the first three decades of the 13th century.
118, 119. 'Now anyone can traverse it without apprehension.' For the passive impersonal construction, cf. *Inf.* I, 126. — *Qualunque*, etc., 'anyone who, out of shame, should avoid conversing with the good, or approaching them.'
121. *En* = *enno* = *sono*.
123. *Ripogna* = *riponga:* cf. XIII, 64.
125. *Me'* = *meglio*.

Francescamente il semplice Lombardo.
Di' oggimai che la Chiesa di Roma,
Per confondere in sè due reggimenti,
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.'
'O Marco mio,' diss' io, 'bene argomenti; 130
Ed or discerno perchè da retaggio
Li figli di Levì furono esenti.
Ma qual Gherardo è quel che tu per saggio
Di' ch' è rimaso della gente spenta,
In rimproverio del secol selvaggio?' 135
'O tuo parlar m' inganna o e' mi tenta,'
Rispose a me; 'chè, parlandomi Tosco,
Par che del buon Gherardo nulla senta.
Per altro soprannome io nol conosco,
S' io nol togliessi da sua figlia Gaia. 140
Dio sia con voi, chè più non vegno vosco.
Vedi l' albor che per lo fummo raia
Già biancheggiare, e ne convien partirmi —
L' Angelo è ivi — prima ch' io gli appaia.'
Così tornò, e più non volle udirmi. 145

128. *Per*, 'through.'
132. The 'children of Levi,' or Levites, are the priests. — *Esenti*, 'excluded.' Cf. Numbers xviii, 20: 'And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel.' Also Deut. x, 8–9.
133. *Saggio*, 'example.'
135. Cf. ll. 121–2.
136. *E' mi tenta*, 'it (thy speech) is testing me.'
137. *Tosco* = *toscano*, 'Tuscan.'
138. *Nulla senta*, 'it (thy speech) has no knowledge.'
141. *Vosco* = *con voi*.
142. 'The brightness that beams through the smoke' is the gleam of the white angel.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

A THICK mist in the mountains, gradually clearing until 'the sun's disk' can be faintly discerned — such is the picture which, with a few strokes, Dante sets vividly before us, to convey an idea of the passing of the cloud of smoke on the third terrace. An apostrophe to Imagination, that mysterious power which constructs images within the mind, introduces the examples of wrath, presented in ecstatic visions. At the top of the stairway leading to the next shelf, night overtakes the travellers and compels them to stop. Just as in Hell (*Inf.* XI) the Latin poet utilizes a necessary halt, half way down the abyss, to set forth the general arrangement of the lower world, so here, half way up the slope of Purgatory, he explains to Dante the categories of sin and atonement.

To begin with, the 'seed' of every act in the universe, good or evil, is love. God himself is impelled by love, and none of his creatures is devoid of it. But love is of two kinds, instinctive and elective. Instinctive love — the only kind felt by inanimate things, plants, and beasts — is directly inspired by God, and consequently unerring. Aristotle, in his *Ethics*, III, xi, 3 and 4, taught a similar doctrine. This primal impulse to return to the maker and conform to his law is innate in man also; but man, endowed with free will, has power to divert his love to other objects, good or bad. The elective love, then, is subject to error. As long as it is bent upon heavenly things, it cannot go astray; nor is it harmful when turned to the good things of earth in due measure. But when man is lukewarm in his affection for the divine, or immoderate in his craving for worldly good, and when he loves evil, he misuses his liberty and opposes the will of his creator.

The choice of a bad object, insufficient devotion to a heavenly object, excessive attachment to a temporal object not evil in itself — these are the three wrong courses open to man's love. The first error results in the sins of the spirit, the three vices punished in the three lower circles; the second produces the negative vice of sloth, expiated in the fourth, or middle, circle; the third is responsible for the sins of the flesh, the three vices of the three

upper circles. The last two categories are not further discussed by Virgil, but the first — the love of evil — is treated in detail. At the outset this question arises: what kind of evil can man love, or, in other words, to whom may he wish harm? Having proved that it is impossible to hate one's self, or to hate God, Virgil shows that man is capable of hating his fellow-creatures alone — he may wish harm to his neighbor, but to no one else. Hatred of our neighbor springs up in three ways, and manifests itself accordingly in the three vices of pride, envy, and anger, which are defined in three consecutive tiercets.

For St. Thomas's definitions of pride ('amor propriæ excellentiæ'), envy ('tristitia de alienis bonis'), and anger, see *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxii, Art. 3; Qu. xxxvi, Arts. 2 and 3; Qu. clvi, Art. 4. For envy, cf. *Conv.*, I, iv, 42–56.

Ricorditi, lettor, — se mai nell' alpe
  Ti colse nebbia, per la qual vedessi
  Non altrimenti che per pelle talpe, —
Come, quando i vapori umidi e spessi
  A diradar cominciansi, la spera 5
  Del sol debilemente entra per essi;
E fia la tua imagine leggiera
  In giugnere a veder com' io rividi
  Lo sole in pria, che già nel corcare era.
Sì, pareggiando i miei co' passi fidi 10
  Del mio Maestro, uscii fuor di tal nube
  Ai raggi, morti già nei bassi lidi.
O imaginativa, che ne rube
  Tal volta sì di fuor ch' uom non s' accorge

1. *Alpe*, 'mountains.'
3. According to Aristotle and Mediæval authorities, the eye of the mole is covered by a membrane which prevents it from seeing.
7. *Imagine* means a mental picture, generally derived from visual impression. *Imaginativa* (l. 13) and *fantasia* (l. 25) signify the faculty of receiving such pictures; *imaginazione* is the power of composing them.
10. Cf. XVI, 8–9.
12. The 'shores' of the Island of Purgatory.
13. *Imaginativa:* see note to l. 7. — *Ne rube*, 'stealest us.'
14. *Di fuor*, 'from the outer world.' — *Uom*, 'one': cf. French *on*.

Perchè d' intorno suonin mille tube, 15
Chi move te, se il senso non ti porge?
Moveti lume che nel ciel s' informa
Per sè, o per voler che giù lo scorge?
Dell' empiezza di lei che mutò forma
Nell' uccel che a cantar più si diletta 20
Nell' imagine mia apparve l' orma;
E qui fu la mia mente sì ristretta
Dentro da sè, che di fuor non venia
Cosa che fosse allor da lei recetta.
Poi piovve dentro all' alta fantasia 25
Un crocifisso, dispettoso e fiero
Nella sua vista, e cotal si moria.
Intorno ad esso era il grande Assüero,
Ester sua sposa e il giusto Mardocheo,

15. *Perchè*, 'although.'
16. *Non ti porge*, 'offers thee naught.' What is it that arouses the faculty of mental vision in the case of hallucinations, when no impression of sight comes from without? Is it some physical stellar influence, or the divine will operating through the stars? Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxxiv, Art. 6.
17. *S' informa*, 'takes shape.'
18. *Per sè:* spontaneously. — *Voler:* the 'will' of God. — *Scorge*, 'directs.'
19. The first example is that of Progne (or Procne), who, to avenge the cruel and infamous wrong done by her husband, Tereus, king of Thrace, to her sister Philomela, made him eat of the flesh of his own child, Itys. Tereus and the two sisters were then turned into birds. According to Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, III, 3) and most of the Greeks, Progne became a nightingale and Philomela a swallow; the Latins, followed by modern poets, usually made Philomela the nightingale. But Ovid (*Met.*, VI, 424 ff.), the Latin poet from whom Dante got the story, does not tell, and Virgil (*Eclogue* VI, 79) seems to follow the Greek version, which Dante also adopted. Cf. IX, 13–5. See D' Ovidio, 579–81. — *Dell' empiezza* depends on *l' orma*, 'the impress,' in l. 21.
24. *Recetta* = *ricevuta*.
26. The 'one crucified' is Haman, minister of King Ahasuerus, who 'reigned from India even unto Ethiopia' (Esther i, 1). Enraged at the independence of the Jew, Mordecai, 'so upright in word and deed' (l. 30), who 'bowed not, nor did him reverence' (Esther iii, 5), 'Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom' (v, 6); but through the influence of Esther, Mordecai's cousin and adopted daughter, who had become the wife of Ahasuerus, he was himself 'hanged on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai' (vii, 10). In the Vulgate, the 'gallows fifty cubits high' (vii, 9) is a 'cross.' The scene of the execution is not described in the Bible.

Che fu al dire ed al far così intero. 30
E come questa imagine rompeo
Sè per sè stessa, a guisa d' una bulla
Cui manca l' acqua sotto qual si feo,
Surse in mia visïone una fanciulla,
Piangendo forte, e diceva: 'O regina, 35
Perchè per ira hai voluto esser nulla?
Ancisa t' hai per non perder Lavina —
Or m' hai perduta: io son essa che lutto,
Madre, alla tua pria ch' all' altrui ruïna.'
Come si frange il sonno, ove di butto 40
Nuova luce percote il viso chiuso,
Che fratto guizza pria che moia tutto;
Così l' imaginar mio cadde giuso,
Tosto ch' un lume il volto mi percosse,
Maggiore assai che quel ch' è in nostr' uso. 45
Io mi volgea per vedere ov' io fosse,
Quand' una voce disse: 'Qui si monta,'
Che da ogni altro intento mi rimosse,
E fece la mia voglia tanto pronta
Di riguardar chi era che parlava, 50
Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta.

31. *Rompeo = ruppe.*
32. *Bulla = bolla*, 'bubble': the air that is enclosed in a spherical film of water.
35. The 'queen' is Amata, wife of King Latinus, who hanged herself in a fit of rage on hearing a premature report of the death of Turnus, the intended husband of her daughter Lavinia (cf. *Inf.* IV, 126). She feared that her daughter would be taken from her by the victorious Æneas. See *Æn.* VII, 341 ff.; XII, 604 ff. Cf. Dante, Epistola VII, vii, 148.
37. Such forms as *Lavina* for *Lavinia* were common in early Italian.
39. Lavinia has to 'mourn' the death of her mother before that of Turnus.
40. *Ove di butto* (cf. *Inf.* XXII, 130), 'when suddenly.'
42. *Che guizza*, 'which (i. e., sleep) quivers.'
51. *Se non si raffronta*, 'until it is face to face.' For the abrupt substitution (suggested by the rhyme) of the vivid present tense for the imperfect, cf. XI, 75. — Cf. Giacomo da Lentini, *Madonna dir vi voglio*, ll. 29–30:

'Che [lo cor] giamai non è kito [= cheto]
Fintanto che non vene al suo sentore.'

Ma come al sol, che nostra vista grava
E per soperchio sua figura vela,
Così la mia virtù quivi mancava.
'Questi è divino spirito, che ne la 55
Via d' andar su ne drizza senza prego,
E col suo lume sè medesmo cela.
Sì fa con noi come l' uom si fa sego;
Chè quale aspetta prego, e l' uopo vede,
Malignamente già si mette al nego. 60
Ora accordiamo a tanto invito il piede:
Procacciam di salir pria che s' abbui,
Chè poi non si poria, se il dì non riede.'
Così disse il mio Duca, ed io con lui
Volgemmo i nostri passi ad una scala; 65
E tosto ch' io al primo grado fui,
Senti' mi presso quasi un mover d' ala,
E ventarmi nel viso, e dir: '*Beati*
Pacifici, che son senza ira mala.'
Già eran sopra noi tanto levati 70
Gli ultimi raggi che la notte segue,
Che le stelle apparivan da più lati.
'O virtù mia, perchè sì ti dilegue?'
Fra me stesso dicea, chè mi sentiva
La possa delle gambe posta in tregue. 75

53. *Soverchio*, 'excess.'
55. *Ne la* = *nella:* for the imperfect rhyme, cf. *Inf.* VIII, 17. Petrarch usually spelled such combinations with one *l*. Weak words in the rhyme are rare in Dante.
58. *Sego* = *seco* = *con sè*. Cf. Mat. vii, 12.
59. *Quale*, 'whosoever.' — *Uopo*, 'need.' — The logical order of the two clauses is inverted.
60. *Nego*, 'refusal.' Cf. Canzone XII, 39: 'E quei d'ogni mercè par messo al niego.'
63. *Poria* = *potrebbe*.
67. Cf. XII, 98. The third letter is removed from Dante's brow.
68, 69. Mat. v, 9: 'Blessed are the peacemakers.'
73. *Virtù*, 'strength.' — *Ti dilegue*, 'meltest thou.'
75. *Posta in tregue*, 'suspended.'

Noi eravam dove più non saliva
  La scala su, ed eravamo affissi,
  Pur come nave ch' alla piaggia arriva.
Ed io attesi un poco s' io udissi
  Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone; 80
  Poi mi volsi al Maestro mio, e dissi:
'Dolce mio Padre, di', quale offensione
  Si purga qui nel giro dove semo?
  Se i piè si stanno, non stea tuo sermone.'
Ed egli a me: 'L' amor del bene, scemo 85
  Di suo dover, quiritta si ristora,
  Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo.
Ma perchè più aperto intendi ancora,
  Volgi la mente a me, e prenderai
  Alcun buon frutto di nostra dimora. 90
Nè creator, nè creatura mai,'
  Cominciò ei, 'figliuol, fu senza amore,
  O naturale o d' animo; e tu il sai.
Lo natural è sempre senza errore;
  Ma l' altro puote errar per malo obbietto 95
  O per poco o per troppo di vigore.
Mentre ch' egli è ne' primi ben diretto,
  E ne' secondi sè stesso misura,
  Esser non può cagion di mal diletto;

77. *Affissi*, 'fixed.'
83. *Semo* = *siamo*.
84. *Stea* = *stia*.
85, 86. 'The love of right, diminished of its due (i. e., less than it should be), is here made good.' The sin punished is *acedia*, or sloth.
87. *Si ribatte*, 'is plied again.'
93. *D' animo*, 'of the will,' elective.
97. *Ne' primi ben diretto*, 'turned to the primal goods,' i. e., heavenly blessings.
98. 'And while it is moderate in its attachment to secondary goods,' i. e., worldly blessings.
99. *Mal diletto*, 'sinful pleasure.'

Ma quando al mal si torce, o con più cura 100
O con men che non dee corre nel bene,
Contra il fattore adopra sua fattura.
Quinci comprender puoi ch' esser conviene
Amor sementa in voi d' ogni virtute
E d' ogni operazion che merta pene. 105
Or perchè mai non può dalla salute
Amor del suo suggetto volger viso,
Dall' odio proprio son le cose tute.
E perchè intender non si può diviso,
E per sè stante, alcuno esser dal primo, 110
Da quello odiare ogni affetto è deciso.
Resta (se dividendo bene estimo)
Che il mal che s' ama è del prossimo, ed esso
Amor nasce in tre modi in vostro limo.
È chi per esser suo vicin soppresso 115
Spera eccellenza, e sol per questo brama
Ch' e ' sia di sua grandezza in basso messo.
È chi podere, grazia, onore e fama
Teme di perder perch' altri sormonti,

100, 101. *O con più cura*, etc.: when it runs to worldly good with more ardor, or to heavenly good with less ardor, than it should.

102. *Adopra*, 'is working': the subject is *sua fattura*, 'his own creature.'

106, 107. 'Now, since love can never avert its gaze from the welfare of its own subject,' i. e., can never be hostile to the interest of the person in whose heart it dwells.

108. 'Things are safe (i. e., exempt) from self-hate': we cannot hate ourselves. Cf. Ephesians v, 29: 'For no man ever yet hated his own flesh.'

109, 110. 'And since no being can be conceived of as severed from the primal being and existing independently.' Cf. Acts xvii, 28: 'For in him [the Lord] we live, and move, and have our being.'

111. 'Every heart is debarred from hating him.' It is impossible to hate God, in whom we exist. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xii, 138-57.

112. 'It follows, if I judge rightly in my distinctions.' *Resta* is used like the scholastic *relinquitur* or *restat*.

114. *In vostro limo*, 'in your (mortal) clay.'

115, 116. 'There is the man who hopes to excel through his neighbor being crushed down,' i. e., 'by the abasement of his neighbor.'

117. *E'* is the neighbor.

119. *Perch' altri sormonti*, 'because another may rise,' i. e., 'through another's success.'

Onde s' attrista sì che il contrario ama. 120
Ed è chi per ingiuria par ch' adonti
Sì che si fa della vendetta ghiotto;
E tal convien che il male altrui impronti.
Questo triforme amor quaggiù disotto
Si piange; or vo' che tu dell' altro intende, 125
Che corre al ben con ordine corrotto.
Ciascun confusamente un bene apprende,
Nel qual si queti l' animo, e disira;
Per che di giugner lui ciascun contende.
Se lento amore in lui veder vi tira, 130
O a lui acquistar, questa cornice,
Dopo giusto penter, ve ne martira.
Altro ben è che non fa l' uom felice;
Non è felicità, non è la buona
Essenza, d' ogni ben frutto e radice. 135
L' amor ch' ad esso troppo s' abbandona
Di sopra noi si piange per tre cerchi;
Ma come tripartito si ragiona,
Tacciolo, acciocchè tu per te ne cerchi.'

120. *Il contrario:* 'the contrary' of another's success.
121. *Adonti*, 'is shamed': cf. *Inf.* VI, 72.
123. *Impronti*, 'prepares.'
124. *Quaggiù disotto:* in the three circles below us.
125. *Altro*, sc., *amor*. — *Intende* = *intenda*.
126. *Con ordine corrotto*, 'in perverted measure': too sluggishly toward heavenly good, too eagerly toward worldly good.
127. *Apprende*, 'conceives of.'
128. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, I, i: 'Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.' — *Disira*, 'he longs for it.'
130. *In lui veder*, 'to behold it.'
133. *Altro ben è*, 'there is a different kind of good.'
135. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. vi, Art. 3: 'solus Deus est bonus per suam essentiam.'
138. *Si ragiona*, 'it is expounded.'
139. *Tacciolo*, 'I withhold it,' i. e., 'I tell thee not.'

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

Acedia is defined by St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxiii, Art. 2) as 'a certain sadness by which man is made slow to spiritual acts on account of physical difficulty.' Elsewhere (Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xxxv, Art. 1) he calls it 'weariness of doing,' and 'sorrow over apparent ill which is real good.' Throughout the Middle Ages it was regarded as a capital vice. In our day we should be likely to attribute its most characteristic manifestations to a disease, melancholia or neurasthenia. To Dante, as we have seen, it meant a spiritual sluggishness due to insufficiency of love. The cure must obviously be enforced spiritual activity, and consequently the souls in the fourth circle are represented as rushing at the top of their speed around their ledge, filled with righteous zeal. Dante takes no part in the penance. The examples on this terrace are recited by the penitents themselves, two at the head of the band proclaiming instances of celerity, two at the rear calling tales of sloth. Startling is the swiftness with which the whole throng comes and goes.

When the spirits appear, the moon is newly risen. Not far from the horizon, but already 'making the stars seem fewer,' its half-disk looks like a red-hot kettle. The moon, in its monthly circuit around the earth, moves from west to east, and therefore passes through the constellations, night after night, in a direction opposite to the general course of the heavens. The annual march of the sun, too, is backward — not directly, however, but diagonally, as Dante points out in *Conv.*, III, v, 126–30. When he speaks of the moon as 'running contrary to the sky' (l. 79), he refers to this continuous backing, not to any motion visible to an observer in a single night. The moon's revolution is accomplished in a little less than twenty-eight days. On its fourteenth day, or thereabouts, it is full, and rises at sunset; on or near its twenty-first day it enters into its last quarter, when it rises at midnight. Inasmuch as the moon was full on the night when Dante was lost in the wood (*Inf.* XX, 127–9), it has now reached its eighteenth or nineteenth day, and is 'delayed' in its rising 'almost until midnight' (l. 76). Furthermore, it is moving 'over that road which the sun kindles

at the time of year when the Roman sees it (the sun) set between Sardinia and Corsica' (ll. 79–81). That is to say, the moon is now in that part of the sky where the sun is to be found at the season when a line drawn from Rome toward sunset would pass between Sardinia and Corsica. Of course the Roman cannot really see the two islands; he merely perceives the sun disappearing in that direction. Now, such a line points nearly west-southwest, the quarter where the sun, as seen from Rome, descends toward the end of November; and at that time the sun is in Sagittarius. Against this constellation, then, the moon shows itself to Dante as it rises.

The time before the arrival of the spirits is employed by Virgil to expound to his pupil the doctrine of love (which, as he has already stated, is the motive power of the whole universe) and of free will. But inasmuch as the full comprehension of free will transcends mere Reason, the teacher must leave the completion of his exposition to Beatrice, who, in fact, discusses the subject in *Par.* V, 19 ff. In every soul, from its creation, love is latent, ready to be aroused to activity by a pleasing object. This theory we find already formulated by Dante — as far as the love of gentleman and lady is concerned — in the tenth sonnet of the *Vita Nuova, Amor e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa.* The senses convey to the mind the impression of some attractive object in the material world; the understanding then develops this impression in such a way that it is brought to the notice of the will, which may or may not lean toward the object in question. Or, in Dante's words, 'the human perception derives from a real being (*esser verace*, l. 22) a conception (*intenzione*, l. 23), and unfolds it within the mind, so that it makes the desire turn towards it; and if, having thus turned, the desire inclines to it, that inclination is love.' This definition follows that of St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xxvi. The process is illustrated in dramatic form by Dante in Canzone XI, ll. 16–36, where it is especially interesting to compare the 'colà dov' ella è vera' of l. 35 with the 'esser verace' of the present passage. The poet adds that this inclination is the natural human instinct (*natura*, l. 26), which, through a pleasing impression (*piacer*, l. 27), is once more bound in the soul. Before it is awakened to action, it is 'bound,' because it exists only in a potential state; after it is quickened and fixed, it is 'bound' again, in the sense that it is restricted to one object. Passion, according to St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxvii, Art. 2), is a sort of bodily modification which 'binds' the reason. The captive will, then, is moved to desire, and has no rest until it attains its object. This motion of

the will is as natural, in the spiritual world, as, in the physical universe, the upward tendency of the flame, which is constantly striving to regain the sphere of fire, where its element is eternal. It is the 'form,' or character, of fire to rise, as it is the 'form' of the soul to love.

From the principle that love, in the abstract, is a general craving for good the Epicureans have deduced the conclusion that all love is, in itself, praiseworthy; but they overlook the fact that the especial object of desire may be evil, possessing only a false semblance of goodness. Even as a poor seal may stamp on excellent wax a bad imprint, so an unworthy object may kindle the good instinct of love to a wrongful passion. The first impulse to a particular affection comes from without, and is therefore not under our control; nevertheless, we are responsible, because we have the inborn knowledge of good and evil, and the free will to take or reject. 'Every substantial form,' says Dante in ll. 49–51, 'which is distinct from matter and yet combined with it, has, appropriated to itself, a specific faculty.' A 'substance,' in scholastic language, is something that has an independent being (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. iii, Art. 5); the 'form' is the fundamental character of a thing; 'substantial form' (cf. *Conv.*, III, ii, 25) means the particular basic principle, that which gives an object its separate existence (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 4), and the substantial form of mankind is the intellective soul, which is utterly different from matter, and yet is united with it in the human body. A 'specific faculty' is one that is common and peculiar to a whole species. The specific faculty possessed by the intellective soul of man is an instinct which comprises innate knowledge and the inborn disposition to love. This instinct is apparent only through its works, just as in a plant life manifests itself by green leaves. Hence we are not aware of the source of our axiomatic notions, nor of our natural inclination toward all that seems good: these things are a part of us, as the honey-making proclivity is a part of the bee. Since they are not of our own begetting, they call for neither praise nor blame. This God-given instinct is necessarily innocent; we must see to it that the inclinations which we do control are equally harmless. To this end we have judgment, — 'the faculty that counsels' (l. 62), — which 'defends the threshold of consent.' Judgment tells us which desires are right and which are wrong; and although our first impulses may always take us unawares, our decisions are subject to our own free will.

For the position of the moon, see Moore, III, 71–3.

Posto avea fine al suo ragionamento
L' alto Dottore, ed attento guardava
Nella mia vista s' io parea contento.
Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,
Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea: 'Forse 5
Lo troppo domandar, ch' io fo, gli grava.'
Ma quel padre verace, che s' accorse
Del timido voler che non s' apriva,
Parlando, di parlare ardir mi porse.
Ond' io: 'Maestro, il mio veder s' avviva 10
Sì nel tuo lume ch' io discerno chiaro
Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva.
Però ti prego, dolce Padre caro,
Che mi dimostri amore, a cui riduci
Ogni buono operare e il suo contraro.' 15
'Drizza,' disse, 'ver me l' acute luci
Dello intelletto, e fieti manifesto
L' error dei ciechi che si fanno duci.
L' animo, ch' è creato ad amar presto,
Ad ogni cosa è mobile che piace, 20
Tosto che dal piacere in atto è desto.
Vostra apprensiva da esser verace
Tragge intenzione, e dentro a voi la spiega
Sì che l' animo ad essa volger face.
E se, rivolto, in ver di lei si piega, 25

12. *Ragion*, 'explanation.'
16. *Luci*, 'eyes.'
17. *Fieti* = *ti sarà*.
18. Cf. ll. 34–6. — Mat. xv, 14: 'they be blind leaders of the blind.'
19. *Presto*, 'ready.'
20. *Mobile*, 'susceptible.'
22. *Apprensiva*, 'perception.' — *Esser verace*, 'a real thing': a curious use of *verace*. Tor. reads *essa, verace*, referring *essa* to *cosa* (l. 20), and connecting *verace* with *intenzione* (l. 23).
23. *Intenzione*, 'image,' abstract conception: cf. *Conv.*, III, ix, 70. See *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 96.

Quel piegare è amor, quello è natura
Che per piacer di nuovo in voi si lega.
Poi come il foco movesi in altura, —
Per la sua forma, ch' è nata a salire
Là dove più in sua materia dura, — 30
Così l' animo preso entra in disire,
Ch' è moto spiritale, e mai non posa
Fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire.
Or ti puote apparer quant' è nascosa
La veritade alla gente ch' avvera 35
Ciascuno amore in sè laudabil cosa;
Però che forse appar la sua matera
Sempr' esser buona, ma non ciascun segno
E buono, ancor che buona sia la cera.'
'Le tue parole e il mio seguace ingegno,' 40
Risposi lui, 'm' hanno amor discoperto;
Ma ciò m' ha fatto di dubbiar più pregno.
Chè s' amore è di fuori a noi cfferto,
E l' anima non va con altro piede,
Se dritta o torta va, non è suo merto.' 45
Ed egli a me: 'Quanto ragion qui vede
Dirti poss' io; da indi in là t' aspetta
Pure a Beatrice, ch' opera è di fede.

27. *Per*, 'through.'
28. *Met.*, XV, 243: 'Alta petunt aer atque aere purior ignis.' Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, II, i, 2.
31. *Preso*, 'captivated.' — *Disire*, 'desire.'
32, 33. Cf. XVII, 51. See *Conv.*, III, ii, 17-23.
35. *Avvera*, 'maintains.'
36. Cf. Matfre Ermengau, *Breviari d' Amor*, 27311-2:

'Digam donc que l'amors en se
Es bona, qui n' uzara be.'

37. *Matera* = *materia:* cf. *Lavina* in XVII, 37.
44. *Non va con altro piede*, 'proceeds not otherwise.'
46. 'As much as reason can discern here (i. e., in this matter).'
47. *Da indi in là*, 'for the rest.'

Ogni forma sustanzïal che setta
  È da materia ed è con lei unita, 50
  Specifica virtù ha in sè colletta,
La qual senza operar non è sentita,
  Nè si dimostra ma' che per effetto,
  Come per verdi fronde in pianta vita.
Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto 55
  Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape,
  Nè de' primi appetibili l' affetto,
Che sono in voi, sì come studio in ape
  Di far lo mele; e questa prima voglia
  Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape. 60
Or, perchè a questa ogni altra si raccoglia,
  Innata v' è la virtù che consiglia,
  E dell' assenso de' tener la soglia.
Quest' è il principio, là onde si piglia
  Ragion di meritare in voi, secondo 65
  Che buoni e rei amori accoglie e viglia.
Color che ragionando andaro al fondo
  S' accorser d' esta innata libertate,

49. *Setta*, 'parted,' i. e., 'distinct.'
50. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 4: 'Anima intellectiva unitur corpori ut forma substantialis.'
51. *Colletta*, 'gathered.'
53. *Ma' che*, 'except.' *Ma'* means 'more.'
55. *Là onde*, 'whence.' — *Intelletto*, 'cognition.'
56. *Prime notizie*, 'primal ideas': the things that appear as axiomatic truths. — *Sape* = *sa*.
57. 'Nor the liking for the primal objects of desire,' i. e., goodness and happiness.
58. *Studio*, 'eagerness.'
60. *Merto . . . non cape*, 'admits of no desert.' So *Conv.*, III, iv, 52–61. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lx, Art. 2.
61. 'Now, in order that every other (wish) may conform to this (primal wish),' which is instinctively good. — Cf. *Mon.*, I, xii, 1–37.
63. 'And must defend the threshold of consent.'
64. *Principio*, 'source.' — *Si piglia*, 'is derived.'
66. *Viglia*, 'winnows out,' discards.
67. 'Those' are the philosophers.

Però moralità lasciaro al mondo.
Onde, pognam che di necessitate 70
Surga ogni amor che dentro a voi s' accende,
Di ritenerlo è in voi la potestate.
La nobile virtù Beatrice intende
Per lo libero arbitrio, e però guarda
Che l' abbi a mente, s' a parlar ten prende.' — 75
La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda,
Facea le stelle a noi parer più rade,
Fatta com' un secchione che tutto arda;
E correa contra il ciel per quelle strade
Che il sole infiamma allor che quel da Roma 80
Tra i Sardi e i Corsi il vede quando cade.
E quell' ombra gentil, per cui si noma
Pietola più che villa Mantovana,
Del mio carcar deposto avea la soma.
Per ch' io, che la ragione aperta e piana 85
Sopra le mie questioni avea ricolta,
Stava com' uom che sonnolento vana.
Ma questa sonnolenza mi fu tolta
Subitamente da gente, che dopo
Le nostre spalle a noi era già volta. 90
E quale Ismeno già vide ed Asopo
Lungo di sè di notte furia e calca, —

69. *Lasciaro*, 'allowed.'
70. *Pognam* = *poniamo*, 'supposing.'
73. *La*, 'this.' — *Intende*, 'means.'
75. *S' a parlar ten prende*, 'if she proceeds to speak to thee of it.'
78. *Secchione:* a pot-shaped metal bucket.
82. *Per cui*, 'on whose account.' Virgil was born at Andes, now called Piètola, near Mantua.
84. 'Had put off the burden of my loading (i. e., with which I had loaded him),' had discharged the duty I had set him.
87. *Vana*, 'lets his mind wander.'
91. Ismēnus and Asōpus are rivers in Bœotia, near Thebes, the birthplace of Bacchus.
92. *Quale* (l. 91) . . . *furia e calca*, 'such a rush and throng as . . . ': the Bacchic orgies. Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, IX, 434 ff.

Pur che i Teban di Bacco avesser uopo, —
Cotal per quel giron suo passo falca
(Per quel ch' io vidi) di color, venendo, 95
Cui buon volere e giusto amor cavalca.
Tosto fur sopra noi, perchè correndo
Si movea tutta quella turba magna.
E due dinanzi gridavan piangendo:
'Maria corse con fretta alla montagna;' 100
E, 'Cesare, per soggiogare Ilerda,
Punse Marsilia, e poi corse in Ispagna.'
'Ratto, ratto, che il tempo non si perda
Per poco amor,' gridavan gli altri appresso;
'Che studio di ben far grazia rinverda.' 105
'O gente, in cui fervore acuto adesso
Ricompie forse negligenza e indugio,
Da voi per tepidezza in ben far messo,
Questi che vive (e certo io non vi bugio)
Vuole andar su, purchè il sol ne riluca; 110
Però ne dite ov' è presso il pertugio.'
Parole furon queste del mio Duca.
Ed un di quegli spirti disse: 'Vieni
Diretro a noi, e troverai la buca.
Noi siam di voglia a moverci sì pieni 115

93. *Pur che*, 'whenever.'
94. 'Such (a throng) bends its way around that circle.'
95. *Per*, 'judging from.'
96. *Cui*, 'whom.' — *Cavalca*, 'drives.'
98. *Magna*, 'great.'
100. Luke i, 39: 'And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste,' to see Elizabeth.
101. *Ilerda*, Lerida, a city in Spain, held by the adherents of Pompey. Cf. *Phars.*, III, 453-5; also, for the general swiftness of Cæsar's movements, I, 151-7.
102. Cæsar began the siege of Marseilles, and then, leaving it to a lieutenant, hastened on to Spain. Cf. Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, VI, xv.
105. 'So that eagerness in welldoing may renew grace.'
107. *Ricompie*, 'compensates for.'
109. *Bugio*, 'lie.'
110. *Purchè*, 'as soon as.'

Che ristar non potem; però perdona,
Se villania nostra giustizia tieni.
Io fui Abate in San Zeno a Verona,
Sotto lo imperio del buon Barbarossa,
Di cui dolente ancor Milan ragiona. 120
E tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa,
Che tosto piangerà quel monastero,
E tristo fia d' averne avuto possa;
Perchè suo figlio, mal del corpo intero,
E della mente peggio, e che mal nacque, 125
Ha posto in loco di suo pastor vero.'
Io non so se più disse, o s' ei si tacque,
Tant' era già di là da noi trascorso;
Ma questo intesi, e ritener mi piacque.
E quei che m' era ad ogni uopo soccorso 130
Disse: 'Volgiti in qua, vedine due
Venire, dando all' accidia di morso.'
Diretro a tutti dicean: 'Prima fue
Morta la gente a cui il mar s' aperse,
Che vedesse Jordan le rede sue;' 135
E, 'Quella che l' affanno non sofferse

117. 'If thou takest our retribution for rudeness.'

118. We know nothing of this abbot of the monastery of St. Zeno.

120. *Ragiona*, 'speaks.' The Emperor Barbarossa destroyed Milan in 1162.

121. *Tale*, 'a certain man': Alberto della Scala, lord of Verona, who died in 1301.

123. *Possa*, 'control.'

124. *Suo figlio* is object of *ha posto* (l. 126). Giuseppe della Scala, the illegitimate son of Alberto, was abbot of St. Zeno from 1292 to 1313. — *Mal . . . intero*, 'defective.' In Levit. xxi, 16–23, 'whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish' is excluded from divine office.

126. *Suo*, 'its.' — *Vero:* lawful.

132. *Dando . . . di morso*, 'biting.'

133, 134, 135. The Hebrews who had crossed the Red Sea were sluggish and rebellious, and all perished, except Caleb and Joshua, before the Promised Land was reached. Cf. Numbers xiv, 16–33; Joshua v, 6.

136. *Quella:* sc., *gente*. Some of Æneas's companions, weary of hardship, stayed behind in Sicily with Acestes. See *Æn.*, V, 700–78; especially l. 751: 'animos nil magnæ laudis egentes.'

Fino alla fine col figliuol d' Anchise,
Sè stessa a vita senza gloria offerse.'
Poi quando fur da noi tanto divise
Quell' ombre che veder più non potersi, 140
Nuovo pensiero dentro a me si mise,
Del qual più altri nacquero e diversi;
E tanto d' uno in altro vaneggiai
Che gli occhi per vaghezza ricopersi,
E il pensamento in sogno trasmutai. 145

140. *Potersi = si poterono.*
144. *Vaghezza*, 'wool-gathering.'

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

DANTE'S sojourn in the realm of sloth occurs at night, the time when activity is suspended, and he tarries there much longer than in the other circles. In these coincidences we are to see, no doubt, an artistic rather than a symbolic relevancy. Here, in the prophetic hour that precedes dawn, he has the second of his three allegorical dreams. This one reveals to him the true nature of the sins of the flesh, whose penitent victims he is to visit during the ensuing day; at the same time it illustrates, in concrete, dramatic form, the doctrine of temptation, discretion, and resistance expounded in the foregoing canto (XVIII, 49-66). A hideous, impotent female — stammering, cross-eyed, handless, club-footed, pale — is gradually transformed, as Dante looks on her, into a siren of perilous beauty; thus evil desire, hateful and powerless at first, becomes alluring if we let our minds dwell upon it. While the poet is listening to the sweet voice of the temptress, a 'lady quick and holy' springs up to confound her. This heaven-sent counsellor (the 'virtù che consiglia' of XVIII, 62) arouses Reason; and he, gazing steadfastly on this pure image of Conscience, never allowing his eyes to stray to the dangerous charms of the deceiver, discloses to the shocked dreamer the real foulness of her who has so attracted him. Even so, in one of the tales of Cæsarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, XII, ch. iv), a sweet-voiced cleric, who has bewitched all by his song, collapses, when exorcised, into a putrid corpse.

The myth of the sirens had survived in mediæval folklore and literature. Hugh of St. Victor, for instance, in *De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus*, II, ch. xxxii, likens dissolute men, in the devil's clutches, to sailors lulled and killed by sirens. Dante's siren boasts that she once 'turned Ulysses from his wandering way.' While this is allegorically true, — since Ulysses was led into forbidden seas by his eagerness to have experience of 'human vices and virtue' (*Inf.* XXVI, 97-9), — it is not literally in accordance with Homer's narrative. Dante had never read the *Odyssey*, and probably got his knowledge of the episode from a passage in Cicero (*De Finibus*, V, xviii, 49), which, taken by itself, might easily give the impression that Ulysses succumbed.

The worst of the sins of the flesh is avarice, which, in Purgatory as in Hell (*Inf.* VII), is coupled with the contrary vice of prodigality. Both hoarding and squandering consist, when reduced to their underlying principle, in immoderateness with regard to property; the virtue opposed to both is moderation, the golden mean between the two extremes. But while Dante, for theoretical reasons, insists on this combination, he evidently centres his attention on avarice in his description of penance and penitents. Those whose eyes were fixed on vile earthly goods must lie with their faces in the dust; those who eschewed useful activity are now tight bound and motionless. Allegorically the discipline signifies the averting of the mind from worldly things and the humble renunciation of glory and power. As love of money has much in common with envy, so there is a resemblance between the punishments in the second circle (XIII) and the fifth, which Dante now enters.

Nell' ora che non può il calor diurno
  Intepidar più il freddo della luna,
  Vinto da terra o talor da Saturno, —
Quando i geomanti lor *maggior fortuna*
  Veggiono in orïente, innanzi all' alba, 5
  Surger per via che poco le sta bruna, —
Mi venne in sogno una femmina balba,
  Negli occhi guercia e sopra i piè distorta,
  Con le man monche, e di colore scialba.
Io la mirava; e, come il sol conforta 10
  Le fredde membra che la notte aggrava,

1, 2, 3. The coldest hour is just before dawn. The earth itself was regarded as naturally cold, and a chill was supposed to descend from the moon, as well as from Saturn when it is above the horizon (cf. *Conv.*, II, xiv, 201; Canzone XV, 7).

4. 'Geomancers' foretold the future by means of figures constructed on points that were distributed by chance. One of their figures, called *fortuna major*, or 'greater fortune,' resembled a combination of the last stars of Aquarius and the first of Pisces. As these constellations immediately precede Aries, in which the sun is from March 21 to April 21, the figure in question can be seen in the east shortly before sunrise at that season.

6. The 'road' by which *fortuna major* rises is 'kept dark for it only a little while,' because the sun, following close after, makes the stars fade.

11. *Aggrava*, 'benumbs.'

Così lo sguardo mio le facea scorta
La lingua, e poscia tutta la drizzava
In poco d' ora, e lo smarrito volto,
Come amor vuol, così le colorava. 15
Poi ch' ell' avea il parlar così disciolto,
Cominciava a cantar sì che con pena
Da lei avrei mio intento rivolto.
'Io son,' cantava, 'io son dolce Sirena,
Che i marinari in mezzo mar dismago — 20
Tanto son di piacere a sentir piena.
Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago
Al canto mio; e qual meco si aüsa
Rado sen parte, sì tutto l' appago.'
Ancor non era sua bocca richiusa, 25
Quando una donna apparve santa e presta,
Lunghesso me, per far colei confusa.
'O Virgilio, o Virgilio, chi è questa?'
Fieramente diceva; ed ei venia
Con gli occhi fitti pure in quella onesta. 30
L' altra prendeva, e dinanzi l' apria
Fendendo i drappi, e mostravami il ventre;
Quel mi svegliò col puzzo che n' uscia.
Io mossi gli occhi, e il buon Maestro: 'Almen tre
Voci t' ho messe,' dicea. 'Surgi e vieni! 35
Troviam la porta per la qual tu entre.'

12. *Scorta*, 'nimble.'
14. *Smarrito*, 'wan.'
18. *Intento*, 'attention.'
20. *Dismago*, 'unnerve': cf. *Inf.* XXV, 146.
21. *Sentir*, 'hear.'
23. *Qual*, 'whosoever.' — *Si aûsa*, 'abides.'
27. *Lunghesso*, 'close beside': cf. IV, 27; *Inf.* XXIII, 54.
32. Cf. Ezekiel xvi, 37: 'I will . . . discover thy nakedness (*ignominiam*) unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness (*turpitudinem*).'
34. Note the curious rhyme.
35. *Voci*, 'calls.' — *Messe*, 'sent forth.'

Su mi levai, e tutti eran già pieni
  Dell' alto dì i giron del sacro monte,
  Ed andavam col sol nuovo alle reni.
Seguendo lui, portava la mia fronte 40
  Come colui che l' ha di pensier carca,
  Che fa di sè un mezzo arco di ponte,
Quand' io udi': 'Venite, qui si varca,'
  Parlare in modo soave e benigno,
  Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca. 45
Con l' ali aperte che parean di cigno,
  Volseci in su colui che sì parlonne,
  Tra' due pareti del duro macigno.
Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne,
  Qui lugent affermando esser beati, 50
  Ch' avran di consolar l' anime donne.
'Che hai, che pure in ver la terra guati?'
  La Guida mia incominciò a dirmi,
  Poco ambedue dall' Angel sormontati.
Ed io: 'Con tanta suspizion fa irmi 55
  Novella visïon ch' a sè mi piega,
  Sì ch' io non posso dal pensar partirmi.'
'Vedesti,' disse, 'quella antica strega,
  Che sola sopra noi omai si piagne?
  Vedesti come l' uom da lei si slega? 60

39. The poets are now on the north side of the mountain, walking toward the west.
47. *Parlonne = ci parlò.*
48. The 'two walls of hard rock' enclose the stairway cut into the cliff.
49. *Ventilonne = ci ventilò.* Thus one more *P* is effaced from Dante's brow.
50. 'Declaring *them that mourn* to be blessed.'
51. 'Who shall have their souls mistresses (i. e., possessed) of comfort' — a clumsy periphrasis of Mat. v, 4: 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' This beatitude is here interpreted as a praise of those who, unlike the slothful, have the courage to face pain.
54. *Amendue . . . sormontati,* 'when both of us had climbed.'
55. *Fa irmi = mi fa ire.*
59. *Sopra noi:* in the three upper circles.

Bastiti, e batti a terra le calcagne!
Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro che gira
Lo Rege eterno con le rote magne.'
Quale il falcon che prima ai piè si mira,
Indi si volge al grido, e si protende 65
Per lo disio del pasto che là il tira,
Tal mi fec' io, e tal, quanto si fende
La roccia per dar via a chi va suso,
N' andai infino ove il cerchiar si prende.
Com' io nel quinto giro fui dischiuso, 70
Vidi gente per esso che piangea,
Giacendo a terra tutta volta in giuso.
'*Adhæsit pavimento anima mea!*'
Senti' dir lor con sì alti sospiri
Che la parola appena s' intendea. 75
'O eletti di Dio, li cui soffriri
E giustizia e speranza fan men duri,
Drizzate noi verso gli alti saliri.'
'Se voi venite dal giacer sicuri,
E volete trovar la via più tosto, 80
Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi.'
Così pregò il Poeta, e sì risposto
Poco dinanzi a noi ne fu; per ch' io
Nel parlare avvisai l' altro nascosto,
E volsi gli occhi allora al Signor mio; 85

63. The 'lure' of 'the great wheels' is the uplifting influence of the revolving heavens. Cf. XIV, 148–50.
69. *Il cerchiar si prende,* 'the circuit is reached.' Dante climbs to the fifth terrace, the circle of avarice and prodigality.
73. Ps. cxix (Vulg. cxviii), 25: 'My soul cleaveth unto the dust.'
78. *Saliri,* 'ascents.'
81. *Furi = fuori.* To keep their right hands on the outer side of the cornice, the poets must walk, as usual, to the right.
84. *Nel parlare,* 'by his speech.' — The speaker's face, turned to the ground, cannot be seen.

Ond' egli m' assentì con lieto cenno
Ciò che chiedea la vista del disio.
Poi ch' io potei di me fare a mio senno,
Trassimi sopra quella creatura,
Le cui parole pria notar mi fenno, 90
Dicendo: 'Spirto, in cui pianger matura
Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi,
Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura.
Chi fosti, e perchè volti avete i dossi
Al su, mi di', e se vuoi ch' io t' impetri 95
Cosa di là ond' io vivendo mossi.'
Ed egli a me: 'Perchè i nostri diretri
Rivolga il cielo a sè, saprai; ma prima
Scias quod ego fui successor Petri.
Intra Siestri e Chiàveri si adima 100
Una fiumana bella, e del suo nome
Lo titol del mio sangue fa sua cima.
Un mese e poco più prova' io come
Pesa il gran manto a chi dal fango il guarda,
Che piuma sembran tutte l' altre some. 105
La mia conversïone, omè! fu tarda;
Ma come fatto fui Roman Pastore,
Così scopersi la vita bugiarda.
Vidi che lì non si quetava il core,

87. *Vista*, 'look.'
92. 'That without which one cannot return to God' is the fruit of repentance.
97. *Diretri*, 'after part.'
99. 'Know that I was a successor of Peter.' The language of the Church is appropriate in the mouth of a Pope, and the majestic Latin emphasizes, by contrast, his present humiliation. The speaker is Adrian V, of the Fieschi family of Genoa, who held the Papal office for 38 days in 1276.
101. The Lavagna 'descends' into the Gulf of Genoa between the towns of Sestri and Chiaveri. The Fieschi were counts of Lavagna; the name of the river was the 'pinnacle' of their title.
108. 'Then I discovered how false life is.'
109. *Lì:* even in the Papal chair, beyond which no man can climb on earth.

Nè pìu salir poteasi in quella vita; 110
Per che di questa in me s' accese amore.
Fino a quel punto misera e partita
Da Dio anima fui, del tutto avara.
Or, come vedi, qui ne son punita.
Quel ch' avarizia fa, qui si dichiara 115
In purgazion dell' anime converse;
E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.
Sì come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse
In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,
Così giustizia qui a terra il merse. 120
Come avarizia spense a ciascun bene
Lo nostro amore, onde operar perdèsi,
Così giustizia qui stretti ne tiene
Ne' piedi e nelle man legati e presi;
E quanto fia piacer del giusto Sire, 125
Tanto staremo immobili e distesi.'
Io m' era inginocchiato, e volea dire;
Ma com' io cominciai, ed ei s' accorse,
Solo ascoltando, del mio riverire:
'Qual cagion,' disse, 'in giù così ti torse?' 130
Ed io a lui: 'Per vostra dignitate
Mia coscïenza dritto mi rimorse.'
'Drizza le gambe, levati su, frate!'

111. *Questa:* the eternal life.
113. *Del tutto*, 'wholly.'
117. *Più amara*, i. e., more humiliating: cf. *Inf.* VI, 48. The wickedness of avarice is shown by the severity of the penance of the 'converted souls.'
118. *Aderse* (from *adergere*), 'lifted.'
120. *Merse* (from *mergere*), 'sunk.'
121. *A ciascun bene*, 'for all that is good.'
122. *Onde operar perdèsi*, 'so that our activity was lost,' i. e., our good works ceased. — *Perdèsi* = *perdèssi* = *si perdè*. For the rhyme, cf. *Inf.* VIII, 17.
127. *Dire*, 'speak.'
129. *Solo ascoltando:* by the sound alone. — *Riverire:* my reverent position.
132. 'My conscience stung me (for) standing.'

Rispose. 'Non errar! Conservo sono
Teco e con gli altri ad una potestate. 135
Se mai quel santo evangelico suono
Che dice "*Neque nubent*" intendesti,
Ben puoi veder perch' io così ragiono.
Vattene omai! Non vo' che più t' arresti,
Chè la tua stanza mio pianger disagia, 140
Col qual maturo ciò che tu dicesti.
Nepote ho io di là ch' ha nome Alagia,
Buona da sè, pur che la nostra casa
Non faccia lei per esemplo malvagia;
E questa sola di là m' è rimasa.' 145

134. Cf. Rev. xix, 10: 'And I fell at his (the angel's) feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus.'

137. Mat. xxii, 30: 'For in the resurrection *they neither marry*, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.' — *Intendesti*, 'hast understood,' i. e., hast interpreted in the broader sense, as meaning that earthly relations are not preserved in the spiritual world.

139. *Vo'* = *voglio*.

140. *Stanza*, 'stay.' — *Disagia*, 'hinders.'

141. Cf. l. 92.

142. Alagia de' Fieschi, the daughter of Adrian's brother Niccolò, was the wife of Marquis Moroello Malaspina and was therefore probably Dante's hostess in 1306.

144. One of the Fieschi, Bonifazio, appears in the circle of gluttony (XXIV, 29); a second, Innocent IV, is mentioned slightingly in Epistola VIII, vii, 118; at least one other probably incurred Dante's displeasure.

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

As the rueful souls lie flat on the outer edge of the terrace, their faces turned to the ground, they meditate, at the close of all their prayers, comforting examples of virtue and of punished vice, which they now murmur softly to themselves, now cry aloud, according to their mood. By day they recite instances of indifference to wealth, and of the proper use of it; by night, anecdotes of the fatal results of cupidity. Of these last stories, seven are quoted, corresponding to the seven sins which St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. cxviii, Art. 8) derives from avarice. With a curse upon the 'old wolf' of immoderateness, Dante invokes that saviour whom the heavens shall send to banish this devourer and restore justice to the world. Once before, in *Inf.* I, 94–111, the havoc done by the 'wolf' was described, and the rescuing 'hound' was foretold. Once again, in *Purg.* XXXIII, 34–51, after a picture of corruption by greed, we find the promise of a divinely ordained reformer; this latter prophecy is linked to our present passage by the repetition of a rhyme in *-eda* (XX, 11–13–15; XXXIII, 35–37–39).

In the prostrate throng is Hugh Capet, king of France from 987 to 996, founder of the Capetian line, whose descendants, in 1300, ruled over France, Spain, and Naples. Before that year four Philips and four Lewises (as well as a Robert and a Henry), sprung from him, had mounted the throne of France. In Dante's day he was often confounded with his father, Hugh the Great, Duke of France, who really governed the country in the time of the last Carolingians; in our poem these two persons are fused into one. According to a generally accepted but incorrect tradition, Hugh the Great came of a family of rich Parisian cattle dealers or butchers. When 'the old kings' — the offspring of Charlemagne — 'died out' with Louis V, there remained of the elder dynasty only Charles, duke of Lorraine, son of Louis IV; the feudal lords refused to accept him as sovereign, and crowned Hugh Capet in his stead. For Dante's assertion that the last of the Carolingians became a monk, 'a devotee in gray clothes' (l. 54), there is no historical warrant. Here again he seems to have followed a confused liter-

ary tradition. In the Old French poem on the *Mort Aimeri de Narbonne*, the 'Emperor Louis,' speaking of the usurpation of Hugh Capet, announces his determination to quit the world (ll. 50-2):

> '"Seignor," fet il, "la couronne prenez,
> Cui vous plera en fetes couronner;
> Rendus serai a .i. de ces autez."'

Hugh Capet, in Dante's account, gained such firm control of the state that his son was promoted to the 'widowed crown,' and from him descended the 'consecrated bones' of all the subsequent royal anointed. In reality, Robert I was almost immediately associated with his father in the government, and was crowned in 988. While the means and the domain of his family were comparatively small, — Hugh declares, — it remained insignificant but harmless; but when, by trickery, Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, contrived to marry Beatrice, heiress of Provence, and so secured 'the great Provençal dowry,' his descendants lost all sense of shame. Since then their history has been a chronicle of crimes, in which Philip IV, the Fair (VII, 109), has played the leading part. England was robbed, 'by violence and by falsehood,' of Ponthieu, Normandy, and Gascony. Charles of Anjou (VII, 113, 124) came to Italy in 1265 to wrest the kingdom of Sicily from Manfred, who was defeated and slain the next year (III, 112); in 1268, in Naples, after the battle of Tagliacozzo (*Inf.* XXVIII, 17), he put to death Conradin, a lad of sixteen, grandson of Frederick II; he was accused also of having instigated, for political reasons, the poisoning of St. Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274 on his journey from Naples to the Council of Lyons. Another Charles, continues Hugh Capet, — Charles of Valois, called Lackland or *Senza terra*, brother of Philip IV, — will come out of France in 1301, armed only with treachery ('the lance with which Judas tilted'), to betray Florence into the hands of the Blacks and to contend vainly with Frederick of Aragon (VII, 119) in Sicily. A third Charles, — the Cripple of Jerusalem, Charles II, king of Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou (VII, 127; *Par.* XIX, 127), — after having been taken prisoner in 1284 in a sea fight in the Bay of Naples by Ruggero di Lauria, the admiral of Peter of Aragon (VII, 112), will sell his young daughter Beatrice in marriage to the old Marquis of Ferrara, Azzo VIII d'Este. But the crowning infamy of the race, that which shall throw into the shade all past and future outrage, shall be the seizure of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni in the Roman Campagna, in 1303, by Guillaume

de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna. Seated on his throne and clad in the Papal raiment, Boniface was roughly taken prisoner; he was then conveyed to Rome, where he was wounded in the head, and, after a little while, died of rage and shame. In spite of Dante's hostility to Boniface, whom he regarded as an unworthy prelate (*Inf.* XIX, 52–7), the enemy of Florence and the author of his own misfortunes (*Par.* XVII, 49–51), this humiliation of the head of the Church shocked him beyond measure. The fate of Christ — so it seemed to the poet — was renewed in that of his vicar, crucified, not between two thieves condemned to die with him, but between two mocking villains — Guillaume and Sciarra — who were allowed to live. These men were bearers of the *fleur-de-lis*, creatures of Philip the Fair. That 'modern Pilate,' not satisfied even with this crime, directed his 'greedy sails,' like a pirate ship, toward the Order of the Templars; having brought against that body a false accusation of heresy, and having arrested all the Templars in 1307, without waiting for Papal authorization, he turned them over to the Inquisition, possessed himself of their treasure, and finally caused the abolition of their order in 1312. Such is the 'evil plant' of which Hugh Capet was the root. By means of its control of the Papacy, it 'overshadows all Christendom,' and 'seldom is good fruit plucked therefrom.' If the cities of Douai, Lille, Ghent, and Bruges had the strength, they would soon wreak vengeance on Philip the Fair, who conquered Flanders in 1297. That vengeance came, in fact, in 1302, when Philip's troops were crushingly defeated in Bruges and Courtrai, and the French were driven from the country.

Contra miglior voler voler mal pugna;
  Onde contra il piacer mio, per piacerli,
  Trassi dell' acqua non sazia la spugna.
Mossimi; e il Duca mio si mosse per li
  Lochi spediti pur lungo la roccia, 5
  Come si va per muro stretto ai merli.

1. The 'better will' is that of Adrian V: cf. XIX, 139.
2. *Piacerli* = *piacergli*.
4. For the rhyme of weak words, cf. XVII, 55.
5. *Spediti*, 'unoccupied.'
6. The poets step carefully along on the inner side of the cornice, close to the upright cliff, just as soldiers march on the top of a narrow rampart, close to the battlements. Such battlemented walls still surround Carcassonne and Aigues-Mortes, and may be seen also at Avignon.

Chè la gente, che fonde a goccia a goccia
Per gli occhi il mal che tutto il mondo occupa,
Dall' altra parte in fuor troppo s' approccia.
Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa, 10
Che più che tutte l' altre bestie hai preda,
Per la tua fame senza fine cupa!
O ciel, nel cui girar par che si creda
Le condizion di quaggiù trasmutarsi,
Quando verrà per cui questa disceda? 15
Noi andavam con passi lenti e scarsi,
Ed io attento all' ombre ch' io sentia
Pietosamente piangere e lagnarsi;
E per ventura udi': 'Dolce Maria!'
Dinanzi a noi chiamar così nel pianto 20
Come fa donna che in partorir sia.
E seguitar: 'Povera fosti tanto
Quanto veder si può per quell' ospizio
Ove sponesti il tuo portato santo.'
Seguentemente intesi: 'O buon Fabbrizio, 25
Con povertà volesti anzi virtute
Che gran ricchezza posseder con vizio.'
Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute
Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver contezza
Di quello spirto, onde parean venute. 30
Esso parlava ancor della larghezza
Che fece Niccolao alle pulcelle,

8. *Occùpa*, 'possesses.'
12. *Cupa*, 'hollow.'
15. *Per cui*, '(he) by whose means.' — *Disceda*, 'shall depart.'
23. *Ospizio:* the humble stable of Bethlehem (Luke ii, 7).
24. *Portato*, 'burden.'
25. Caius Fabricius Luscinius, the Roman consul famous for his incorruptibility, who refused the bribes of the Samnites: *Conv.*, IV, v, 107–10; *Mon.*, II, v, 90–9. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 843–4.
29. *Contezza*, 'acquaintance.'
32. St. Nicholas, bishop of Mira in the fourth century. According to the

Per condurre ad onor lor giovinezza.
'O anima che tanto ben favelle,
Dimmi chi fosti,' dissi, 'e perchè sola 35
Tu queste degne lode rinnovelle?
Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,
S' io ritorno a compier lo cammin corto
Di quella vita che al termine vola.'
Ed egli: 'Io 'l ti dirò, non per conforto 40
Ch' io attenda di là, ma perchè tanta
Grazia in te luce prima che sii morto.
Io fui radice della mala pianta
Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia
Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta. 45
Ma, se Doagio, Lilla, Guanto e Bruggia
Potesser, tosto ne saria vendetta;
Ed io la cheggio a lui che tutto giuggia.
Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciapetta.
Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi, 50
Per cui novellamente Francia è retta.
Figlio fu' io d' un beccaio di Parigi.
Quando li regi antichi venner meno
Tutti (fuor ch' un, renduto in panni bigi),
Trovaimi stretto nelle mani il freno 55
Del governo del regno, e tanta possa
Di nuovo acquisto, e sì d' amici pieno,
Ch' alla corona vedova promossa

legend, he secretly threw, on three successive nights, into the window of his neighbor's house enough money to provide dowries for the three daughters who would otherwise have been forced by poverty to a life of dishonor.

48. *Giuggia*, 'judges.'

49. *Ciapetta:* in different French dialects the name had two forms, *Chapet* and *Capet*.

51. *Novellamente*, 'of late.'

52. *Beccaio* counts as two syllables: cf. XIII, 22; XIV, 66.

55. *Stretto*, 'tight.'

La testa di mio figlio fu, dal quale
Cominciar di costor le sacrate ossa. 60
Mentre che la gran dote Provenzale
Al sangue mio non tolse la vergogna,
Poco valea, ma pur non facea male.
Lì cominciò con forza e con menzogna
La sua rapina; e poscia, per ammenda, 65
Pontì e Normandia prese e Guascogna.
Carlo venne in Italia, e, per ammenda,
Vittima fe' di Curradino; e poi
Ripinse al ciel Tommaso, per ammenda.
Tempo vegg' io, non molto dopo ancoi, 70
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di Francia,
Per far conoscer meglio e sè e i suoi.
Senz' arme n' esce solo, e con la lancia
Con la qual giostrò Giuda; e quella ponta
Sì ch' a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia. 75
Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta
Guadagnerà, per sè tanto più grave
Quanto più lieve simil danno conta.
L' altro, che già uscì preso di nave,
Veggio vender sua figlia, e patteggiarne, 80
Come fanno i corsar dell' altre schiave.
O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne,
Poscia ch' hai lo mio sangue a te sì tratto
Che non si cura della propria carne?
Perchè men paia il mal futuro e il fatto, 85
Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,

70. *Ancoi,* 'the present day': cf. XIII, 52.
74. *Ponta,* 'aims.'
79. *Altro:* sc., *Carlo.*
80. *Patteggiarne,* 'haggle over her.'
85. 'To make future and past wrong seem the less.'
86. *Alagna* = *Anagni.* — *Fiordaliso,* 'fleur-de-lis.'

E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e il fele,
E tra vivi ladroni esser anciso. 90
Veggio il nuovo Pilato sì crudele
Che ciò nol sazia, ma, senza decreto,
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.
O Signor mio, quando sarò io lieto
A veder la vendetta, che, nascosa, 95
Fa dolce l' ira tua nel tuo segreto? —
Ciò ch' io dicea di quell' unica sposa
Dello Spirito Santo (e che ti fece
Verso me volger per alcuna chiosa)
Tanto è risposta a tutte nostre prece 100
Quanto il dì dura; ma, quand' e' s' annotta,
Contrario suon prendemo in quella vece.
Noi ripetiam Pigmalïon allotta,
Cui traditore e ladro e patricida
Fece la voglia sua dell' oro ghiotta; 105
E la miseria dell' avaro Mida,

87. *Catto* (Latin *captus*) = *preso.*
88. Cf. Mat. xxvii, 28–30.
89. Cf. Mat. xxvii, 34: 'They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall.'
90. Cf. Mat. xxvii, 38: 'Then there were two thieves crucified with him, one on the right hand, and another on the left.'
91. *Nuovo Pilato:* Philip the Fair, who had played the part of Pilate toward Christ's vicar.
92. *Decreto:* Papal decree.
94. Cf. Ps. lviii, 10 (Vulg. lvii, 11): 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance.'
97. Having replied to Dante's first question (l. 35), Hugh proceeds to answer his second (l. 36). — Cf. Mat. i, 20: 'that which is conceived in her (Mary) is of the Holy Ghost.'
99. *Chiosa*, 'gloss,' explanation: cf. *Inf.* XV, 89.
100. *Tanto* is correlative with the *quanto* of l. 101: 'as long as.' — *Risposta*, 'refrain.'
103. Pygmalion, king of Tyre, brother of Dido, killed Dido's husband Sichæus (*Inf.* V, 62) for the sake of his wealth: *Æn.*, I, 343–59.
106. Midas, king of Phrygia, asked of Bacchus that all he touched might be

Che seguì alla sua domanda ingorda,
Per la qual sempre convien che si rida.
Del folle Acan ciascun poi si ricorda,
Come furò le spoglie, sì che l' ira 110
Di Josuè qui par ch' ancor lo morda.
Indi accusiam col marito Safira;
Lodiamo i calci ch' ebbe Elïodoro;
Ed in infamia tutto il monte gira
Polinestor ch' ancise Polidoro. 115
Ultimamente ci si grida: "Crasso,
Dicci, chè il sai, di che sapore è l' oro?"
Talor parla l' un alto, e l' altro basso,
Secondo l' affezion ch' a dir ci sprona
Ora a maggiore, ed ora a minor passo. 120
Però al ben che il dì ci si ragiona
Dianzi non er' io sol; ma qui da presso
Non alzava la voce altra persona.'

turned to gold, but was compelled to pray for a revocation of the gift, and was finally presented with ass's ears: *Met.*, xi, 85–193.

107. *Che*, 'which,' referring to *miseria* (l. 106): his food and drink had turned to gold.

109. Achan, having stolen and hidden some of the forbidden spoils of Jericho, was stoned to death at Joshua's command: Joshua vi, 17–19; vii.

112. Ananias and his wife Sapphira, having sold a piece of land and deceitfully withheld from the apostles a part of the price for their own use, were rebuked by Peter and fell down dead: Acts v, 1–10.

113. Heliodorus, minister of King Seleucus, having entered the temple of Jerusalem to take possession of the treasure, was kicked half to death by a mysterious horse: 2 Macc. iii, 7, 25–7.

115. Polymnestor (or Polymestor), king of Thrace, murdered and robbed his young brother-in-law, Polydorus, who had been entrusted to him by Priam; Hecuba, maddened by the death of her son, tore out the traitor's eyes and killed him (*Inf.* XXX, 16–21): *Met.*, XIII, 429 ff.; cf. *Æn.*, III, 41–57.

117. Marcus Lucinius Crassus, triumvir with Cæsar and Pompey, was famous in antiquity and in the Middle Ages for his wealth and his greed. It is related that when he was defeated and slain by the Parthians, their king had molten gold poured down his throat, saying: 'Thou hast thirsted for gold, now drink it!' Cf. Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, VI, xiii.

119. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, X, xxxiii: 'Omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro sua diversitate habent proprios modos in voce atque cantu.'

121. *Il dì*, 'by day.' — *Ci*, 'here.'

Noi eravam partiti già da esso,
  E brigavam di soperchiar la strada 125
  Tanto quanto al poter n' era permesso.
Quand' io senti', come cosa che cada,
  Tremar lo monte; onde mi prese un gelo,
  Qual prender suol colui che a morte vada.
Certo non si scotea sì forte Delo, 130
  Pria che Latona in lei facesse il nido
  A partorir li due occhi del cielo.
Poi cominciò da tutte parti un grido
  Tal che il Maestro in ver di me si feo,
  Dicendo: 'Non dubbiar, mentr' io ti guido.' 135
'*Gloria in excelsis*,' tutti, '*Deo!*'
  Dicean, per quel ch' io da' vicin compresi,
  Onde intender lo grido si poteo.
Noi istavamo immobili e sospesi,
  Come i pastor che prima udir quel canto, 140
  Fin che il tremar cessò, ed ei compièsi.
Poi ripigliammo nostro cammin santo,
  Guardando l' ombre che giacean per terra,
  Tornate già in sull' usato pianto.
Nulla ignoranza mai con tanta guerra 145
  Mi fe' desideroso di sapere
  (Se la memoria mia in ciò non erra)

124. Cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 124.
125. *Brigavam*, 'we were striving.'
130. Delos, before Latona took refuge there to bring forth Apollo and Diana (sun and moon, 'the two eyes of heaven'), was a wandering island: *Met.*, VI, 189–92; *Æn.*, III, 73–7.
136. Luke ii, 14: 'Glory to God in the highest.'
137. *Per*, 'judging from.'
138. *Onde*, 'of whom.'
140. Luke ii, 9.
141. *Ei*: the song. — *Compièsi* = *si compiè*: cf. XIX, 122.
145. Cf. Wisdom of Solomon xiv, 22: 'they lived in the great war of ignorance.'

Quanta pare'mi allor pensando avere;
  Nè per la fretta domandarn' er' oso,
  Nè per me lì potea cosa vedere. 150
Così m' andava timido e pensoso.

148. *Pare'mi = mi pareva.*
149. *Er' oso = osava:* cf. XI, 126.

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

LEFT, like Dante himself, in agonizing suspense at the end of the preceding canto, we now learn why the mountain trembled and why all the souls up and down its slope cried out together. This rejoicing occurs whenever any spirit has completed its penance and feels itself free to rise to Heaven. St. Thomas, and others after him, distinguished the 'absolute' from the 'conditioned' will. The absolute will is a constant inclination toward the good; the conditioned will is a modification of this inclination by circumstances. When we sin, we follow, not our absolute, but our conditioned will, which has been perverted by false appearances. So when we make atonement, it is not the absolute will that seeks punishment, but the conditioned will, shaped by the knowledge that good can come through penance alone. A soul in Purgatory is held there only by its own conditioned will. As soon as this conditioned will, or desire, coincides with the absolute and eternal inclination to seek blessedness, the penitent knows that his expiation is over and he is at liberty to rise. 'The only proof of purity is the will itself, which suddenly finds the soul quite free to change its company, and by its volition enables it to do so': ll. 61–3. 'Before that moment (*prima*), to be sure (*ben*), the soul wills absolutely to rise (*vuol*), but it is prevented by its desire or conditioned will (*ma non lascia il talento*), which divine justice inclines to suffering (*che pone al tormento*), its operation being now contrary to the tendency of the absolute will (*contra voglia*), just as was the case when it sinned (*come fu al peccar*)': ll. 64–6.

Purgatory itself, like the Garden of Eden, is exempt from physical change, and only spiritual causes operate there. 'The law of the mountain never experiences anything that is unregulated or abnormal': ll. 40–2. 'In this place there is an absence of all innovation; out of that which Heaven receives from itself into itself' — namely, out of spirit, which originates in God and returns to him — 'there may arise an occasion' for the interruption of the ordinary course, 'but from naught else': ll. 43–5. A spiritual phenomenon — the release of a soul — may move both spirits and

earth to a display of gladness, but even this manifestation is in accordance with the everlasting nature of the sacred mount. Although the peak does not rise above the earth's mantle of air, its upper part, like the Isle de Voirre described in the Old French *Erec* (ll. 1947–51), is beyond the reach of atmospheric change. As Lucan says, in *Pharsalia*, II, 271–3:

> 'Nubes excedit Olympus
> Lege Deum. Minimas rerum discordia turbat;
> Pacem summa tenent.'

Wet vapors are unknown; 'no rain, hail, snow, dew, nor frost falls any higher up than the short stairway of three steps,' where is the entrance to Purgatory: ll. 46–8. Dry vapors, which cause lightning, meteors, comets, wind, and earthquake, are absent also. 'Lower down on the slope, the earth may quake, much or little; but up here its shaking was never due,' — as it is elsewhere, — 'to the mysterious confinement of wind in the belly of the globe': ll. 55–7. 'It trembles when any soul feels itself clean enough to arise and start on its ascent, and such a shout' as its companions have just raised 'accompanies' the upward faring spirit: 58–60.

The penitent whose liberation from the fifth circle has produced such a commotion is Statius, a famous Latin poet of the first century of our era. His two great epics, the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* (the second unfinished), highly artificial and ornate in style, were assiduously studied throughout the Middle Ages, and were looked upon as models of rhetorical elegance. Dante, who knew them thoroughly, must have found in them a vast storehouse of classical mythology; with characteristic gratitude he honored Statius for the good he had derived from him. A third work, a miscellany known as the *Silvæ*, in which the author names Naples as his birthplace, had not been recovered in the 14th century, and Dante and his contemporaries seem to have confounded the epic poet with another Statius, a certain rhetorician from Toulouse. The admiration of Statius for Virgil is attested by a passage at the close of the *Thebaid* (XII, 816 ff.), in which he bids his narrative 'follow, at a distance, the divine *Æneid*, and ever adore its steps.' The meeting between these ancient poets is described by Dante in a vein of demure humor quickened by love. At the end of the canto is a scene that reminds one of the encounter of Virgil and Sordello (VI, 75); but whereas Sordello embraces his brother Mantuan, it is apparently impossible for Statius to clasp the feet of Virgil.

The real Statius was a pagan, and the story of his conversion,

related in the next canto, is, as far as we know, of Dante's invention, although he may have found it suggested in some lost source. The author of the *Thebaid* represents, in the *Commedia*, Reason illumined by Faith, and seemingly has the mission of elucidating certain questions that transcend unassisted Reason; he is doubtless to be regarded, then, as an auxiliary to Virgil and a secondary guide to Beatrice, or, in other words, as an intermediary between human Reason and Revelation. At the same time he serves as an example of a soul in transit from earth to Heaven. With Dante's extraordinary love of symmetry, it is rather surprising that he should have furnished only two great conductors for the three journeys. One is almost tempted to surmise that in his original conception Statius played a more important part.

For St. Thomas on the absolute and the conditioned will of souls in Purgatory, see *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., App., Qu. ii, Art. 2. St. Thomas touches upon the double will in other parts of the *Summa:* Prima, xix, 6, xli, 2, lxxxiii, 4; Prima Secundæ, lxxvii, 7; Tertia, xviii, 1, 3, 4, xxi, 3. — For the absence of atmospheric change, cf. *Thebaid*, II, 32-40. For Statius: E. Sacchi, *Dante e Stazio* in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 449; *D'Ovidio*², 554; R. Valerio, *Stazio nella scala mistica della 'Divina Commedia*,' 1906. — Compare with the passage from Lucan above quoted the following lines from Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village:*

> 'As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
> Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
> Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
> Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

La sete natural che mai non sazia,
Se non con l' acqua onde la femminetta
Sammaritana domandò la grazia,
Mi travagliava, e pungeami la fretta
Per la impacciata via retro al mio Duca, 5
E condoleami alla giusta vendetta.
Ed ecco, — sì come ne scrive Luca

1. Cf. *Conv.*, I, i, 1-4: 'Siccome dice il Filosofo nel principio della Prima Filosofia (Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, I, i) "tutti gli uomini naturalmente desiderano di sapere."'

2. *Acqua:* the 'water' of truth. Cf. John iv, 7-26, especially 13-15: 'Jesus . . . said unto her, Whosoever . . . drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst. . . . The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not.'

6. *Condoleami*, 'I was sorrowing.'

7. Luke xxiv, 13-15: 'And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus . . . and it came to pass, that, while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.' One of the two was Cleopas; the other is unnamed.

Che Cristo apparve ai due ch' erano in via,
Già surto fuor della sepulcral buca, —
Ci apparve un' ombra, e retro a noi venia 10
Da piè guardando la turba che giace;
Nè ci addemmo di lei, sì parlò pria,
Dicendo: 'Frati miei, Dio vi dea pace.'
Noi ci volgemmo subito; e Virgilio
Rendègli il cenno ch' a ciò si conface, 15
Poi cominciò: 'Nel beato concilio
Ti ponga in pace la verace corte,
Che me rilega nell' eterno esilio.'
'Come!' diss' egli, e parte andavam forte,
'Se voi siete ombre che Dio su non degni, 20
Chi v' ha per la sua scala tanto scorte?'
E il Dottor mio: 'Se tu riguardi i segni
Che questi porta e che l' angel profila,
Ben vedrai che coi buon convien ch' ei regni.
Ma perchè lei che dì e notte fila 25
Non gli avea tratta ancora la conocchia
Che Cloto impone a ciascuno e compila,
L' anima sua, ch' è tua e mia sirocchia,

11. *Da piè*, 'at our feet.' — *Guardando*, 'as we were watching.'
12. *Ci addemmo*, 'we were aware.' — *Sì*, 'until': cf. *Inf.* XIX, 44; XXIX, 30.
13. Cf. Luke xxiv, 36: 'And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.'
15. *Rendè = rese.* — *Cenno*, 'gesture.' — *Si conface*, 'is suited.'
19. *Parte*, 'the while.'
22. *Segni:* the letters on Dante's brow.
23. *Profila*, 'traces.'
24. *Regni:* 'Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world' (Mat. xxv, 34).
25. Lachesis, the second of the three Fates, spins the thread of life, which Clotho prepares and Atropos cuts off.
26. *Tratta . . . la conocchia*, 'drawn off the distaff-full.'
27. *Impone a ciascuno e compila*, 'loads and packs for every man.'
28. *Sirocchia*, 'sister': although it is immortal, like ourselves, it still has mortal sight. Cf. Verlaine, in *Romances sans paroles:* 'Ames sœurs que nous sommes.'

Venendo su, non potea venir sola;
Però ch' al nostro modo non adocchia. 30
Ond' io fui tratto fuor dell' ampia gola
D' inferno per mostrargli, e mostrerolli
Oltre, quanto il potrà menar mia scuola.
Ma dinne, se tu sai, perchè tai crolli
Diè dianzi il monte, e perchè tutti ad una 35
Parver gridare infino ai suoi piè molli?'
Sì mi diè, domandando, per la cruna
Del mio disio che pur con la speranza
Si fece la mia sete men digiuna.
Quei cominciò: 'Cosa non è che sanza 40
Ordine senta la religïone
Della montagna, o che sia fuor d' usanza.
Libero è qui da ogni alterazione.
Di quel che il ciel da sè in sè riceve
Esserci puote, e non d' altro, cagione; 45
Per che non pioggia, non grando, non neve,
Non rugiada, non brina più su cade
Che la scaletta dei tre gradi breve.
Nuvole spesse non paion, nè rade,
Nè corruscar, nè figlia di Taumante, 50
Che di là cangia sovente contrade.

30. *Adocchia,* 'sees': cf. xv, 134–5.
32. *Mostrerolli* = *gli mostrerò.*
33. *Scuola,* 'teaching,' the subject of *potrà.*
35. *Ad una,* 'together': cf. IV, 17.
36. *Ai suoi piè molli,* 'its moist feet': the base of the mountain.
37, 38. 'With this question he so threaded the needle's eye of my desire,' etc. — *Pur,* 'merely.'
40. *Cosa non è,* 'there is not a thing.' — *Che* is the object of *senta,* of which *religione* (l. 41) is the subject.
43. *È* is impersonal, 'it is': cf. XIV, 94.
45. *Esserci puote,* 'there may be.'
50. *Corruscar:* lightning. — Thaumas's daughter is Iris, the rainbow, Juno's messenger: cf. *Æn.*, IX, 1–5; *Met.*, I, 270–1; XIV, 845–6; etc.
51. The rainbow, in the land of the living, appears sometimes in the east, sometimes in the west.

Secco vapor non surge più avante
  Ch' al sommo dei tre gradi ch' io parlai,
  Ov' ha il vicario di Pietro le piante.
Trema forse più giù poco od assai; 55
  Ma per vento che in terra si nasconda
  (Non so come), quassù non tremò mai:
Tremaci quando alcuna anima monda
  Sentesi, sì che surga o che si mova
  Per salir su, e tal grido seconda. 60
Della mondizia sol voler fa prova,
  Che tutta libera a mutar convento
  L' alma sorprende, e di voler le giova.
Prima vuol ben; ma non lascia il talento,
  Che divina giustizia, contra voglia 65
  (Come fu al peccar) pone al tormento.
Ed io, che son giaciuto a questa doglia
  Cinquecento anni e più, pur mo sentii
  Libera volontà di miglior soglia.
Però sentisti il tremoto, e li pii 70
  Spiriti per lo monte render lode
  A quel Signor, che tosto su gl' invii.'
Così ne disse; e però ch' ei si gode
  Tanto del ber quant' è grande la sete,

53. Cf. IX, 100–4.
60. *Seconda*, 'accompanies': cf. XVI, 33.
61. *Sol voler*, 'the will alone.' — *Fa prova*, 'gives proof.'
62. *Che* (referring to *voler*) is subject of *sorprende* (of which *alma* is object) and of *giova*.
63. *E di voler le giova*, 'and by its volition helps it (the soul).'
65. *Che* is the object, *giustizia* the subject, of *pone* (l. 66).
66. *Come fu al peccar*, 'as it was in sinning': i. e., *contra voglia*, opposed to the absolute will.
68. Statius, who died near the close of the first century of our era, has passed a little more than 1200 years on the Island of Purgatory; of these, upwards of 400 were spent in the circle of sloth (XXII, 92), and over 500 in the circle of avarice and prodigality. — *Pur mo*, 'only now.'
72. *Che tosto su gl' invii*, 'who, I pray, will soon speed them upward.'
73. *Ei si gode*, 'one enjoys.'

Non saprei dir quant' ei mi fece prode. 75
E il savio Duca: 'Omai veggio la rete
Che qui vi piglia, e come si scalappia,
Per che ci trema, e di che congaudete.
Ora chi fosti piacciati ch' io sappia;
E perchè tanti secoli giaciuto 80
Qui sei, nelle parole tue mi cappia.'
'Nel tempo che il buon Tito con l' aiuto
Del sommo Rege vendicò le fora
Ond' uscì il sangue per Giuda venduto,
Col nome che più dura e più onora 85
Era io di là,' rispose quello spirto,
'Famoso assai, ma non con fede ancora.
Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto
Che, Tolosano, a sè mi trasse Roma,
Dove mertai le tempie ornar di mirto. 90
Stazio la gente ancor di là mi noma.
Cantai di Tebe, e poi del grande Achille,
Ma caddi in via con la seconda soma.
Al mio ardor fur seme le faville
(Che mi scaldar) della divina fiamma 95
Onde sono allumati più di mille —
Dell' *Eneïda* dico, la qual mamma

75. *Quant' ei mi fece prode*, 'how much good he did me.'
76. Cf. Lamentations of Jeremiah i, 13: 'he hath spread a net for my feet.' Also Ezekiel xii, 13.
77. *Si scalappia*, 'it is unmeshed,' i. e., one escapes from it.
81. *Cappia*, 'may it be contained.'
82. The capture of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus, in the year 70, was regarded as a vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews. See Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, VII, iii, ix. Cf. *Par.* VI, 92; VII, 19 ff.
83. *Fora = fori*, 'wounds' in Christ's hands, feet, and side, 'whence issued the blood sold by Judas.'
85. *Nome:* the 'name' of poet. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 91–3.
89. *Tolosano*, 'though I was from Toulouse.' — Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, VII. 82 ff., for the popularity of Statius in Rome.
90. *Mertai = meritai.*
92. Statius did not live to finish the *Achilleid.*

Fummi, e fummi nutrice poetando;
Senz' essa non fermai peso di dramma.
E, per esser vivuto di là quando 100
Visse Virgilio, assentirei un sole
Più che non deggio al mio uscir di bando.'
Volser Virgilio a me queste parole
Con viso che tacendo disse: 'Taci!'
Ma non può tutto la virtù che vuole; 105
Chè riso e pianto son tanto seguaci
Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca
Che men seguon voler nei più veraci.
Io pur sorrisi, come l' uom ch' ammicca;
Per che l' ombra si tacque, e riguardommi 110
Negli occhi, ove il sembiante più si ficca;
E, 'Se tanto lavoro in bene assommi,'
Disse, 'perchè la tua faccia testeso
Un lampeggiar di riso dimostrommi?'
Or son io d' una parte e d' altra preso: 115
L' una mi fa tacer, l' altra scongiura
Ch' io dica; ond' io sospiro, e sono inteso
Dal mio Maestro, e: 'Non aver paura,'
Mi disse, 'di parlar; ma parla, e digli
Quel ch' ei domanda con cotanta cura.' 120
Ond' io: 'Forse che tu ti maravigli,
Antico spirto, del rider ch' io fei;

99. *Fermai*, 'I balanced.'
101. *Un sole:* a year. — Virgil died in 19 B. C.; Statius, more than a century later.
105. *La virtù che vuole*, 'the faculty that wills,' the will power.
107. *Passion*, 'emotion.' — *Si spicca*, 'springs.'
108. 'That they are least obedient to the will in the most truthful men.'
109. *Ammicca*, 'signals with his eyes.'
111. *Sembiante*, 'expression.' Cf. *Conv.*, III, viii, 80–90.
112. *Se . . . assommi*, 'as thou hopest to complete': cf. II, 16.
113. *Testeso*, 'just now.'
115. For the use of the present tense, for vividness, cf. *Par.* XXI, 46–8.

Ma più d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli.
Questi, che guida in alto gli occhi miei,
È quel Virgilio dal qual tu togliesti 125
Forza a cantar degli uomini e de' Dei.
Se cagione altra al mio rider credesti,
Lasciala per non vera esser, e credi
Quelle parole che di lui dicesti.'
Già si chinava ad abbracciar li piedi 130
Al mio Dottor; ma egli disse: 'Frate,
Non far, chè tu se' ombra, ed ombra vedi.'
Ed ei surgendo: 'Or puoi la quantitate
Comprender dell' amor ch' a te mi scalda,
Quando dismento nostra vanitate, 135
Trattando l' ombre come cosa salda.'

128. *Credi,* 'believe' that the real cause was . . .

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

In his fourth Eclogue, Virgil rejoices in the conclusion of peace during the consulate of his protector, Caius Asinius Pollio, under the second triumvirate; and, in strangely obscure language, celebrates the birth of a son to Pollio himself. The last of the periods predicted by the Cumæan Sibyl has come, he declares — the return to the golden age, which was to be restored after the ages of silver, bronze, and iron. A vast cycle of years is starting afresh. The virgin Astræa, goddess of Justice, the last of the gods to forsake mankind, is now returning, with the good old times when Saturn, father of Jupiter, ruled the world. A new offspring is sent down from high Heaven. Verses 4–7, the last three of which are translated by Dante in ll. 70–2 of this canto, run as follows:

> 'Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:
> Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo;
> Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
> Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.'

Early Christian writers often discussed the question whether the Sibyls were truly inspired, and the belief was tolerably common that, although these prophetesses were possessed by demons, God occasionally allowed them, in consideration of their virginity, to foretell the truth. From the fourth, well into the sixteenth century, the verses just cited were generally regarded as a genuine announcement of the coming of Christ, unwittingly formulated by Virgil some forty years before the event. According to a pious legend recorded by Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, I, vii, 137 (ed. 1896), three persecutors of Christians, suddenly illumined by these verses, were turned from paganism to the true religion. Dante represents Statius as having been converted in the same way, but as having concealed his new faith and succored his fellow-believers by stealth. Thus another legend, cited by Torraca, 518, pictures a sister of the Emperor Domitian as secretly visiting and comforting imprisoned Christians and listening to the sermons of St. Paul. We may compare also the story

of Joseph of Arimathea, who, according to John xix, 38, was 'a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews.' For the case of Statius, see A. W. Verrall in the *Independent Review*, Nov., 1903, 246, and in the *Albany Review*, Aug., 1908, 499.

While the effectiveness of this hidden conversion, as a tribute to Virgil, and its allegorical appropriateness, in a figure symbolic of Reason enlightened by Faith, are obvious enough, we have small clue to the causes that led our author to select Statius for this experience. Nor do we know why Dante chose to make Statius a spendthrift — for as such he reveals himself in the present canto — unless he got the idea from Juvenal's words about the poet, in *Satire* VII, 87: cf. l. 14 of this canto. But whatever may have occasioned the attribution of prodigality to the author of the *Thebaid*, it seems likely that Dante blamed himself for this vice and ascribed to Statius some of his own feelings and ideas. Was it not our poet himself who really discovered a mysterious warning in the whimsical distortion of Virgil's apostrophe to the 'auri sacra fames' (ll. 37–42)? We know that Dante, before his exile, incurred heavy debts, and we know that he was a close friend of the happy-go-lucky Forese Donati, who appears in the next canto. When he leaves the circle of spendthrifts, he is 'lighter than at the other outlets' (XXII, 7). The insistence, both in Hell and in Purgatory, upon the doctrine that prodigality is just as much a sin as avarice, — although people do not think so (ll. 46–8), — may be accounted for in part by a desire to illustrate the Aristotelian arrangement of vices in pairs of extremes; but it appears to have behind it also some more cogent and personal reason. It is Statius, the prodigal, who asserts (ll. 49–51) that each sin is coupled with its opposite, although this scheme is carried out nowhere else in Purgatory or Hell. Many little indications, in fact, combine to suggest that Dante was eager to protect his readers from the consequences of an insidious vice from which he had miraculously escaped.

The next vice on the stairway of purification is gluttony, and the proper discipline is rigid abstinence, which, embittered by continual exposure to temptation, wastes the penitent to skin and bone. As, in the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, the souls of those who neglected fasts are tantalized by fruits, so Dante's gluttons have to pass, in their circuit, two fruit-trees moistened by waterfalls. These trees, with the large branches at the top and the small ones at the bottom, are so shaped that no one can climb up — a symbol of prohibition. From their foliage issue voices proclaiming examples of temperance and intemperance.

Già era l' Angel retro a noi rimaso —
L' Angel che n' avea volti al sesto giro,
Avendomi dal viso un colpo raso —
E quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro
Detto n' avea *Beati*, e le sue voci 5
Con *sitïunt*, senz' altro, ciò forniro.
Ed io, più lieve che per l' altre foci,
M' andava sì che senza alcun labore
Seguiva in su gli spiriti veloci,
Quando Virgilio cominciò: 'Amore, 10
Acceso di virtù, sempre altro accese,
Pur che la fiamma sua paresse fuore.
Onde, dall' ora che tra noi discese
Nel limbo dello inferno Juvenale,
Che la tua affezion mi fe' palese, 15
Mia benvoglienza inverso te fu quale
Più strinse mai di non vista persona,
Sì ch' or mi parran corte queste scale.
Ma dimmi, e come amico mi perdona
Se troppa sicurtà m' allarga il freno, 20
E come amico omai meco ragiona:

4. Mat. v, 6: 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness' — in the Vulgate, 'Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt *justitiam*.' Dante here takes 'justice' in the special sense of moderation, the golden mean between avarice and prodigality, the virtue opposed to both these sins.

5. *Voci*, 'words.'

6. The verse as recited by the angel is: 'Beati qui sitiunt justitiam,' the *esuriunt* ('hunger') being left out. In the circle of gluttony the same verse is used, in a different sense, the *esuriunt* being retained and the *sitiunt* ('thirst') omitted. To obtain the requisite number of appropriate beatitudes, Dante introduced this one twice, and in both cases somewhat distorted its form and meaning.

10, 11. Virgil here says of spiritual love what Francesca said of carnal passion in *Inf.* V, 103.

14. The Latin poet Juvenal was a contemporary of Statius, whom he praised in his *Satires*, VII, 81–7. Dante mentions him twice in *Conv.* and once in *Mon.*

16, 17. *Quale più strinse mai*, 'the greatest that ever bound (one).'

20. *Sicurtà*, 'confidence.'

21. *Ragiona*, 'speak.'

Come potè trovar dentro al tuo seno
  Loco avarizia, tra cotanto senno
  Di quanto, per tua cura, fosti pieno?'
Queste parole Stazio mover fenno 25
  Un poco a riso pria; poscia rispose:
  'Ogni tuo dir d' amor m' è caro cenno.
Veramente più volte appaion cose
  Che danno a dubitar falsa matera,
  Per le vere ragion che sono ascose. 30
La tua domanda tuo creder m' avvera
  Esser ch' io fossi avaro in l' altra vita,
  Forse per quella cerchia dov' io era.
Or sappi ch' avarizia fu partita
  Troppo da me, e questa dismisura 35
  Migliaia di lunari hanno punita.
E se non fosse ch' io drizzai mia cura,
  Quand' io intesi là dove tu esclame,
  Crucciato quasi all' umana natura —
"Per che non reggi tu, o sacra fame 40
  Dell' oro, l' appetito dei mortali?"

24. *Cura*, 'zeal.'
28. *Veramente*, 'to be sure.'
29. *Matera* = *materia* (cf. XVIII, 37; also *Lavina* in XVII, 37), 'ground.'
30. 'Because the real cause is hidden.'
31. *Avvera*, 'assures.'
33. *Per*, 'because of.'
36. 'Thousands of months': over 500 years (XXI, 68), or more than 6000 months.
37. *Drizzai*, 'set right.'
38 *Intesi*, 'understood,' penetrated the hidden meaning. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 51; *Inf.* XXIV, 74; *Par.* XIV, 126; and especially *Purg.* XIX, 137, where we find exactly the same use.
40, 41. *Æn.*, III, 56–7:

'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?'

These words evidently mean: 'To what dost thou not drive mortal hearts, accursed hunger for gold?' But Dante saw in them also, taking them apart from their context, the concealed moral significance which he here puts into the mouth of Statius: 'Why, O blessed (i. e., temperate) hunger for gold, dost thou

Voltando sentirei le giostre grame.
Allor m' accorsi che troppo aprir l' ali
Potean le mani a spendere, e pente'mi
Così di quel come degli altri mali. 45
Quanti risurgeran coi crini scemi
Per ignoranza, che di questa pecca
Toglie il penter vivendo e negli estremi!
E sappi che la colpa che rimbecca
Per dritta opposizione alcun peccato 50
Con esso insieme qui suo verde secca.
Però, s' io son tra quella gente stato
Che piange l' avarizia, per purgarmi,
Per lo contrario suo m' è incontrato.'
'Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi 55
Della doppia tristizia di Jocasta,'
Disse il Cantor de' bucolici carmi,
'Per quello che Cliò teco lì tasta,

not govern mortal appetite,' keeping it equally distant from avarice and prodigality? The discovery of this inner meaning in his master's verses was the beginning of Statius's reformation. — For the use of ***reggi***, cf. Boethius, ***Cons.***, **II**, Met. viii, 28–30 (cited in *Mon.*, I, ix, end):

'O felix hominum genus
Si vestros animos amor,
Quo cælum regitur, regat!'

42. 'Rolling (a heavy weight), I should (now) be engaged in the dismal tilts' of the misers and the prodigals in Hell: cf. *Inf.* VII, 25–30.

46. The 'cropped hair' is a symbol of prodigality: *Inf.* VII, 56–7.

47. *Che*, 'which,' subject of *toglie* in l. 48. Many are lost because they do not understand that prodigality is a sin, as well as avarice. Their ignorance, which 'robs them of repentance,' is not a sufficient excuse, because it is not insuperable or 'invincible' ignorance: they had a chance to learn better. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 2.

48. *Negli estremi* is a translation of the Latin *in extremis*.

49. *Rimbecca*, 'rebuts.'

56. By the 'twofold affliction of Jocasta' is meant her two sons, Eteocles and Polynices, whose strife and death are related in the 11th book of the *Thebaid*. Cf. *Inf.* XXVI, 52–4.

57. This mention of the *Bucolics*, or *Eclogues*, of Virgil prepares the reader for the quotation from the 4th Eclogue in ll. 70–2.

58. 'Judging from that (i. e., the music) which Clio plays with thee there': judging from the narrative which the pagan muse inspired. Clio, the muse of

Non par che ti facesse ancor fedele
La fè, senza la qual ben far non basta. 60
Se così è, qual sole o quai candele
Ti stenebraron sì che tu drizzasti
Poscia diretro al pescator le vele?'
Ed egli a lui: 'Tu prima m' invïasti
Verso Parnaso a ber nelle sue grotte, 65
E poi, appresso Dio, m' alluminasti.
Facesti come quei che va di notte,
Che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova,
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,
Quando dicesti: "Secol si rinnova; 70
Torna giustizia, e primo tempo umano,
E progenie discende dal ciel nova."
Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano!
Ma perchè veggi mei ciò ch' io disegno,
A colorare stenderò la mano. 75
Già era il mondo tutto quanto pregno
Della vera credenza, seminata
Per li messaggi dell' eterno regno,
E la parola tua sopra toccata
Sì consonava ai nuovi predicanti 80
Ond' io a visitarli presi usata.
Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,
Che, quando Domizian li perseguette,

history, is invoked twice in the *Thebaid* and once (as 'goddess') in the *Achilleid*. — For the accentuation *Cliò*, cf. *Calliopè* in I, 9.

61. What heavenly or earthly light 'scattered thy darkness'?

63. The 'fisherman' is St. Peter.

65. Parnassus is the mountain sacred to Apollo and the muses.

66. *Appresso*, 'next to.'

68. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, IV, xvi. For some other uses of this simile, see *Tor.*, 517.

74. *Veggi* = *vegga* = *veda:* cf. XIII, 112. — *Mei* = *meglio*.

79. *Toccata*, 'mentioned.'

83. Domitian was Emperor toward the close of the first century of our era.

Senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti.
E mentre che di là per me si stette, 85
Io li sovvenni, e lor dritti costumi
Fer dispregiare a me tutte altre sette;
E pria ch' io conducessi i Greci ai fiumi
Di Tebe, poetando, ebb' io battesmo;
Ma per paura chiuso cristian fu'mi, 90
Lungamente mostrando paganesmo;
E questa tepidezza il quarto cerchio
Cerchiar mi fe' più ch' al quarto centesmo.
Tu dunque, che levato hai il coperchio
Che m' ascondeva quanto bene io dico, 95
Mentre che del salire avem soperchio,
Dimmi dov' è Terenzio nostro antico,
Cecilio, Plauto e Varo, se lo sai.
Dimmi se son dannati, ed in qual vico.'
'Costoro e Persio ed io ed altri assai,' 100
Rispose il Duca mio, 'siam, con quel Greco
Che le Muse lattar più ch' altro mai,
Nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco.

85. 'And as long as I remained yonder.' For the passive impersonal construction, cf. XVI, 118–9.

86. *Sovvenni*, 'helped.'

88, 89. Before I told in verse the story of the campaign of the Greeks against Thebes. See *Theb.*, VII, 424–25.

90. *Chiuso*, 'secret.' — *Fu'mi* = *mi fui* =*fui*.

93. Statius circled around the fourth circle (of sloth) 'over four centuries' before his penance of 500 years and more in the circle of prodigality. Cf. XXI, 67–8.

96. *Soperchio*, 'something left.'

98. *Varo* is probably for *Vario* (cf. *matera* in l. 29): the Latin dramatist Lucius Varius. Most texts have *Varro*, but this name would perhaps be inappropriate in connection with those of the dramatic poets, Terence, Cæcilius, Plautus. Horace mentions Cæcilius, Plautus, and Terence together, in the same order, in *Epistulæ*, II, i, 58–60.

100. Persius, the Latin satirist.

101. Homer: cf. *Inf.* IV, 88.

103. The 'first belt' is the Limbus. — For *carcere cieco*, cf. *Inf.* X, 58–9, and *Æn.*, VI, 734.

Spesse fïate ragioniam del monte
Che sempre ha le nutrici nostre seco. 105
Euripide v' è nosco, ed Antifonte,
Simonide, Agatone ed altri piùe
Greci che già di lauro ornar la fronte.
Quivi si veggion delle genti tue
Antigone, Deïfile ed Argia, 110
Ed Ismene sì trista come fue.
Vedesi quella che mostrò Langia;
Evvi la figlia di Tiresia, e Teti,
E con le suore sue Deïdamia.'
Tacevansi ambedue già li poeti, 115
Di nuovo attenti a riguardare intorno,
Liberi dal salire e dai pareti;
E già le quattro ancelle eran del giorno
Rimase addietro, e la quinta era al temo,
Drizzando pure in su l' ardente corno, 120

105. 'Our nurses' are the muses: cf. l. 102.

106, 107. The Greek lyric poet, Simonides, is mentioned with the Greek tragic poets, Euripides, Antiphon, and Agathon.

109. By 'thy people' Virgil means the characters in Statius's poems. The first six enumerated are found in the *Thebaid*, the last two in the *Achilleid*.

110, 111. Antigone and Ismēne were daughters of Œdipus and Jocasta (l. 56); after fearful misfortunes, both were condemned to death by Creon. Deíphĭle and Argīa were daughters of Adrastus, king of Argos; the first was the wife of Tydeus (*Inf.* XXXII, 130), the second of Polynices (see note to l. 56); Argia once possessed the 'ill-fated ornament' of XII, 51.

112. It was Hypsipўle who pointed out the fountain of Langīa to Adrastus and the other Greek kings, when their troops were dying of thirst (*Thebaid*, IV, 716 ff.): cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 92; *Purg.* XXVI, 95.

113. Tiresias's daughter was Manto, whom Dante consigned (*Inf.* XX, 55), with the other soothsayers, to the 4th *bolgia* of the 8th circle of Hell; for a discussion of this curious inconsistency, see the Argument to Canto XX of the *Inferno*. — Thetis, the sea-goddess, was the wife of Peleus and the mother of Achilles: cf. IX, 37.

114. Deïdamīa and 'her sisters' were daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros, with whom Thetis hid Achilles: IX, 34–9. Deidamia was loved by Achilles: *Inf.* XXVI, 62.

118. The 'handmaids of the day' are the hours of daylight: cf. XII, 81.

119. *Temo* = *timone*, 'chariot-pole.' The hours are here represented as drawing in turn the car of day.

120. The 'blazing horn' is the bright tip of the pole, which now points 'only upward,' as it is approaching the meridian.

Quando il mio Duca: 'Io credo ch' allo estremo
Le destre spalle volger ci convegna,
Girando il monte come far solemo.'
Così l' usanza fu lì nostra insegna,
E prendemmo la via con men sospetto 125
Per l' assentir di quell' anima degna.
Elli givan dinanzi, ed io soletto
Diretro, ed ascoltava i lor sermoni
Ch' a poetar mi davano intelletto.
Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni 130
Un arbor che trovammo in mezza strada,
Con pomi ad odorar soavi e buoni.
E come abete in alto si digrada
Di ramo in ramo, così quello in giuso, —
Cred' io perchè persona su non vada. 135
Dal lato onde il cammin nostro era chiuso,
Cadea dell' alta roccia un liquor chiaro,
E si spandeva per le foglie suso.
Li due poeti all' arbor s' appressaro;
Ed una voce per entro le fronde 140
Gridò: 'Di questo cibo avrete caro.'
Poi disse: 'Più pensava Maria onde
Fosser le nozze onrevoli ed intere,
Ch' alla sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde.

121. *Estremo*, 'outer edge': cf. XIX, 81.
126. The 'worthy soul' who gives his silent assent is Statius.
130. *Arbor* = *albero*.
133. *Si digrada*, 'tapers.'
136. On the inner side, where the path was enclosed by the cliff.
141. *Caro*, 'dearth.'
143. The story of Mary at the wedding feast in Cana (John ii, 1-3), which she tried to make 'honorable and perfect,' was used in XIII, 29, as an example of loving solicitude; here it appears among the examples of temperance.
144. 'Than of her own mouth (i. e., of gratifying her own appetite), which now answers (pleads) for you.'

E le Romane antiche per lor bere 145
Contente furon d' acqua; e Danïello
Dispregiò cibo ed acquistò sapere.
Lo secol primo (quant' oro fu bello)
Fe' saporose con fame le ghiande,
E nèttare con sete ogni ruscello. 150
Mele e locuste furon le vivande
Che nudriro il Batista nel diserto;
Per ch' egli è gloriöso, e tanto grande
Quanto per l' Evangelio v' è aperto.'

145. St. Thomas says that, according to Valerius Maximus, the women, at the time of the early Romans, drank no wine: *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. cxlix, Art. 4.

147. Daniel i, 8–17: 'But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's (Nebuchadnezzar's) meat, nor with the wine which he drank . . . and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.'

148. The golden age is described in *Met.*, I, 89–112.

149. Cf. *Cons.*, II, Metr. v, ll. 1–12.

151. Mat. iii, 4: 'his (John the Baptist's) meat was locusts and wild honey.'

154. *Aperto*, 'revealed.' — Mat. xi, 11: 'Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.' Cf. Luke i, 15.

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

Just as, in Hell, Dante's old master, Brunetto Latini, scorched almost beyond recognition, suddenly greets his former disciple with the exclamation 'Qual maraviglia!' (*Inf.* XV, 24), so among the disfigured gluttons in Purgatory one of the souls, after peering at the poet 'from the depths of his skull,' reveals himself by the cry 'Qual grazia m' è questa!' The same gentle, caressing rhythm in which the traveller accosted Francesca, Ciacco, and Belacqua (*Inf.* V, 116; VI, 58; *Purg.* IV, 123) recurs here in the line, 'Ed io a lui: "Forese, da quel dì" . . . ' For this is the shade of Bicci Novello, called also Forese, of the Donati family, brother of that famous Corso Donati who led the Blacks, and a kinsman of the Gemma Donati who became Dante's wife. He died in 1296. From the present passage we learn that he and our poet, at one time (we cannot tell exactly when), were close friends, and that they pursued together a course which it is now painful to recall, a life symbolized by the dark wood from which Virgil, or Reason, rescued the sinner at the beginning of the *Inferno.* The nature and the degree of their worldliness we have no means of knowing; but we have evidence of their intimacy, and of a common coarseness of taste, in a series of six sonnets exchanged, either in anger or in blackguard jest, by the two companions. In these, Dante reproaches Forese with desertion of his wife, gluttony, thievishness, and illegitimate birth; Forese retaliates with accusations of beggary and cowardice, and a couple of incomprehensible references to some scandal connected with Dante's father. Although Bicci Novello was a rhymester, he was probably no scholar; at any rate, in the present canto the poet does not think it worth while to tell him Statius's name, and when Virgil is introduced to him he seems to show no interest. But for the really bad name he gave Forese in the vituperative sonnets, Dante now makes all possible amends. He puts into his mouth a sweet phrase of loving penitence and a stern reprobation of Florentine immodesty. Still more notable is the rehabilitation of Forese's wife, Nella, whom Dante had cruelly ridiculed in the first sonnet, jeering at her perpetual colds and her husband's neglect.

Forese now describes her as his 'dear widow,' whom he 'loved so much,' and to whose tears and prayers he owes his speedy admission to the heavenward path.

See G. Venturi, *Dante e Forese Donati*, in *Rivista d' Italia*, VII, i, 391.

Mentre che gli occhi per la fronda verde
  Ficcava io così come far suole
  Chi retro agli uccellin sua vita perde,
Lo più che padre mi dicea: 'Figliuole,
  Vienne oramai, chè il tempo che c' è imposto 5
  Più utilmente compartir si vuole.'
Io volsi il viso, e il passo non men tosto
  Appresso ai savi, che parlavan sìe
  Che l' andar mi facean di nullo costo.
Ed ecco piangere e cantar s' udìe: 10
  '*Labïa mea Domine*,' per modo
  Tal che diletto e doglia parturìe.
'O dolce Padre, che è quel ch' i' odo?'
  Comincia' io. Ed egli: 'Ombre che vanno
  Forse di lor dover solvendo il nodo.' 15
Sì come i peregrin pensosi fanno,
  Giugnendo per cammin gente non nota,
  Che si volgono ad essa e non ristanno,
Così diretro a noi, più tosto mota,

3. *Perde*, 'wastes.' Bird-hunting was the favorite aristocratic sport in the Middle Ages, and is still (in different forms) ardently pursued in Italy. Dante draws many similes from it.

4. *Figliuole* is the Latin vocative, *filiole*, written as Dante probably pronounced it: 'my son.'

8. *Sìe* = *sì*: cf. IV, 47.

11. Ps. li, 15 (Vulg. l, 17): '*O Lord*, open thou *my lips;* and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.' The mouth, which was put to a bad use on earth, now makes amends: cf. XXII, 144. This verse is from the beautiful psalm of repentance and faith called the '*Miserere*,' which was sung by the waiting spirits in V, 24.

15. *Dover*, 'debt.'

16. Cf. *V. N.*, Sonnet XXIV, 55: 'Deh peregrini, che pensosi andate.'

19. *Mota* = *mossa*, 'moving.'

Venendo e trapassando, ci ammirava 20
D' anime turba tacita e devota.
Negli occhi era ciascuna oscura e cava,
Pallida nella faccia, e tanto scema
Che dall' ossa la pelle s' informava.
Non credo che così a buccia estrema 25
Eresitone fosse fatto secco
Per digiunar, quando più n' ebbe tema.
Io dicea fra me stesso pensando: 'Ecco
La gente che perdè Jerusalemme,
Quando Maria nel figlio diè di becco!' 30
Parean l' occhiaie anella senza gemme.
Chi nel viso degli uomini legge *omo*,
Ben avria quivi conosciuto l' emme.
Chi crederebbe che l' odor d' un pomo
Sì governasse, generando brama, 35
E quel d' un' acqua — non sapendo como?

23. *Scema*, 'wasted.' Cf. Job xix, 20.
25. *A buccia estrema*, 'to the very rind.' Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 801–4, the description of Erysichthon:

'Hirtus erat crinis, cava lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana situ, scabræ rubigine fauces,
Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent;
Ossa sub incurvis exstabant arida lumbis.'

26. *Fatto secco*, 'dried up.' Erysichthon was punished for sacrilege, by Ceres, with consuming hunger, so that, having devoured all he possessed, he finally began to eat himself: *Met.*, VIII, 738–878.
27. *Tema*, 'fear': when he found himself obliged to feed on his own body: *Met.*, VIII, 877–8.
30. The Jews besieged in Jerusalem were horribly reduced by famine, until they were at last compelled to open the gates to the Emperor Titus. A lady named Mary killed, cooked, and 'stuck her beak into' her own child: Flavius Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, VI, iii, 8.
32. Capital *M*, in the handwriting of Dante's time, resembled two *O*'s side by side, the second a little open at the bottom. Inasmuch as this figure is not unlike a nose between two eye-sockets, it was sometimes said that man (homo) had his name (*omo*, i. e., *uomo*) written in his face, the two sockets furnishing the initial and the final *O*, and the whole contour of the sockets and nose furnishing the medial *M*. In a skull the likeness is much more striking.
36. *Quel*: i. e., *odor*. — *Como* = *come*.

Già era in ammirar che sì gli affama,
Per la cagione ancor non manifesta
Di lor magrezza e di lor trista squama;
Ed ecco del profondo della testa 40
Volse a me gli occhi un' ombra, e guardò fiso;
Poi gridò forte: 'Qual grazia m' è questa?'
Mai non l' avrei riconosciuto al viso;
Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese
Ciò che l' aspetto in sè avea conquiso. 45
Questa favilla tutta mi raccese
Mia conoscenza alla cambiata labbia,
E ravvisai la faccia di Forese.
'Deh non contendere all' asciutta scabbia,
Che mi scolora,' pregava, 'la pelle, 50
Nè a difetto di carne ch' io abbia!
Ma dimmi il ver di te, e chi son quelle
Due anime che là ti fanno scorta!
Non rimaner che tu non mi favelle!'
'La faccia tua, ch' io lagrimai già morta, 55
Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia,'
Rispos' io lui, 'veggendola sì torta.
Però mi di', per Dio, che sì vi sfoglia!
Non mi far dir mentr' io mi maraviglio,
Chè mal può dir chi è pien d' altra voglia.' 60
Ed egli a me: 'Dell' eterno consiglio
Cade virtù nell' acqua, e nella pianta

37. *Era in ammirar che*, 'I was wondering what . . .' — *Gli* = *li*.
39. Scaliness and discoloration of the skin were regarded as signs of extreme starvation.
45. *Ciò:* the identity of the shade. — *Conquiso*, 'suppressed.'
47. *Labbia*, 'countenance.'
49. *Contendere*, 'stare.'
56. *Mo*, 'now.'
58. *Che*, 'what.' — *Sfoglia*, 'withers.'

Rimasa retro, ond' io sì m' assottiglio.
Tutta esta gente che piangendo canta,
Per seguitar la gola oltra misura, 65
In fame e in sete qui si rifà santa.
Di bere e di mangiar n' accende cura
L' odor ch' esce del pomo e dello sprazzo
Che si distende su per la verdura;
E non pure una volta, questo spazzo 70
Girando, si rinfresca nostra pena.
Io dico "pena," e dovrei dir "sollazzo";
Chè quella voglia all' arbore ci mena
Che menò Cristo lieto a dire "Elì,"
Quando ne liberò con la sua vena.' 75
Ed io a lui: 'Forese, da quel dì
Nel qual mutasti mondo a miglior vita,
Cinqu' anni non son volti infino a qui.
Se prima fu la possa in te finita
Di peccar più, che sorvenisse l' ora 80
Del buon dolor ch' a Dio ne rimarita,
Come se' tu quassù venuto? Ancora
Io ti credea trovar laggiù di sotto,

63. *M' assottiglio*, 'grow peaked.'
65. *Per*, 'because of.'
68. *Sprazzo*, 'spray': cf. XXII, 137-8. — Cf. *Met.*, IV, 458-9:

'Tibi, Tantale, nullæ
Deprenduntur aquæ, quæque imminet effugit arbos.'

70. *Spazzo*, 'floor': cf. *Inf.* XIV, 13.
74. Mat. xxvii, 46: 'And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' — That same love of sacrifice which led Christ gladly to the crucifixion leads us to our penance. — Ll. 74, 76, 78 are *versi tronchi:* cf. *Inf.* IV, 56.
75. *Vena*, 'vein,' i. e., blood.
78. 'Five' is here a round number. In fact, as Forese died on July 28, 1296, the time is less than four years. — Dante wonders why Forese is not waiting outside of Purgatory, since he postponed repentance until the end of life. Cf. IV, 130-5.

Dove tempo per tempo si ristora.'
Ond' egli a me: 'Sì tosto m' ha condotto 85
A ber lo dolce assenzio de' martiri
La Nella mia col suo pianger dirotto.
Con suoi preghi devoti e con sospiri
Tratto m' ha della costa ove s' aspetta,
E liberato m' ha degli altri giri. 90
Tant' è a Dio più cara e più diletta
La vedovella mia, che tanto amai,
Quanto in bene operare è più soletta;
Chè la Barbagia di Sardigna assai
Nelle femmine sue è più pudica 95
Che la Barbagia dov' io la lasciai.
O dolce frate, che vuoi tu ch' io dica?
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
Cui non sarà quest' ora molto antica,
Nel qual sarà in pergamo interdetto 100
Alle sfacciate donne Fiorentine
L' andar mostrando con le poppe il petto.
Quai Barbare fur mai, quai Saracine,
Cui bisognasse, per farle ir coperte,
O spiritali o altre discipline? 105
Ma se le svergognate fosser certe
Di quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna,
Già per urlare avrian le bocche aperte.
Chè se l' antiveder qui non m' inganna,

94. *Barbagia* is the name of a wild and mountainous region in Sardinia, whose inhabitants, converted late to Christianity, were still only half-civilized in Dante's time.

96. Dante calls Florence a second Barbagia, on account of its godlessness.

100. We have no other knowledge of such a prohibition from 'the pulpit'; nor have we other evidence that the Florentine women deserved such a reprimand.

107. *Ammanna*, 'is storing up.'

Prima fien triste che le guance impeli 110
Colui che mo sì consola con nanna.
Deh, frate, or fa che più non mi ti celi!
Vedi che non pur io, ma questa gente
Tutta rimira là dove il sol veli.'
Per ch' io a lui: 'Se ti riduci a mente 115
Qual fosti meco e quale io teco fui,
Ancor fia grave il memorar presente.
Di quella vita mi volse costui
Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier, quando tonda
Vi si mostrò la suora di colui —' 120
(E il sol mostrai). 'Costui per la profonda
Notte menato m' ha da' veri morti,
Con questa vera carne che il seconda.
Indi m' han tratto su li suoi conforti,
Salendo e rigirando la montagna 125
Che drizza voi che il mondo fece torti.
Tanto dice di farmi sua compagna,
Ch' io sarò là dove fia Beatrice;
Quivi convien che senza lui rimagna.
Virgilio è questi che così mi dice' — 130
E addita' lo, — 'e quest' altro è quell' ombra
Per cui scosse dianzi ogni pendice
Lo vostro regno che da sè lo sgombra.'

110. *Le guance impeli*, 'he shall have hairy cheeks.'
111. *Nanna*, 'lullaby.' — The prophecy seems to relate to an event about 15 years off. On Aug. 29, 1315, occurred the defeat of Montecatini, disastrous for the leading families of Florence.
119. *L' altr' ier*, 'the other day.'
120. *Suora* = *sorella*. Cf. *Inf.* XX, 127.
123. *Seconda*, 'follows': cf. XVI, 33.

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

When Dante wrote the first *canzone* of the *Vita Nuova*, 'Ye ladies who understand what love is,' he felt that he was inaugurating a new era in poetry. The prose introduction to the verses testifies to the solemnity of the event. Following in part the indications of his master, Guido Guinizelli of Bologna (XXVI, 91–102), and strongly influenced in style by Virgil (*Inf.* I, 85–7), the youthful poet was creating — or renewing — a type of composition based directly upon truth, inspired by, and faithfully recording, the author's own emotions and the fruits of his eager study (*V. N.*, XLIII, 1–7). In Dante's opinion, his Italian forerunners and probably (in spite of frequent protestations of sincerity) their Provençal forbears had regarded poetry as a rhetorical, metrical, and musical exercise, a working out of old themes in new keys, with fresh variations of technique; while the 'sweet new style' of the young Florentine made rhetoric, metre, and music subservient to the expression of real thought and feeling. For him, *amore* meant not only love, but also the enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge (*Conv.*, II, xvi, 79–83). The phrase 'dolce stil nuovo' is nowadays employed rather loosely to designate all the work of a little group comprising Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Dante Alighieri, and Cino da Pistoia, who are mentioned together in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xiii, 33–40, as experts in the vulgar tongue; but as our author uses it in Canto XXIV, it evidently refers only to the maturer lyric product of Dante himself and those who followed him, — perhaps excluding Cavalcanti, who did not share in the cult of Virgil (*Inf.* X, 62–3). Italy had already seen in the 13th century more than one glorious artificer of modern speech: Giacomo da Lentini, — or, as he signed himself, 'the Notary,' — a secretary at the court of Frederick II, a prolific and versatile composer, perhaps the inventor of the sonnet, leader of the Sicilian school (*Vulg. El.*, I, xii, 5–35), to which Pier delle Vigne (*Inf.* XIII) belonged; Guittone d'Arezzo (*Vulg. El.*, I, xiii, 7–8; *Purg.* xxvi, 124), an ingenious but uninspired and laborious love-poet and a rugged satirist, the chief of the early Tuscan versifiers; and his follower, Bonagiunta Orbicciani of Lucca (*Vulg. El.*,

I, xiii, 8–9), a not altogether servile imitator of Provençal and Italian models. But they and their fellows substituted convention for introspection, and this fundamental error, from which all their faults of conception and diction derived, was the 'knot' that bound them, keeping them always 'on the hither side' of the heights scaled by unfettered genius. Of the comparative importance of substance and form Dante speaks in the *Convivio*, II, xii, 21–7: 'La *bontà* e la *bellezza* di ciascuno sermone sono intra loro partite e diverse; chè la bontà è nella sentenza, e la bellezza nell' ornamento delle parole: l' una e l' altra è con diletto; avvegnachè la bontade sia massimamente dilettosa.'

The last of the above mentioned predecessors of the new style, Bonagiunta Orbicciani, is presented to Dante by Forese. In this region, where aspects are so altered by fasting, there is no discourtesy in pointing at people and calling them by their names. In fact, all the shades designated by Forese are glad to serve as warning examples to the new-comer, and not one of them scowls, or shows 'a dark mien,' at having his former weakness disclosed. Among them, 'plying their teeth on empty air,' are seen: Martin IV of Tours, Pope from 1281 to 1285, the supporter of Charles of Anjou (VII, 113) in Sicily and the stubborn opponent of Guido da Montefeltro at Forlì (*Inf.* XXVII, 43–4), who, for all his honesty and valor, was overfond of white wine and of the fat eels of Lake Bolsena, in the province of Rome; Ubaldino dalla Pila, brother of Cardinal Ottaviano (*Inf.* X, 120) and father of Archbishop Ruggieri (*Inf.* XXXIII, 14), a Ghibelline prominent among those who triumphed at Montaperti in 1260, a jovial personage in one of Sacchetti's stories (*Novelle*, CCV); Bonifazio de' Fieschi, the 'shepherd of many people,' archbishop of Ravenna from 1274 to 1294, who, in his will, devoted his fortune to the recovery of the Holy Land; Master Marchese (or Marchesino) degli Orgogliosi of Forlì, mayor of Faenza in 1296.

There was a rhymester called Bonagiunta in Florence, where the name was very common; but the one our poet meets among the gluttons is from Lucca, a judge and notary, whom we find recorded in documents from 1250 to 1296. Although his city has been condemned as a nest of bribery (*Inf.* XXI, 37–42), he foresees that a lady, a certain Gentucca, who does not yet, in 1300, wear the married woman's veil (cf. VIII, 74), shall one day make Lucca a pleasant sojourn for Dante. In this dim prophecy we doubtless have one more of those discreetly gracious compliments offered in grateful return for hospitality to the exile in his wanderings. Who his kind hostess was, we do not know. The name

Gentucca occurs several times in Lucchese records. A Gentucca Morla, married to Coscio di Fondora, is mentioned in a will of 1317, at which time she was apparently a young wife. Dante's visit to Lucca — of which this passage is our only evidence — may well have been paid in 1315.

A very different prophecy — though similarly cloaked in vagueness — is made by Forese concerning his brother, Corso Donati, the Catiline of Florence. This great leader of the Blacks, noble, handsome, proud, ambitious, daring, crafty, and cruel, at last fell out with the other chiefs of his party, who accused him of treason and had him condemned and arrested. As he was being led into the city on a horse or a mule, on October 6, 1308, he threw himself upon the ground, where a Catalan guardsman despatched him with a lance thrust in the throat. According to one story, his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged some distance before the Catalan overtook him. In Dante's version, which is not found elsewhere, Corso is kicked to death by the animal that is hauling him. 'Him who is most to blame for Florence's downfall,' says Forese, 'I see dragged, at the tail of a beast, toward that valley where there is no remission of sin' — in other words, dragged to death, which, for Corso, means Hell; 'the creature runs faster at each step, ever increasing, until it strikes him and leaves his body ignominiously destroyed.' This end is the more disgraceful in that dragging at a horse's tail was a punishment inflicted upon particularly vile criminals.

For Dante's ideas of literary style, see *Vulg. El.*, II, iv. For the 'dolce stil nuovo': F. Flamini, *Dante e lo "Stil Nuovo,"* 1900; P. Savj-Lopez, *Trovadori e poeti*, 1906, 20–3. For Bonagiunta: Novati, 190; A. Parducci, *I rimatori lucchesi del secolo* XIII, 1905. For Gentucca: Novati, 198. For the stories of Corso's death: Tor., 539–40.

Nè il dir l' andar, nè l' andar lui più lento
  Facea, ma ragionando andavam forte,
  Sì come nave pinta da buon vento.
E l' ombre, che parean cose rimorte,
  Per le fosse degli occhi ammirazione 5
  Traean di me, di mio vivere accorte.
Ed io, continüando il mio sermone,
  Dissi: 'Ella sen va su forse più tarda

4. *Rimorte*, 'twice dead': Jude 12.
8. *Ella:* the shade of Statius, mentioned in XXIII, 131.

Che non farebbe, per l' altrui cagione.
Ma dimmi, se tu 'l sai, ov' è Piccarda. 10
Dimmi s' io veggio da notar persona
Tra questa gente che sì mi riguarda.'
'La mia sorella, che tra bella e buona
Non so qual fosse più, trionfa lieta
Nell' alto Olimpo già di sua corona.' 15
Sì disse prima, e poi: 'Qui non si vieta
Di nominar ciascun, da ch' è sì munta
Nostra sembianza via per la dïeta.
Questi' — e mostrò col dito — 'è Bonagiunta,
Bonagiunta da Lucca. E quella faccia 20
Di là da lui, più che l' altre trapunta,
Ebbe la santa Chiesa in le sue braccia;
Dal Torso fu, e purga per digiuno
L' anguille di Bolsena e la vernaccia.'
Molti altri mi nomò ad uno ad uno; 25
E del nomar parean tutti contenti,
Sì ch' io però non vidi un atto bruno.
Vidi per fame a vôto usar li denti
Ubaldin dalla Pila, e Bonifazio,
Che pasturò col rocco molte genti. 30
Vidi messer Marchese, ch' ebbe spazio
Già di bere a Forlì con men secchezza,
E sì fu tal che non si sentì sazio.
Ma come fa chi guarda, e poi s' apprezza
Più d' un che d' altro, fe' io a quel da Lucca, 35
Che più parea di me voler contezza.

9. In order to be longer with Virgil.
10. Piccarda Donati, Forese's sister, appears in *Par.* III.
17. *Munta*, 'milked dry,' withered by 'fast.'
21. *Trapunta*, 'drawn': hollowed like the 'stitched' spots in a comforter.
30. *Rocco* means 'rook,' or castle, in chess. Why Dante uses this word, where one would expect 'crook' or 'crozier,' is unexplained.
36. *Contezza*, 'acquaintance.'

Ei mormorava, e non so che 'Gentucca'
Sentiva io là ov' ei sentia la piaga
Della giustizia che sì li pilucca.
'O anima,' diss' io, 'che par sì vaga 40
Di parlar meco, fa sì ch' io t' intenda,
E te e me col tuo parlare appaga.'
'Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda,'
Cominciò ei, 'che ti farà piacere
La mia città, come ch' uom la riprenda. 45
Tu te n' andrai con questo antivedere;
Se nel mio mormorar prendesti errore,
Dichiareranti ancor le cose vere.
Ma di' s' io veggio qui colui che fuore
Trasse le nuove rime, cominciando: 50
"Donne ch' avete intelletto d' Amore."'
Ed io a lui: 'Io mi son un che, quando
Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo
Che ditta dentro, vo significando.'
'O frate, issa veggio,' disse, 'il nodo 55
Che il Notaro e Guittone e me ritenne
Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.
Io veggio ben come le vostre penne
Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,
Che delle nostre certo non avvenne. 60
E qual più a guardar oltre si mette
Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo.'

38. *Là:* in the mouth.
39. *Pilucca*, 'plucks': strips, wastes.
45. *Come ch' uom*, 'however one.' . . .
48. 'The real events will yet set thee right.'
54. *Ditta* = *detta*, 'dictates.' — *Vo significando*, 'I speak forth.' — Cf. Bernart de Ventadorn:

'Chantars no pot guaire valer,
Si dins del cor no mou lo chans.'

55. *Issa*, 'now': cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 7; XXVII, 21.

E quasi contentato si tacette.
Come gli augei che vernan lungo il Nilo
Alcuna volta in aere fanno schiera, 65
Poi volan più in fretta e vanno in filo,
Così tutta la gente che lì era,
Volgendo il viso, raffrettò suo passo,
E per magrezza e per voler leggiera.
E come l' uom che di trottare è lasso 70
Lascia andar li compagni e sì passeggia
Fin che si sfoghi l' affollar del casso,
Sì lasciò trapassar la santa greggia
Forese, e retro meco sen veniva,
Dicendo: 'Quando fia ch' io ti riveggia?' 75
'Non so,' rispos' io lui, 'quant' io mi viva;
Ma già non fia il tornar mio tanto tosto
Ch' io non sia col voler prima alla riva.
Però che il loco, u' fui a viver posto,
Di giorno in giorno più di ben si spolpa, 80
Ed a trista ruïna par disposto.'
'Or va,' diss' ei, 'chè quei che più n' ha colpa
Vegg' io a coda d' una bestia tratto
In ver la valle, ove mai non si scolpa.
La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto, 85
Crescendo sempre fin ch' ella il percuote,
E lascia il corpo vilmente disfatto.
Non hanno molto a volger quelle rote' —
E drizzò gli occhi al ciel — 'che ti fia chiaro
Ciò che il mio dir più dichiarar non puote. 90

64. Cf. *Phars.*, V, 711–6.
72. 'Until the heaving of his chest is eased.'
79. *U'* = *ove.*
80. *Si spolpa*, 'is unfleshed,' stripped.
84. 'The valley' of Hell, 'where sin is never cast off.'

Tu ti rimani omai, chè il tempo è caro
  In questo regno sì ch' io perdo troppo
  Venendo teco sì a paro a paro.'
Qual esce alcuna volta di galoppo
  Lo cavalier di schiera che cavalchi, 95
  E va per farsi onor del primo intoppo,
Tal si partì da noi con maggior valchi;
  Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due,
  Che fur del mondo sì gran maliscalchi.
E quando innanzi a noi entrato fue 100
  Che gli occhi miei si fero a lui seguaci
  Come la mente alle parole sue,
Parverm' i rami gravidi e vivaci
  D' un altro pomo, e non molto lontani,
  Per esser pure allora volto in làci. 105
Vidi gente sott' esso alzar le mani
  E gridar non so che verso le fronde.
  Quasi bramosi fantolini e vani
Che pregano, e il pregato non risponde,
  Ma, per fare esser ben la voglia acuta, 110
  Tien alto lor disio e nol nasconde.
Poi si partì sì come ricreduta;
  E noi venimmo al grande arbore adesso
  Che tanti preghi e lagrime rifiuta.

96. *Intoppo*, 'encounter,' single combat with one of the enemy.
97. *Valchi*, 'strides.'
99. *Maliscalchi*, 'marshals': carrying out the military figure of the preceding lines.
100. *Entrato*, 'retired' around the curve of the cliff: cf. III, 101.
101, 102. My eyes could no more follow his form than my mind could follow his words.
103. *Vivaci*, 'lusty.'
105. 'Because I had just then turned that way': Dante had been watching Forese in the distance. — *Làci* = *là*.
108. *Fantolini*, 'children.' — *Vani*, 'silly.'
112. *Ricreduta*, 'undeceived.'
113. *Adesso*, 'forthwith.'

'Trapassate oltre senza farvi presso! 115
Legno è più su che fu morso da Eva,
E questa pianta si levò da esso.'
Sì tra le frasche non so chi diceva;
Per che Virgilio e Stazio ed io, ristretti,
Oltre andavam dal lato che si leva. 120
'Ricordivi,' dicea, 'dei maledetti
Nei nuvoli formati, che satolli
Tesëo combatter coi doppi petti;
E degli Ebrei ch' al ber si mostrar molli,
Per che no i volle Gedëon compagni, 125
Quando ver Madïan discese i colli.'
Sì, accostati all' un de' due vivagni,
Passammo, udendo colpe della gola,
Seguite già da miseri guadagni.
Poi, rallargati per la strada sola, 130
Ben mille passi e più ci portaro oltre,
Contemplando ciascun senza parola.
'Che andate pensando sì voi sol tre?'

115. Cf. Gen. ii, 17: 'But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it.'

116. The 'tree higher up' (in the Garden of Eden), 'which was bitten by Eve' (Gen. iii, 6), and of which the present fruit-tree is a slip, is the tree of knowledge, the symbol of law: XXXII, 37–42.

119. *Ristretti*, 'drawing close together,' to pass, on the left, between the tree and the cliff.

121. *Ricordi* is impersonal: *ricordivi*, 'bethink ye.' — The 'accursed' centaurs were the offspring of Ixion and a cloud.

123. The centaurs, invited by the Lapithæ to the wedding of Pirithous, attempted, when 'drunken,' to carry off the bride and other women; hence arose a fierce battle, in which the centaurs were defeated, with great slaughter, by Theseus (Pirithous's friend) and his followers.

125. Of the 10,000 Hebrews ready to fight against Midian, the Lord bade Gideon choose only the 300 who, when led to water, drank without kneeling, merely lifting the water to their lips; the others were sent home: Judges vii, 4–7.

127. *Vivagni*, 'edges' of the path: cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 49.

130. *Rallargati*, 'spreading out again,' after having passed through the narrow passage on the inner side of the ledge. — *Sola*, 'solitary.'

131. *Passi* is the subject of *portaro*.

133. *Sol tre*, 'three alone.' For the rhyme, cf. XIX, 34.

Subita voce disse; ond' io mi scossi,
Come fan bestie spaventate e poltre. 135
Drizzai la testa per veder chi fossi;
E giammai non si videro in fornace
Vetri o metalli sì lucenti e rossi
Com' io vidi un che dicea: 'S' a voi piace
Montare in su, qui si convien dar volta. 140
Quinci si va chi vuole andar per pace.'
L' aspetto suo m' avea la vista tolta;
Per ch' io mi volsi retro a' miei dottori,
Com' uom che va secondo ch' egli ascolta.
E quale, annunziatrice degli albori, 145
L' aura di maggio movesi ed olezza,
Tutta impregnata dall' erba e dai fiori,
Tal mi sentii un vento dar per mezza
La fronte, e ben senti' mover la piuma,
Che fe' sentir d' ambrosīa l' orezza. 150
E senti' dir: '*Beati* cui alluma
Tanto di grazia che l' amor del gusto
Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,
Esurïendo sempre quanto è giusto.'

135. 'As sluggish creatures do, when startled.'
136. *Fossi = fosse*: cf. *Inf.* IV, 64.
138. Cf. Rev. i, 15: 'And his (Christ's) feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace.' Red is the color of love.
140. *Dar volta*, 'turn.'
141. *Per*, 'for,' in search of.
143. *Mi volsi retro a*, 'fell in behind,' being so dazzled that I could not see my way.
148. *Dar*, 'strike.'
150. *Orezza*, 'breath.'
152. *Amor del gusto*, 'love of the palate': subject of *fuma*, 'inspires,' of which *disir*, 'appetite,' is object.
154. 'Hungering always as much as is right.' Mat. v, 6: 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness' — 'Beati qui *esuriunt* et sitiunt justitiam.' In the circle of avarice and prodigality (XXII, 4–6) this beautitude was used, with the omission of the *esuriunt*, in a changed sense. Here it is the *sitiunt* that disappears, and the *justitiam* is ingeniously rendered by 'quanto è giusto,' which means both 'after all that is righteous' and 'as much as is right.'

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

In response to Dante's question how, when there is nothing in common between souls and matter, a bodiless spirit can grow thin from hunger, Virgil cites, as examples of things equally wonderful, a familiar incident from Ovid and a common physical phenomenon. The life of Meleager (*Met.* VIII, 273 ff.) was made by the fates to depend on that of a firebrand, which his mother plucked from the flames; there was no visible connection between the youth and the brand, and yet when the stick, restored after many years to the fire, burned itself out, Meleager simultaneously wasted away. Furthermore, we can see no bond between a mirrored image and the body before the glass, and nevertheless the reflection — a thing as unsubstantial as a shade — follows every movement of the solid form. Having thus prepared his disciple's mind, Virgil leaves the real explanation to Statius; and he accepts the task, but not without an apology so phrased as to suggest that the matter is not absolutely beyond the reach of pure Reason.

The main problem to be solved is the relation of soul to body, and to grasp it one must understand the physical and spiritual processes which lead up to the birth of both flesh and ghost. The limbs and organs of man are fed by his blood, which contains within it, potentially, all the parts of his frame. Not all of the blood, however, is used in this way: some of it remains, intact and unsullied, in the heart, retaining its complete formative power. This 'perfect blood,' once more 'digested,' or transformed, becomes the parent seed. In the act of generation it unites with the blood of the female. The active male blood then operates upon the passive female blood, which it first condenses into an embryo and then quickens into life. This life, or *anima*, is at first merely that of a plant — the 'vegetative soul.' Next, — by means of the formative power transmitted, through the seed, from the begetter's heart, — the senses are developed, the embryo changes little by little from a plantlike creature to an animal, and its life is that of the 'sensitive soul.' Both of these 'souls' are perishable.

The real incorruptible spirit, the 'intellective soul,' is breathed into each child by God at the moment of its birth, and immediately takes unto itself the vegetative and sensitive functions, absorbing the powers of life and sense which had been previously developed by physical activity.

Every man has, then, but one soul, specially created for him and endowed with life, sense, and intellect. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii, 7). This is the orthodox view, supported by Lactantius, St. Augustine, and their followers, among whom are St. Thomas, Hugh of St. Victor, and Peter Lombard. At the outset it had to contend with other doctrines. Origen had adopted the Platonic theory that all souls were created together at the beginning of the world; this opinion the Church condemned as heretical. Tertullian had maintained that one soul is begotten by another at the moment when the body is generated. Dante follows, in the main, St. Thomas (apparently preferring Aristotle, however, when it comes to the origin of the 'sensitive soul'), but he doubtless gathered from other Christian sources as well — for instance, from Hugh of St. Victor, *De Anima*, II, xii (Migne XL, p. 788). In the *Convivio*, IV, xxi, 32–48, he treats, very summarily, the same subject.

In this chapter of the *Convivio* Dante says that as soon as the living spirit is produced, it receives from the Mover of Heaven the 'potential intellect' — 'lo *Intelletto possibile*, il quale potenzialmente in sè adduce tutte le forme universali, secondochè sono nel suo Produttore, e tanto meno, quanto più è dilungato dalla *Prima Intelligenza*' (ll. 44–8). Further on (ll. 68–70) he states that in proportion to the purity of the soul, 'discende in essa la *Virtù intellettuale possibile*.' Guido Cavalcanti, in his poem *Donna mi prega*, 21–3, declares that love

> 'Ven da veduta forma che s' intende,
> Che prende nel *possibile intelletto*,
> Come in subiecto, loco e dimoranza.'

It was Aristotle, in *De Anima*, III, who distinguished the 'potential' or passive, *internal*, perishable intelligence, which receives impressions or images, from the active, *external*, imperishable intellect, a sort of oversoul, which interprets images and forms ideas. His teaching was carried further by his great commentator, the Spanish Moor, Averrhoës (cf. *Inf.* IV, 144). This philosopher, who had an immense vogue in the 13th and 14th centuries, com-

bined the two intellectual principles, active and passive, into one universal mind, situated outside the individual soul and only temporarily connected with it; to the latter he allowed only the functions of sense and instinct, thus denying the immortality of the individual intelligence. As far as we can judge, Dante accepts the combination of the passive and active principles, but rejects for man the theory of the external, impersonal mind. He has nothing to say of the 'active intellect,' and his *possibile intelletto* appears to comprise both the capacity to receive impressions and, stimulated by grace, the ability to understand and reason. Now, in our canto, ll. 61–6, he says that the problem of the transformation of the 'vegetative,' 'sensitive' embryo into a child is 'a point which once led astray a wiser man than thou, so that in his philosophy he parted the potential intellect from the soul, because he saw no organ appropriate to that intellect.' It seems likely, on the whole, that the 'wiser man' is Aristotle, interpreted more or less through the medium of Averrhoës. For the actual separation of the 'potential intellect' from the soul, the Moor is responsible; on the other hand, it is Aristotle who states (*De Anima*, III, iv, 4) that the passive intelligence has no organ of its own.

To complete the answer to Dante's question, which has led to wide and important digressions, Statius describes the acquisition, by the soul, of an aërial body (cf. the Argument to Canto II). In this invention Dante seems to run counter to St. Thomas, who denies (*Summa contra Gentiles*, II, xc; *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 5) that the human soul can unite formally with the elements, although he affirms (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. li, Art. 2) that angels and devils can shape for themselves bodies of condensed air.

For the theory of generation, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cxviii, Art. 2, and Qu. cxix, Art. 2; see also Tertia, xxxi, 5, xxxii, 4, xxxiii, 1. — For the *possibile intelletto:* Moore, I, 115; Tor., 549; K. Vossler, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum "süssen neuen Stil,"* 1904, 73.

Ora era onde il salir non volea storpio,
Chè il sole avea lo cerchio di merigge
Lasciato al Tauro e la notte allo Scorpio.

1. 'It was an hour when our ascent brooked no obstacle.' It is early afternoon.

3. The sun, in the sign of Aries, has passed the meridian, or 'noonday circle,' leaving it to Taurus, the constellation that follows Aries; and the night, conceived as a point opposite the sun, has left the meridian circle to Scorpio, the constellation opposite Taurus.

Per che, come fa l' uom che non s' affigge,
  Ma vassi alla via sua, checchè gli appaia, 5
  Se di bisogno stimolo il trafigge,
Così entrammo noi per la callaia,
  Uno innanzi altro, prendendo la scala
  Che per artezza i salitor dispaia.
E quale il cicognin che leva l' ala 10
  Per voglia di volare, e non s' attenta
  D' abbandonar lo nido, e giù la cala,
Tal era io con voglia accesa e spenta
  Di domandar, venendo infino all' atto
  Che fa colui ch' a dicer s' argomenta. 15
Non lasciò, per l' andar che fosse ratto,
  Lo dolce Padre mio, ma disse: 'Scocca
  L' arco del dir che infino al ferro hai tratto!'
Allor sicuramente aprii la bocca,
  E cominciai: 'Come si può far magro 20
  Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca?'
'Se t' ammentassi come Meleägro
  Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,
  Non fora,' disse, 'questo a te sì agro;
E se pensassi come al vostro guizzo 25
  Guizza dentro allo specchio vostra image,
  Ciò che par duro ti parrebbe vizzo.
Ma perchè, dentro, a tuo voler t' adage,

4. *S' affigge*, 'stays.'
7. *Callaia*, 'gap.'
9. *Artezza*, 'narrowness.' — *Dispaia*, 'unmates,' i, e., separates.
11. *S' attenta*, 'ventures.' — Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, X, 458–62.
15. *S' argomenta*, 'makes ready.'
16. *Lasciò*, 'forebore.' — *Per l' andar che*, 'although our gait' . . .
18. *Ferro:* the arrow-head.
19. *Sicuramente*, 'fearlessly.'
21. *Tocca*, 'belongs.'
27. *Vizzo*, 'soft.'
28. *A tuo voler*, 'to thy heart's content.' — *T' adage*, 'thou mayest be at ease': cf. *Inf.* III, 111.

Ecco qui Stazio, ed io lui chiamo e prego
Che sia or sanator delle tue piage.' 30
'Se la veduta eterna gli dislego,'
Rispose Stazio, 'là dove tu sie,
Discolpi me non potert' io far nego.'
Poi cominciò: 'Se le parole mie,
Figlio, la mente tua guarda e riceve, 35
Lume ti fieno al "come" che tu die.
Sangue perfetto, che mai non si beve
Dall' assetate vene, e sì rimane
Quasi alimento che di mensa leve,
Prende nel core a tutte membra umane 40
Virtute informativa, come quello
Ch' a farsi quelle per le vene vane.
Ancor digesto, scende ov' è più bello
Tacer che dire; e quindi poscia geme
Sopr' altrui sangue in natural vasello. 45
Ivi s' accoglie l' uno e l' altro insieme,
L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare,
Per lo perfetto loco onde si preme;
E, giunto lui, comincia ad operare,
Coagulando prima, e poi avviva 50

30. *Piage* = *piaghe*.
31. 'If I unbind his immortal sight': cf. XXI, 30.
33. 'Let my inability to refuse thee be my excuse.'
36. *Come*: l. 20. — *Die* = *dici*.
39. *Leve*, 'thou takest away.'
40. *A*, 'for.'
41. *Quello*: sc., *sangue*.
42. 'Which goes through the veins to transform itself into them (*membra*).' — *Vane* = *va*: cf. IV, 22. — For the collocation of *vene* and *vane*, cf. *Inf.* I, 36; *Par.* III, 57.
44. *Geme*, 'it trickles': cf. *Inf.* XIII, 41.
45. *Altrui*: of the female.
48. *Per*, 'because of.' — *Perfetto loco*: the heart.
49. *Giunto lui*, 'united with it': the male blood united with the female blood.
50. *Coagulando*, 'condensing.' Cf. Wisdom of Solomon, vii, 2: 'Decem mensium tempore *coagulatus* sum in sanguine, ex semine hominis.' — *Avviva*, 'gives life to.'

Ciò che per sua materia fe' constare.
Anima fatta la virtute attiva, —
Qual d' una pianta (in tanto differente,
Che quest' è in via e quella è già a riva), —
Tanto opra poi che già si move e sente, 55
Come fungo marino; ed indi imprende
Ad organar le posse ond' è semente.
Or si spiega, figliuolo, or si distende
La virtù ch' è dal cor del generante,
Ove natura a tutte membra intende. 60
Ma come d' animal divenga fante,
Non vedi tu ancor; quest' è tal punto
Che più savio di te fe' già errante
Sì che, per sua dottrina, fe' disgiunto
Dall' anima il possibile intelletto, 65
Perchè da lui non vide organo assunto.
Apri alla verità che viene il petto,
E sappi che, sì tosto come al feto
L' articular del cerebro è perfetto,
Lo Motor primo a lui si volge, lieto 70
Sopra tanta arte di natura, e spira

51. 'That which it has made consistent, to serve as its material.'
52. 'The active principle (first derived from the heart of the begetter) having become a soul.'
54. The soul of the fœtus is on its way to further development, while that of the plant is at the end of its course.
56. The sea fungus is a sponge, which is intermediate between vegetable and animal. Cf. Aristotle, *De Animalibus Historiæ*, VIII, i. See also Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IX, 45. — *Imprende*, 'proceeds.'
57. 'To organize the faculties of which it is the germ': namely, the senses.
58. *Si spiega*, 'develops.' — *Si distende*, 'spreads.' — The subject of both verbs is *virtù* in l. 59.
59. *È dal*, 'comes from.'
60. *Ove* : in the heart. — *Intende*, 'makes provision.'
61. *Fante*, 'child': cf. XI, 66.
64. *Fe' disgiunto*, 'separated.'
65. *Possibile*, 'potential.'
66. *Assunto*, 'appropriated.'
68. *Feto*, 'embryo.'

Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto,
Che ciò che trova attivo quivi tira
In sua sustanzia, e fassi un' alma sola,
Che vive e sente, e sè in sè rigira. 75
E perchè meno ammiri la parola,
Guarda il calor del sol che si fa vino,
Giunto all' umor che dalla vite cola!
E quando Lachesìs non ha più lino,
Solvesi dalla carne, ed in virtute 80
Ne porta seco e l' umano e il divino —
L' altre potenze tutte quante mute,
Memoria, intelligenza e volontade
In atto molto più che prima acute.
Senz' arrestarsi, per sè stessa cade 85
Mirabilmente all' una delle rive;
Quivi conosce prima le sue strade.
Tosto che loco lì la circonscrive,
La virtù formativa raggia intorno,
Così e quanto nelle membra vive; 90

73, 74. 'Which absorbs into its own substance all that it finds active here (in the embryo)' — i. e., the vegetative and sensitive powers — 'and a single soul is created.'

75. *Sè in sè rigira,* 'revolves upon itself,' i. e., exists independently: cf. *Par.* II, 138.

77, 78. The 'new spirit,' when it has absorbed the already existing powers of the embryo, becomes a complete soul (vegetative, sensitive, and intellective), just as the sun's heat, uniting with the 'juice that flows from the vine,' is transformed into wine.

79. Láchesis is the fate who spins the thread of life from Clotho's 'flax': cf. XXI, 25. — For the accentuation see I, 9.

80. The subject is *alma,* l. 74. — *In virtute,* virtually, 'potentially.' The soul carries with it the divine part of man's powers and, potentially, the human part.

82. 'The other faculties being all of them dumb,' i. e., the faculties of sense being useless and therefore inactive.

83. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate,* X, xi, 17 and 18.

84. 'Much keener in their activity than before': these purely spiritual faculties gain by release from matter.

86. The soul 'falls' to the bank either of Acheron or of Tiber, according as it merits Hell or Purgatory.

88. 'As soon as space encompasses it there.'

90. 'In the same way, and to the same extent, that it radiated in the living limbs.'

E come l' aere, quand' è ben pïorno,
Per l' altrui raggio che in sè si riflette,
Di diversi color diventa adorno,
Così l' aere vicin quivi si mette
In quella forma che in lui suggella 95
Virtüalmente l' alma che ristette ;
E simigliante poi alla fiammella
Che segue il foco là 'vunque si muta,
Segue allo spirto sua forma novella.
Però che quindi ha poscia sua paruta, 100
È chiamata ombra; e quindi organa poi
Ciascun sentire infino alla veduta.
Quindi parliamo, e quindi ridiam noi,
Quindi facciam le lagrime e i sospiri
Che per lo monte aver sentiti puoi. 105
Secondo che ci affiggono i disiri
E gli altri affetti, l' ombra si figura;
E questa è la cagion di che tu ammiri.'
E già venuto all' ultima tortura
S' era per noi, e volto alla man destra, 110
Ed eravamo attenti ad altra cura.

91. *Piorno,* 'moist.' The radiation of the soul's formative power upon the surrounding air, producing the appearance of a body, is compared to the action of the sun's rays on wet atmosphere, forming a rainbow.

96. *Virtualmente,* 'by its own (formative) power.' — *Alma* is the subject of *suggella* (l. 95), 'imprints.' — *Ristette,* 'has stopped.'

99. The subject of *segue* is *forma.*

100. 'Since it (the new form) derives its visibility therefrom (from the spirit),' — just as a shadow derives its appearance from the body that casts it, — 'it is called a *shade.*'

101. *Organa,* 'organizes': cf. l. 57.

102. 'Every sense, even to that of sight.'

103. Cf. *Æn.,* IV, 733: 'Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque.'

106. *Affiggono,* 'impress.'

107. *Si figura,* 'is shaped.'

108. *Di che tu ammiri,* 'of that at which thou wonderest': ll. 20-1.

109. *Venuto . . . s' era per noi,* 'we had come': cf. XXII, 85; *Inf.* I, 126. — *Tortura,* 'twist,' turn: circle of Purgatory.

Quivi la ripa fiamma in fuor balestra,
E la cornice spira fiato in suso
Che la riflette e via da lei sequestra;
Onde ir ne convenìa dal lato schiuso 115
Ad uno ad uno, ed io temeva il foco
Quinci, e quindi temea cadere in giuso.
Lo Duca mio dicea: 'Per questo loco
Si vuol tenere agli occhi stretto il freno,
Però ch' errar potrebbesi per poco.' 120
'*Summæ Deus clementïæ*' nel seno
Al grande ardore allora udii cantando,
Che di volger mi fe' caler non meno;
E vidi spirti per la fiamma andando.
Per ch' io guardava a loro ed a' miei passi, 125
Compartendo la vista a quando a quando.
Appresso il fine ch' a quell' inno fassi,
Gridavano alto: '*Virum non cognosco!*'
Indi ricominciavan l' inno bassi.
Finitolo, anco gridavano: 'Al bosco 130
Si tenne Diana, ed Elice caccionne,
Che di Venere avea sentito il tosco.'

114. The upright bank on the left shoots forth, all the way around, a continuous horizontal flame, which extends across the terrace; but a wind blows up vertically along the mountain-side, and, deflecting upward the outer edge of the ring of flame, 'secures a path from it' on the outside rim of the shelf. Fire is the symbol of purification from lust.

119. *Stretto il freno*, 'a tight rein.'

121. *Summæ Deus clementiæ*, 'God of clemency supreme,' is the beginning, in old breviaries, of the hymn sung on Saturday at matins, praying for purification by fire and cleanness of heart and body. It is attributed to St. Ambrose. Cf. A. Bonaventura, *Dante e la musica*, 1904, 91.

123. *Caler*, 'care.'

128. 'I know not a man,' is the reply of Mary to the angel at the Annunciation: Luke i, 34. After each singing of the hymn the souls call aloud an example of chastity. The examples of lust are proclaimed (as we shall see in the next canto) by two troops of shades as they pass.

131. The chaste goddess Diana banished her nymph Helìce, who had been seduced by Jupiter: *Met.*, II, 453-65. Helice (or Callisto) and her child form the constellations of the Great and Little Bear.

Indi al cantar tornavano; indi donne
  Gridavano e mariti che fur casti,
  Come virtute e matrimonio imponne. 135
E questo modo credo che lor basti
  Per tutto il tempo che il foco gli abbrucia;
  Con tal cura convien, con cotai pasti
Che la piaga dassezzo si ricucia.

135. *Imponne*, 'enjoin upon us.'
136. *Basti*, 'lasts': cf. *Inf.* XXIX, 89.
138. *Cura*, 'treatment.' — *Pasti*, 'diet.'
139. *Dassezzo*, 'finally': cf. *Inf.* VII, 130. — *Si ricucia*, 'shall be knit,' healed.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

AROUND the ledge of carnal vice there go circling through the fire, in opposite directions, two ghostly companies, composed of the abnormally and the normally lecherous. As they meet, they exchange a kiss of pure brotherly affection, such as the early Christians gave one another in their services. Then, on parting, they all rebuke themselves, the members of the first troop shouting 'Sodom and Gomorrah!' (Gen. xix, 1–28), those of the second recalling the bestial sin of Pasiphaë. This woman, the wife of King Minos of Crete (*Inf.* V, 4), being cursed by Venus with a passion for a bull, satisfied her lust by concealing herself in a wooden cow: *Æn.*, VI, 24–6; *Met.*, VIII, 132-7. The fruit of their union was the Minotaur (*Inf.* XII, 11–3). In the Middle Ages her story was interpreted allegorically.

Among those whose offence was not contrary to nature is Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, the most important Italian writer before Dante. He was mayor of Castelfranco in 1270 and died in 1276. Like Arnaut Daniel, he is doubtless consigned to this circle on the general ground that he was a sincere poet of love. At first he looked upon Guittone d' Arezzo (XXIV, 56) as his literary master, and followed the current artificial fashion; but later he took a new direction, expressing real feeling and earnest thought in verse whose ease, clearness, and harmony made him an excellent model for the next generation. In his famous poem, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore* (*Vulg. El.*, II, v, 41–2; I, ix, 28–30), is rhymed for the first time the new symbolic conception of love, which was adopted by Dante and his group. Guido was thus doubly a predecessor of the *dolce stil nuovo* (XXIV, 57); and Dante's affectionate cry of admiration and gratitude, in lines 94–8, testifies to the magnitude of his debt. In the tenth sonnet of the *Vita Nuova*, l. 14, Dante refers to him as 'il Saggio'; in the *Convivio*, IV, xx, 67 he is 'quel nobile Guido Guinizelli'; and in *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he is cited four times, once (I, xv, 41) as 'maximus.'

It must have been this same sentiment of gratitude, always

dominant in Dante's heart, that led him to award the palm in modern Gallic literature to the 12th century troubadour, Arnaut Daniel, who to our taste seems, to be sure, the most minutely ingenious and metrically resourceful, but at the same time one of the most laborious and tiresome of the Provençal versifiers. His works are a mosaic of odd conceits and rare and difficult forms. The *sestina*, imitated by Alighieri and Petrarch, is one of his inventions. Three of his compositions are cited in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, where he is mentioned four times. Dante, — as he tells us in the *Vita Nuova*, III, 69–71, — learned by himself 'the art of uttering words in rhyme,' and he can have done so only by studying attentively the works of his predecessors, preëminent among whom was surely Arnaut Daniel. To Arnaut, then, more than to any one else, he owed (or thought he owed) his command of metrical form; as far as the *sestina* is concerned, he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, x, 24–8. That is why, in our canto, Guido rates the clever troubadour above himself, calling him 'a better smith of the mother tongue.' 'Verse of love and prose of romance . . . ' continues Guido, 'he surpassed them all.' Provençal was the first language of amatory poetry (*Vulg. El.*, I, x, 20–5), French the recognized idiom of narrative and didactic literature and of any kind of prose (*Vulg. El.*, I, x, 12–20); 'romance' signified originally a literary composition in the vulgar tongue. Arnaut, as far as we are aware, never wrote in French nor in prose; Guido means simply that he was superior to all other authors of Gaul, whether they used verse or prose, Provençal or French. It is in quite a different sense that Guittone d' Arezzo says, in a lament on the death of another Aretine poet (*Chomune perta fa comun dolore*, 20–1):

> 'Francesca lingua e poensal labore
> Più de l' artina [i. e., aretina] è bene in te.'

'Let fools talk on,' — adds Guido, — 'who think that the Limousin poet excels.' Many songsters (among them Arnaut himself) were of Limousin origin, but the particular one here indicated is evidently Giraut de Bornelh, a younger contemporary of Arnaut; according to his Provençal biographer, he was called 'the master of the troubadours,' and others bear witness to his high repute. His poetry, much of which has survived, justifies in some measure his great fame. He was the principal champion of the clear style, as Arnaut was perhaps the best representative of the purposely obscure. Dante cites him once in the *Convivio* and four times in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. In the latter work, II, ii, 77–98, he speaks

of Bertran de Born as a poet of arms, Arnaut and Cino da Pistoia as poets of love, and Giraut and himself as poets of righteousness. When he wrote the *Purgatorio*, he evidently regarded Giraut as artistically inferior to Arnaut — perhaps too popular and commonplace to merit the highest rank, which 'fools' had accorded him.

The same undeserved glory had been enjoyed by Guittone d'Arezzo (XXIV, 56), on whom alone 'many people of old' bestowed praise, — following fashion 'from cry to cry,' — until at last 'the truth has got the better of him, as concerns more men than one' — that is, the superiority of several other writers (Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Dante, Cino?) is now acknowledged. This Guittone, though a prolific imitator of the Provençal school in his amatory verse, had a good deal of vigor and eccentric ingenuity and originality, but was poor in sentiment and unhappily destitute of the sense of beauty. He is better in his religious, moral, and especially his political poetry, where his fierce irony is very effective. He was also one of the first to attempt artistic Italian prose. He joined the order of the Frati Gaudenti (*Inf.* XXIII, 103), founded a monastery in Florence, and died in 1294. In *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xiii, 1–8, Dante blames him for using his local dialect.

For the poets discussed, see: A. Bongioanni, *Guido Guinizelli e la sua riforma poetica*, 1896; W. Kolsen, *Guittone's von Arezzo Dichtung und sein Verhältnis zu Guinicelli von Bologna*, 1886, A. Pellizari, *La vita e le opere di Guittone d' Arezzo*, 1906; U. A. Canello, *La vita e le opere del trovatore Arnaldo Daniello*, 1883; A. Kolsen, *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh*, 1907.

Mentre che sì per l' orlo, uno innanzi altro,
  Ce n' andavamo, e spesso il buon Maestro
  Diceva: 'Guarda! Giovi ch' io ti scaltro,'
Feriami il Sole in sull' omero destro,
  Che già raggiando tutto l' occidente 5
  Mutava in bianco aspetto, di cilestro;
Ed io facea con l' ombra più rovente

3. *Giovi*, 'let it avail.' — *Scaltro*, 'warn.'

4. The travellers are now on the west-northwest side of the mountain, which receives the direct rays of the sun in the latter part of the afternoon. Dante. facing south-southwest, has the sun on his right.

6. *Di cilestro*, 'from blue.'

7. As Dante passes along close to the mass of flame, in which the spirits are walking, his shadow, cast on the fire at his left, restores to it its natural 'ruddy' hue, which the sunlight has paled.

Parer la fiamma. E pure a tanto indizio
Vid' io molt' ombre andando poner mente.
Questa fu la cagion che diede inizio 10
Loro a parlar di me; e cominciarsi
A dir: 'Colui non par corpo fittizio.'
Poi verso me, quanto potevan farsi,
Certi si feron, sempre con riguardo
Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi. 15
'O tu che vai — non per esser più tardo,
Ma forse reverente — agli altri dopo,
Rispondi a me che in sete ed in foco ardo!
Nè solo a me la tua risposta è uopo;
Chè tutti questi n' hanno maggior sete 20
Che d' acqua fredda Indo o Etïopo.
Dinne com' è che fai di te parete
Al sol, come se tu non fossi ancora
Di morte entrato dentro dalla rete.'
Sì mi parlava un d' essi; ed io mi fora 25
Già manifesto, s' io non fossi atteso
Ad altra novità ch' apparse allora.
Chè per lo mezzo del cammino acceso
Venia gente col viso incontro a questa,
La qual mi fece a rimirar sospeso. 30
Lì veggio d' ogni parte farsi presta
Ciascun' ombra, e baciarsi una con una,
Senza restar, contente a breve festa.
Così per entro loro schiera bruna

8. *Pure a tanto indizio,* 'merely at this slight sign' that Dante is clothed in flesh.
14. *Certi,* 'some.' — *Riguardo,* 'care.'
21. Cf. Pr. xxv, 25: 'As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country.'
31. *Farsi presta,* 'hasten.'

S' ammusa l' una con l' altra formica, 35
Forse ad espiar lor via e lor fortuna.
Tosto che parton l' accoglienza amica,
Prima che il primo passo lì trascorra,
Sopragridar ciascuna s' affatica —
La nuova gente: 'Soddoma e Gomorra!' 40
E l' altra: 'Nella vacca entra Pasife,
Perchè il torello a sua lussuria corra!'
Poi come gru ch' alle montagne Rife
Volasser parte, e parte inver l' arene, —
Queste del gel, quelle del sole schife, — 45
L' una gente sen va, l' altra sen viene,
E tornan lagrimando ai primi canti
Ed al gridar che più lor si conviene.
E raccostarsi a me, come davanti,
Essi medesmi che m' avean pregato, 50
Attenti ad ascoltar nei lor sembianti.
Io, che due volte avea visto lor grato,
Incominciai: 'O anime sicure
D' aver, quando che sia, di pace stato,

35. *S' ammusa*, 'rubs noses.' In *Æn.*, IV, 402–7, and *Met.*, VII, 624–6, there are descriptions of ants at work, but the trait here cited seems to have been first noted by Dante.
36. *Espiar* (or *spiar*), 'inquire.'
37. *Parton*, 'break off.'
38. *Trascorra*, 'passes on': cf. *Inf.* XXV, 34.
39. *Sopragridar*, 'to outcry' the other.
40. Cf. *Inf.* XI, 50.
41. *Pasífe*, 'Pasíphaë': cf. *Inf.* XII, 13.
43. The 'Riphæan mountains' were placed by early geographers in the extreme north.
44. The two flocks of cranes, one flying north and the other south at the same time, are hypothetical, as is shown by the imperfect subjunctive *volasser*. — 'The sands' are the deserts of Libya.
45. Cf. *Phars.*, VII, 832–4:

'Vos, quæ Nilo mutare soletis,
Threïcias hiemes ad mollem serius Austrum
Istis, aves.'

52. *Due volte*: cf. ll. 16–24. — *Grato*, 'wish.'

Non son rimase — acerbe nè mature — 55
Le membra mie di là, ma son qui meco
Col sangue suo e con le sue giunture.
Quinci su vo per non esser più cieco.
Donna è di sopra, che n' acquista grazia
Per che il mortal pel vostro mondo reco. 60
Ma se la vostra maggior voglia sazia
Tosto divenga, sì che il ciel v' alberghi
Ch' è pien d' amore e più ampio si spazia,
Ditemi, acciocchè ancor carte ne verghi,
Chi siete voi, e chi è quella turba 65
Che se ne va diretro ai vostri terghi?'
Non altrimenti stupido si turba
Lo montanaro, e rimirando ammuta,
Quando rozzo e salvatico s' inurba,
Che ciascun' ombra fece in sua paruta. 70
Ma poi che furon di stupore scarche
(Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s' attuta),
'Beato te, che delle nostre marche,'
Ricominciò colei che pria m' inchiese,
'Per morir meglio esperïenza imbarche! 75
La gente che non vien con noi offese
Di ciò per che già Cesar, trïonfando,

55. *Acerbe*, 'green,' i. e., young.
59. *Donna:* probably the Virgin Mary. Cf. *Inf.* II, 94–6; *Par.* XXXIII, 13–5.
60. *Il mortal*, 'my mortal part.'
61. *Se*, 'as ye hope that' . . . : the hortative use.
62. *Il ciel*, 'that heaven': the Empyrean.
64. *Verghi*, 'write.' Cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 93.
69. *S' inurba*, 'he comes to town.'
70. *Paruta*, 'expression.'
71. *Scarche*, 'unburdened,' rid: cf. *Inf.* XVII, 135.
72. *S' attuta*, 'is stilled.'
73. *Delle nostre marche* depends on *esperienza* in l. 75.
75. *Imbarche*, 'dost ship.'
77. Uguccione da Pisa in his *Magnæ Derivationes* (cited in *Conv.*, IV, vi, 39–40), combining two anecdotes from Suetonius, relates that Cæsar, returning to Rome in triumph, was hailed by some one as 'queen': Toynbee, 118. It is not likely that Dante believed in the charge of sodomy brought against Cæsar.

"Regina" contra sè chiamar s' intese.
Però si parton "Soddoma" gridando,
Rimproverando a sè, com' hai udito, 80
Ed aiutan l' arsura vergognando.
Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito;
Ma perchè non servammo umana legge,
Seguendo come bestie l' appetito,
In obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge, 85
Quando partiamci, il nome di colei
Che s' imbestiò nell' imbestiate schegge.
Or sai nostri atti, e di che fummo rei.
Se forse a nome vuoi saper chi semo,
Tempo non è da dire, e non saprei. 90
Farotti ben di me volere scemo:
Son Guido Guinizelli, e già mi purgo
Per ben dolermi prima ch' allo stremo.'
Quali nella tristizia di Licurgo
Si fer due figli a riveder la madre, 95
Tal mi fec' io (ma non a tanto insurgo),
Quand' i' odo nomar sè stesso il padre
Mio, e degli altri miei miglior, che mai

82. *Ermafrodito*, 'hermaphrodite,' i. e., bisexual, not contrary to nature. Hermaphroditus was the son of Hermes and Aphrodite, and resembled both his parents, whence his name: *Met.*, IV, 290–1. He fused with the nymph Salmacis into one body that was of both sexes: *Met.*, IV, 285–388.

85. *Per noi si legge*, 'is recited by us.'

87. *Imbestiate schegge*, 'beastlike boards' of the wooden cow.

91. 'I will, indeed, diminish (i. e., rid) thee of wish (i. e., curiosity) about me.'

93. 'Because of righteous sorrow before the end of life': cf. XIII, 124.

94. Hypsipyle (*Inf.* XVIII, 92), to show the thirsty Greeks the fountain of Langia (*Purg.* XXII, 112), left Archemorus (*Conv.*, III, xi, 165–9), the child of King Lycurgus of Nemea, who had been entrusted to her. A serpent killed the child, and the father, blinded by 'grief' and rage, was about to have her put to death, when her two sons suddenly rushed in and saved her. Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, V, especially 718 ff.

96. Dante is as full of delight and love as Hypsipyle's sons 'on seeing their mother again,' and would like to plunge into the fire and clasp Guido to his heart, as they embraced their mother, but he does not 'rise to such a pitch,' being afraid of the flame.

Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre;
E senza udire e dir pensoso andai 100
Lunga fïata rimirando lui,
Nè per lo foco in là più m' appressai.
Poi che di riguardar pasciuto fui,
Tutto m' offersi pronto al suo servigio,
Con l' affermar che fa credere altrui. 105
Ed egli a me: 'Tu lasci tal vestigio
(Per quel ch' i' odo) in me, e tanto chiaro,
Che Letè nol può tor nè farlo bigio.
Ma se le tue parole or ver giuraro,
Dimmi che è cagion per che dimostri 110
Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro?'
Ed io a lui: 'Li dolci detti vostri
Che, quanto durerà l' uso moderno,
Faranno cari ancora i loro inchiostri.'
'O frate,' disse, 'questi ch' io ti scerno 115
Col dito' — ed additò un spirto innanzi —
'Fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno.
Versi d' amore e prose di romanzi
Soperchiò tutti; e lascia dir gli stolti
Che quel di Lemosì credon ch' avanzi. 120
A voce più ch' al ver drizzan li volti,
E così ferman sua opinïone
Prima ch' arte o ragion per lor s' ascolti.
Così fer molti antichi di Guittone,
Di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio, 125

106. *Vestigio*, 'impression.'
108. Lethe is the traditional river of oblivion. — *Bigio*, 'dim.'
113. The 'modern use' of the vulgar tongue in poetry was still comparatively new in 1300: cf. *V. N.*, XXV, 22–43.
115. *Scerno*, 'designate.'
121. *Voce*, 'report.'
122. *Ferman*, 'fix.' — *Sua*, 'their.'
123. *Per*, 'by.'

Fin che l' ha vinto il ver con più persone.
Or se tu hai sì ampio privilegio
Che licito ti sia l' andare al chiostro
Nel quale è Cristo abate del collegio,
Fagli per me un dir di un paternostro, 130
Quanto bisogna a noi di questo mondo,
Dove poter peccar non è più nostro.'
Poi forse per dar loco altrui secondo,
Che presso avea, disparve per lo foco,
Come per l' acqua pesce andando al fondo. 135
Io mi feci al mostrato innanzi un poco,
E dissi ch' al suo nome il mio disire
Apparecchiava grazïoso loco.
Ei cominciò liberamente a dire:
'*Tan m' abellis vostre cortes deman* 140
Qu'ieu no me puesc, ni-m voil a vos cobrire:
Ieu sui Arnaut, que plor, e vau cantan.
Consiros vei la passada folor,
E vei jauzen lo jorn qu' esper, denan.
Ara vos prec, per aquella valor 145
Que vos guida al som de l' escalina,
Sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor!'
Poi s' ascose nel foco che gli affina.

131. Omitting 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil': cf. XI, 19-24.

133. *Altrui secondo,* 'suited to another.'

140-7. 'Your courteous inquiry so pleases me that I cannot and will not conceal myself from you: I am Arnaut, who weep and go singing. Sadly I see my past folly, and joyously I see before me the day that I await. Now I pray you, by that power which guides you to the top of this stairway, while it is yet time be heedful of my pain!' — These Provençal verses are presumably of Dante's own composition.

148. *Affina,* 'purifies.'

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

In mediæval legend the Earthly Paradise is generally situated in an inaccessible spot, often surrounded by a barrier of flame. In both Germanic and Celtic myth a wall of fire occurs. The Bible also offers a hint of it, in Gen. iii, 24: 'And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way.' Tertullian, Lactantius, St. John Chrysostom, Isidore, and, after him, many others speak of the fiery wall. Dante makes his encircling fire serve a double purpose: it obstructs, according to tradition, the road to the home of terrestrial bliss, and at the same time it constitutes the punishment of the last cornice. 'Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth,' — says St. Paul in Colossians iii, 5, — 'fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection.' In the *Moralia*, XXI, xii, 688, St. Gregory declares: 'Si per cordis munditiam libidinis flamma non extinguitur, incassum quælibet virtutes oriuntur.' The burning path signifies the quenching of carnal desire by purification of the heart. This penance is imposed upon Dante, who now, for the first time in Purgatory, recoils from his duty. A high pitch of excitement is reached in the brief scene of Virgil's impassioned exhortation and his pupil's stubborn refusal. Not until the master invokes the name of Beatrice, whose image once before turned the youthful poet from unworthy love (*V. N.*, XL, 1–16), can Dante be induced to obey. Then, preceded by Virgil and followed by Statius (who apparently do not feel the heat), he traverses the flames.

Previous to this trial, there comes to Dante, in the hour before dawn, the third of his prophetic dreams. He is in reality about to visit the Garden of Eden, the abode of innocence and harmless activity, from which he is to rise to Heaven, the goal of contemplation. Consequently the active and the contemplative life are revealed to him in the form of Laban's daughters, Leah and Rachel, the fertile and the barren wife of Jacob (Gen. xxix, 10–35). From early Christian times their story has been interpreted as an allegory of work and meditation: cf. St. Thomas, *Summa*

Theologiæ, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxix, Art. 2. In *De Monarchia,* III, xvi, 43–52, Dante distinguishes two kinds of divinely ordained human blessedness: 'beatitudinem scilicet huius vitæ, quæ in operatione propriæ virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitæ eternæ, quæ consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine divino adiuta, quæ per Paradisum cœlestem intelligi datur.' Leah's innocent activity is symbolized by picking flowers to adorn herself; Rachel's contemplation, by gazing into a mirror, where she is 'eager to see her own beauteous eyes.' In the *Convivio,* III, xv, 12–15, the eyes of Wisdom are defined as 'its *demonstrations,* with which the Truth is unerringly beheld' (cf. Canzone II, 55–8). The idea of Philosophy cherishing and jealously guarding the image of her own eyes is strikingly worked out in Ballata X, 12–20.

Sì come quando i primi raggi vibra
  Là dove il suo Fattore il sangue sparse, —
  Cadendo Ibero sotto l' alta Libra,
E l' onde in Gange da nona rïarse, —
  Sì stava il sole (onde il giorno sen giva), 5
  Quando l' Angel di Dio lieto ci apparse.
Fuor della fiamma stava in sulla riva,
  E cantava: '*Beati mundo corde!*'
  In voce assai più che la nostra viva.
Poscia: 'Più non si va, se pria non morde, 10
  Anime sante, il foco. Entrate in esso,
  Ed al cantar di là non siate sorde,'
Ci disse, come noi gli fummo presso.
  Per ch' io divenni tal, quando lo intesi,

1. The time described is the approach of sunset. The sun was in the position it occupies when it 'shoots its first rays' upon Jerusalem. Dawn in Jerusalem is simultaneous with sunset in Purgatory.

3. It is midnight at the Strait of Gibraltar: the river Ebro is coming under the constellation of Libra, which is opposite Aries.

4. The sun, in Aries, is over eastern Asia, so that the waters of the river Ganges are 'scorched by noon.' Dante discusses the meaning of *nona* in *Conv.,* IV, xxiii, 156–60.

8. Mat. v, 8: 'Blessed are the pure in heart.'

Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo. 15
In sulle man commesse mi protesi,
Guardando il foco, e imaginando forte
Umani corpi già veduti accesi.
Volsersi verso me le buone scorte,
E Virgilio mi disse: 'Figliuol mio, 20
Qui può esser tormento, ma non morte.
Ricordati, ricordati! . . . E se io
Sopr' esso Gerïon ti guidai salvo,
Che farò ora presso più a Dio?
Credi per certo che, se dentro all' alvo 25
Di questa fiamma stessi ben mill' anni,
Non ti potrebbe far d' un capel calvo.
E se tu credi forse ch' io t' inganni,
Fatti ver lei, e fatti far credenza
Con le tue mani al lembo de' tuoi panni. 30
Pon giù omai, pon giù ogni temenza!
Volgiti in qua, e vieni oltre sicuro!'
Ed io pur fermo, e contro a coscïenza.
Quando mi vide star pur fermo e duro,
Turbato un poco, disse: 'Or vedi, figlio, 35
Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro.'
Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio

15. I became as cold as a corpse.
16. 'I leaned forward over my hands,' which were 'clasped' in front of me.
18. Burning to death was not an uncommon punishment. Dante was himself condemned to death by fire, if taken in Florentine territory.
23. *Gerion:* cf. *Inf.* XVII, 91–136.
25. *Alvo*, 'midst.'
27. Luke xxi, 18: 'But there shall not an hair of your head perish.' Cf. Daniel iii, 25, 27.
33. The verb is omitted.
35. *Turbato*, 'vexed.'
37. The tragic story of the young lovers, Pyramus and Thisbe, is told in *Met.*, IV, 55–166. See especially 145–6:

'Ad nomen Thisbes oculos jam morte gravatos
Pyramus erexit, visaque recondidit illa.'

Piramo in sulla morte, e riguardolla,
Allor che il gelso diventò vermiglio,
Così, la mia durezza fatta solla, 40
Mi volsi al savio Duca, udendo il nome
Che nella mente sempre mi rampolla.
Ond' ei crollò la fronte, e disse: 'Come?
Volemci star di qua?' Indi sorrise,
Come al fanciul si fa ch' è vinto al pome. 45
Poi dentro al foco innanzi mi si mise,
Pregando Stazio che venisse retro,
Che pria per lunga strada ci divise.
Come fui dentro, in un bogliente vetro
Gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi, 50
Tant' era ivi lo incendio senza metro.
Lo dolce Padre mio, per confortarmi,
Pur di Beatrice ragionando andava,
Dicendo: 'Gli occhi suoi già veder parmi.'
Guidavaci una voce che cantava 55
Di là; e noi, attenti pure a lei,
Venimmo fuor là dove si montava.
'*Venite, benedicti patris mei!*'
Sonò dentro ad un lume che lì era,
Tal che mi vinse, e guardar nol potei. 60
'Lo sol sen va,' soggiunse, 'e vien la sera.
Non v' arrestate, ma studiate il passo,

39. The mulberry turned red on being spattered with the blood of Pyram[us], who stabbed himself when he thought Thisbe slain by a lion: *Met.*, IV, 125–7.
40. *Fatta solla*, 'softened': cf. V, 18; *Inf.*, XVI, 28.
42. *Rampolla*, 'springs up anew': cf. V, 16.
45. *Pome* = *pomo:* cf. l. 115.
48. Cf. XXII, 127–8.
58. Mat. xxv, 34: 'Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, *Come, ye blessed of my Father*, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'
59. The 'light' is of course an angel, perhaps the guardian of Eden. We are not told how the last letter is removed from Dante's brow.

Mentre che l' occidente non s' annera.'
Dritta salia la via, per entro il sasso,
Verso tal parte ch' io toglieva i raggi 65
Dinanzi a me del sol ch' era già basso.
E di pochi scaglion levammo i saggi,
Che il sol corcar, — per l' ombra che si spense, —
Sentimmo retro ed io e li miei saggi.
E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense 70
Fosse orizzonte fatto d' un aspetto,
E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,
Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto;
Chè la natura del monte ci affranse
La possa del salir più che il diletto. 75
Quali si fanno ruminando manse
Le capre, state rapide e proterve
Sopra le cime, avanti che sien pranse,
Tacite all' ombra, mentre che il sol ferve,
Guardate dal pastor che in sulla verga 80
Poggiato s' è, e lor poggiato serve;
E quale il mandrïan, che fuori alberga,
Lungo il peculio suo queto pernotta,
Guardando perchè fiera non lo sperga:
Tali eravamo tutti e tre allotta, 85

65. The stairway, on the west side of the mountain, goes straight up, from west to east, so that the climbers turn their backs to the setting sun and Dante's shadow falls on the steps in front of him.

67. *Levammo i saggi*, 'we took samples,' i. e., we made trial. — For the rhyme of *saggi* with *saggi* (l. 69), cf. *Inf.* XXII, 75.

71. *Orizzonte* is the subject of *fosse fatto*.

72. *Notte* is the subject of *avesse*. — *Dispense*, exemptions, 'privileges.'

75. 'The strength, rather than the desire, to climb.' Cf. VII, 49–60.

76. *Manse*, 'tame.'

77. *State*, 'which have been.' — *Proterve*, 'wild.'

78. *Sien pranse*, 'have dined.'

80. *Verga*, 'staff.'

81. *E lor poggiato serve*, 'and, leaning, tends them.'

83. 'Spends the night beside his quiet flock.'

84. *Sperga*, 'scatter.'

Io come capra, ed ei come pastori,
Fasciati quinci e quindi d' alta grotta.
Poco potea parer lì del di fuori;
Ma per quel poco vedev' io le stelle,
Di lor solere e più chiare e maggiori. 90
Sì ruminando e sì mirando in quelle
Mi prese il sonno — il sonno che sovente,
Anzi che il fatto sia, sa le novelle.
Nell' ora, credo, che dell' orïente
Prima raggiò nel monte Citerea, 95
Che di foco d' amor par sempre ardente,
Giovane e bella in sogno mi parea
Donna vedere andar per una landa
Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea:
'Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda, 100
Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno
Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.
Per piacermi allo specchio qui m' adorno;
Ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga
Dal suo miraglio, e siede tutto giorno. 105
Ell' è de' suoi begli occhi veder vaga,
Com' io dell' adornarmi con le mani;
Lei lo vedere, e me l' oprare appaga.'
E già, per gli splendori antelucani,

87. *Fasciati*, 'swathed,' i. e., hemmed in by the 'high wall' on either side of the narrow stairs, which are cut into the rock.

90. *Di lor solere*, 'than their wont.' Seen through the narrow crack, the stars look big and bright; allegorically, Dante's perception of heavenly things is clearer. It is not likely that Dante thought of the mountain as high enough to bring him appreciably nearer to the stars.

95. Cytherēa is Venus, so called from the island of Cythera, where she rose from the sea. Venus shines on Purgatory shortly before sunrise: cf. I, 19–21.

102. Garlands of flowers were often worn by ladies in Dante's time: cf. Sestina I, 13; Ballata VIII, 1.

104. *Si smaga*, 'departs.'

109. *Antelucani*, 'preceding dawn.' Cf. Wisdom of Solomon xi, 23: 'Tamquam gutta roris antelucani.'

Che tanto ai peregrin surgon più grati 110
Quanto tornando albergan men lontani,
Le tenebre fuggian da tutti i lati,
E il sonno mio con esse; ond' io leva'mi,
Veggendo i gran maestri già levati.
'Quel dolce pome, che per tanti rami 115
Cercando va la cura dei mortali,
Oggi porrà in pace le tue fami.'
Virgilio inverso me queste cotali
Parole usò, e mai non furo strenne
Che fosser di piacere a queste eguali. 120
Tanto voler sopra voler mi venne
Dell' esser su, ch' ad ogni passo poi
Al volo mi sentia crescer le penne.
Come la scala tutta sotto noi
Fu corsa, e fummo in su il grado superno, 125
In me ficcò Virgilio gli occhi suoi,
E disse: 'Il temporal foco e l' eterno
Veduto hai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte
Dov' io per me più oltre non discerno.
Tratto t' ho qui con ingegno e con arte. 130
Lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce!
Fuor sei dell' erte vie, fuor sei dell' arte.
Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce;
Vedi l' erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli,

111. 'As, on their way back, their lodging is less distant,' i. e., as they approach home on their return journey.
115. The 'sweet apple' seems to signify earthly happiness. Cf. *Inf.* XVI, 61.
116. *Cura* is the subject.
127. The 'temporal fire' is that of Purgatory, the 'eternal' that of Hell.
129. Reason has guided Dante to earthly beatitude, but can lead him no higher.
131. Now that Dante's soul has been cleansed and his will set free from the bondage of vice, all his impulses are necessarily good.
132. *Arte,* 'narrow.' For the rhyme, cf. l. 67.

Che qui la terra sol da sè produce. 135
Mentre che vegnan lieti gli occhi belli
Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,
Seder ti puoi e puoi andar tra elli.
Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno.
Libero, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio, 140
E fallo fora non fare a suo senno;
Per ch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio.'

135. Cf. XXVIII, 69. Also *Met.*, I, 101–2.
136. *Mentre che*, 'until.'
137. Cf. *Inf.*, II, 116.
140. The freedom after which all the souls in Purgatory are striving (I, 71) has been attained. The will turns naturally toward God. Evil inclinations have been purged away, although remorse still remains, to be removed in the Garden of Eden. In order to see God, Dante must earn and obtain remission of sin.
141. 'It would be wrong not to act as it directs.'
142. 'Wherefore I crown and mitre thee over thyself,' i. e., I make thee thine own Emperor and Pope, master of thy material and spiritual life.

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

'And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden. . . . And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it' (Gen. ii, 8, 15). This terrestrial paradise naturally offered itself to Dante as a symbol of the youth or golden age of mankind, the life of innocent activity which, but for Adam's sin, humanity would have enjoyed, without death, until the Judgment Day. But the garden was to him not a symbol alone: it was a real spot, still in existence in a remote quarter of the globe. Mediæval literature is rich in tales of journeys to it. Ephraim the Syrian, deacon of Edessa in the fourth century, tells us that it is circular, situated on a high mountain surrounded by the sea, and divided into an outer and an inner, more sacred, part. Barinthus, in the *Voyage of St. Brendan* (p. 4), finds on his island paradise a river which cannot be crossed; and St. Brendan himself, in his 'terra repromissionis sanctorum' (p. 35), sees fruit trees, and a river running through the middle. In the Old Venetian version of the story (Ch. XXXI, XXXVII), the beautiful trees and birds are enlarged upon, and the river occurs again (Ch. XLII). This stream goes back to the Bible, Gen. ii, 10: 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads,' namely Pison (or Ganges), Gihon (the Nile), Hiddekel (Tigris), and Euphrates. Those who located the garden on an island were hard pressed to account for the transfer of these 'four heads' to the mainland; it was sometimes maintained — by St. Augustine, for example (*De Genesi ad Litteram*, VIII, vii) — that they burrowed under ground. Dante perhaps had some such idea, but he wisely refrained from expressing it. His river is divided, from its very source in the middle of the earthly paradise, into two branches Lethe and Eunoe, which flow out on opposite sides. So Brendan and his companions (p. 7) 'viderunt ripam altissimam sicut murum et diversos rivulos discendentes de summitate insule, fluentes in mare.' It may be their spray which falls upon the two trees in the circle of gluttony. It is perhaps Lethe, with its burden

of sinful recollection, that bores its crooked way from the shore of the island to the feet of Satan; in that case Eunoe would presumably have to be, at some spot, the source of the four great streams of the inhabited world. On these points Dante is silent. What concerns him is the allegorical significance of the waters. Of Lethe, the ancient river of oblivion, and Eunoe, a stream of his own devising, he makes the symbol of absolution, the remission of sin, the complete restoration of purity. Lethe means forgetfulness of past wrongdoing; Eunoe, memory of past good work. This last name our poet seems to have constructed for himself out of the Greek εὔνοια (*Bull.*, XI, 238), or directly from εὖ, 'well,' and νοῦς or νόος, 'mind.'

It is on the morning of Wednesday, April 13, the sixth day of his journey, and the fourth of his sojourn on the island, that Dante enters the abode of earthly happiness. His daintily phrased account of it combines into an artistic whole the various conventional elements of the mediæval Eden. One factor, however, is lacking — the traditional inhabitants, Enoch and Elijah. In the *Apocalypse of St. Paul* (p. 18), after the apostle has seen the four great rivers in the terrestrial paradise, he is greeted by Enoch, Elijah, and seven other patriarchs. The first two became almost constant features of the garden. In the Venetian *Brendan* both occur — Enoch, by the way, under the name of *Enoe* (Ch. XXXVIII). Ever since they were caught up from this world, they have lived, in flesh and blood, in the 'paradiso delitiarum,' whence, on the Judgment Day, they are to go forth to fight against the Antichrist. In addition, we find (Ch. XLII), near the dividing stream, a beautiful youth, who sings sweetly. There is also a lovely angel (XL), 'si chomo uno fante de .XV. any,' who lights on a tree full of golden apples; he, too, sings, 'e fo canto d'amor fato si como de femena donzela ad un so amador.' Fra Benedetto d'Arezzo, in his journey to the terrestrial paradise, also meets at the foot of a mountain a beautiful youth, who shows him the way up (*Giorn. dant.*, IX, 43). In the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, the youthful figure is already present beside the river (p. 35): 'Ecce juvenis occurrit illis obviam osculans eos cum magna leticia et singulos nominatim appellabat.' Earlier in the tale (p. 4), near the stream, a 'vir quidam magni splendoris' appears to the travellers, and forthwith calls them by name; he will not reveal his own identity, but tells them that the island has been unchanged from the beginning of the world. It has already been intimated, in the Argument to Canto I, that Dante, — who, unwilling to mar a scene of youthfulness by the introduction of

elderly dwellers, kept Enoch and Elijah out of sight and apparently out of mind, — may have utilized the suggestion of the *Navigatio* in the creation of his Cato, at the foot of the mountain, corresponding to his Matilda, at the top. Another contrasted pair that may possibly have impressed his imagination is furnished by St. Augustine's *De Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ*, Cap. III, *De Abel et Enoch primatum tenentibus in hominum justitia:* 'Abel totius humanæ justitiæ princeps et secundus post eum Enoch, . . . quibus summa justitiæ in initio ipso mundi et fine committitur.' Matilda, like Abel, represents original goodness; Cato, like Enoch, goodness after evil. But such parallels could be multiplied almost to infinity. Whatever may have been his starting-point, Dante evolved, as guardian of his Eden and personification of its spirit, a lovely girlish form, one of his prettiest conceptions. Such a figure had always haunted his fancy: it lurks in nearly all his lyric verse, whether dedicated to Beatrice, to the Donna Pietosa, to Philosophy, or to the unknown lady of the Casentino. In her solitude, her joyousness, her amorous song, her association with birds and flowers, Matilda belongs to the pastoral type. All her attributes and surroundings indicate that she symbolizes the early, immaculate stage of humanity, the life of harmless activity, the purity and gladness that can and should be regained. It is she, the embodiment of Innocence, who, by the remission of sin through Lethe and Eunoe, restores innocence to Dante. Even so Cato, the personification of Free Will, showed Dante how his free will was to be restored.

Who Matilda was in the flesh — or, in other words, why the custodian of the garden is called 'Matelda' — is a problem that has given rise to endless controversy. Her name is disclosed, and only once (XXXIII, 119), by Beatrice; a little earlier (XXX,55) Dante's name is proclaimed, for the first and last time in all his poetic works, by the same speaker. Matilda's fresh girlishness would seem to preclude the possibility of identification with a grave ruler like the Countess Matilde of Tuscany; her amorousness, her active rather than contemplative existence should exclude the suggestion of a nun — such, for instance, as that German St. Mechteldis of Hackeborn who, towards the end of the 13th century, had a vision of seven terraces of torment in the vicinity of a beautiful garden. That she stands for some actual person appears most likely, if we consider our author's whole method of symbolism: unlike most mediæval allegory, Dante's always proceeds from the real to the unreal, from the particular to the general. The most plausible conjecture is that which sees

in her an early friend of Beatrice, a Florentine girl whose premature demise is mourned in the *Vita Nuova*, VIII, Sonnets III and IV. Addressing Death, the poet says:

'Dal secolo hai partita cortesia
E ciò che 'n donna è da pregiar virtute.
In gaia gioventute
Distrutta hai l' amorosa leggiadria.'

He refuses to tell who she is:

'Più non vo' discovrir qual donna sia
Che per le proprietà sue conosciute.
Chi non merta salute
Non speri mai d'aver sua compagnia.'

Now, on the way to salvation, he meets her again as she was in life, the picture of 'gaia gioventute' and 'amorosa leggiadria'; and both his name and hers are revealed by their common friend and guide.

See H. Brandes, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 1885; C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (text of the *Peregrinatio S. Brandani Abbatis*), 1871; F. Novati, *La 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' in antico veneziano*, 1892. The *Book of Enoch* (R. Lawrence, 1888) is interesting in connection with the earthly paradise; it is repeatedly cited as authentic by Tertullian (for instance, in the *Liber de Idolatria*, Cap. IV), and is regarded by St. Augustine as inspired and trustworthy, though not canonical (*De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XV, Cap. xxiii, § 4; Lib. XVIII, Cap. xxxviii). With regard to the state of Enoch and Elijah, there are some curious remarks by St. Jerome, *Liber contra Joannem Hierosolymitanem*, § 32. For the configuration of Dante's Garden of Eden, see P. Gambèra, *La topografia del viaggio di Dante nel Paradiso terrestre*, in *Giorn. dant.*, IX, 126. For the legendary descriptions of it: A. Graf, *La leggenda del Paradiso terrestre*, 1878, and *Il mito del Paradiso terrestre* in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892, I; also E. Coli, *Il paradiso terrestre dantesco*, 1897 (for Ephraim the Syrian, see p. 46). For a discussion of the allegory of Matilda: M. Porena, *Delle manifestazioni plastiche del sentimento nei personaggi della Divina commedia*, 1902, Appendice prima (*Matelda allegorica*). For her identification with Matilda of Hackeborn, and with the Countess of Tuscany: D' Ovidio², 488 ff. and 567 ff.; A. Bertoldi, *La Bella Donna del Paradiso Terrestre*, 1901.

Vago già di cercar dentro e dintorno
La divina foresta spessa e viva,
Ch' agli occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,
Senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,
Prendendo la campagna lento lento 5
Su per lo suol che d' ogni parte oliva.
Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento

4. *Riva:* the outer edge of the mountain top.
6. *Oliva*, 'was fragrant.'

Avere in sè, mi feria per la fronte
Non di più colpo che soave vento.
Per cui le fronde, tremolando pronte, 10
Tutte quante piegavano alla parte
U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte —
Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
Lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte; 15
Ma con piena letizia l' ore prime,
Cantando, ricevieno intra le foglie,
Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime,
Tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie
Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi, 20
Quand' Eolo Scirocco fuor discioglie.
Già m' avean trasportato i lenti passi
Dentro alla selva antica tanto ch' io
Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entrassi:
Ed ecco più andar mi tolse un rio, 25
Che in ver sinistra con sue picciole onde
Piegava l' erba che in sua riva uscìo.
Tutte l' acque che son di qua più monde
Parrieno avere in sè mistura alcuna

12. *U' = ove.* The direction in which the mountain casts its shadow in the morning is, of course, the west.
13. 'But, for all that, not so deflected from their upright state' . . .
15. *Lasciasser*, 'should forbear.'
16. *Ore:* most editors print *ôre*, 'winds'; but if the movement of the air is eternal and unchanging (ll. 7–8, 103–8), there can be no 'first breezes.' The birds greet with song the morning 'hours.'
17. *Ricevieno = ricevevano*, 'greeted.'
20. The pine grove of Classe, or Chiassi, — the old port of Ravenna, from which the Adriatic has now receded, — was exposed to the *Scirocco*, or south-east wind. — Cf. *Met.*, XV, 603–4.
21. *Æolus*, king of the winds: *Æn.*, I, 52–7.
26. Dante, who reached the Garden of Eden on its west side, is walking east. As the stream which 'prevents him from going further' flows towards his left, it must, at this point, be running north.
29. *Parrieno = parrebbero.*

Verso di quella, che nulla nasconde, — 30
Avvegna che si mova bruna bruna
Sotto l' ombra perpetüa, che mai
Raggiar non lascia sole ivi nè luna.
Coi piè ristetti e con gli occhi passai
Di là dal fiumicello, per mirare 35
La gran varïazion dei freschi mai:
E là m' apparve, — sì com' egli appare
Subitamente cosa che disvia
Per maraviglia tutt' altro pensare, —
Una Donna soletta, che si gia 40
Cantando ed iscegliendo fior da fiore,
Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via.
'Deh, bella Donna, ch' ai raggi d' amore
Ti scaldi (s' io vo' credere ai sembianti
Che soglion esser testimon del core), 45
Vegnati in voglia di trarreti avanti,'
Diss' io a lei, 'verso questa riviera,
Tanto ch' io possa intender che tu canti.
Tu mi fai rimembrar dove e qual era
Proserpina nel tempo che perdette 50
La madre lei, ed ella primavera.'
Come si volge, con le piante strette

30. *Verso di*, 'compared with.'

33. Ps. cxxi (Vulg. cxx), 6: 'The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.' Cf. *Met.*, V, 388–9.

36. *Mai* (plural of *maio*), 'May-branches,' i. e., spring foliage. In some parts of Italy a branch, called *maio* or *maggio*, is used in the celebration of May Day, serving the purpose either of May-pole or of May-basket.

37. *Egli*, 'there.'

40. *Gia:* imperfect of *gire*.

41. *Iscegliendo:* the older form of *scegliendo*.

45. The 'features' in question are particularly the eyes.

46. *Vegnati in voglia*, 'may it be thy pleasure.'

48. *Intender che*, 'understand what.'

50. When Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, was suddenly carried off to the lower world by Pluto, she had been picking flowers in the 'perpetual springtime' of the valley of Henna: cf. *Met.*, V, 385–408, especially 391.

52. *Piante*, 'feet.' — *Strette*, 'close.'

A terra ed intra sè, donna che balli,
E piede innanzi piede a pena mette,
Volsesi in sui vermigli ed in sui gialli 55
Fioretti verso me, non altrimenti
Che vergine che gli occhi onesti avvalli;
E fece i preghi miei esser contenti,
Sì appressando sè che il dolce suono
Veniva a me co' suoi intendimenti. 60
Tosto che fu là dove l' erbe sono
Bagnate già dall' onde del bel fiume,
Di levar gli occhi suoi mi fece dono.
Non credo che splendesse tanto lume
Sotto le ciglia a Venere trafitta 65
Dal figlio (fuor di tutto suo costume).
Ella ridea dall' altra riva, dritta,
Traendo più color con le sue mani,
Che l' alta terra senza seme gitta.
Tre passi ci facea il fiume lontani; 70
Ma Ellesponto, dove passò Xerse, —
Ancora freno a tutti orgogli umani, —

60. *Intendimenti*, 'meaning.'

66. It was contrary to the custom of Cupid to wound unintentionally, as he did when, coming to kiss his mother, he pricked her with an arrow projecting from his quiver, and caused her to love Adonis: *Met.*, X, 525-32.

68. *Traendo*, 'carrying' or 'trailing.' The 'many colors' are varied flowers.

70. The 'three steps' may signify simply a very short distance which separates Dante from that which he is eager to reach: cf. VIII, 46. If the words have an allegorical meaning, they probably refer to the three stages of the sacrament of penance through which Dante must pass to attain perfect happiness on earth: cf. XXXI, 1-90.

71. Xerxes, king of Persia, crossed the Hellespont with a vast army, to conquer Greece, but was defeated and forced to flee ignominiously. Cf. *Phars.*, II, 672-5:

'Tales fama canit tumidum super æquora Xerxen
Construxisse vias, multum cum pontibus ausus,
Europamque Asiæ, Sestonque admovit Abydo,
Incessitque fretum rapidi super Hellesponti.'

Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, II, x, moralizes over his humiliation. Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, IX, v, Ext. 2.

Più odio da Leandro non sofferse,
  Per mareggiare intra Sesto ed Abido,
  Che quel da me, perchè allor non s' aperse. 75
'Voi siete nuovi, e forse perch' io rido,'
  Cominciò ella, 'in questo loco eletto
  All' umana natura per suo nido,
Maravigliando tienvi alcun sospetto;
  Ma luce rende il salmo *Delectasti*, 80
  Che puote disnebbiar vostro intelletto.
E tu che sei dinanzi, e mi pregasti,
  Di' s' altro vuoi udir, ch' io venni presta
  Ad ogni tua question, tanto che basti.'
'L' acqua,' diss' io, 'e il suon della foresta 85
  Impugna dentro a me novella fede
  Di cosa ch' io udi' contraria a questa.'
Ond' ella: 'Io dicerò come procede
  Per sua cagion ciò ch' ammirar ti face,
  E purgherò la nebbia che ti fiede. 90
Lo sommo Ben, che solo esso a sè piace,
  Fece l' uom buono e a bene, e questo loco
  Diede per arra a lui d' eterna pace.
Per sua diffalta qui dimorò poco;
  Per sua diffalta in pianto ed in affanno 95
  Cambiò onesto riso e dolce gioco.

74. The Hellespont 'swelled' between Leander in Abydos and his beloved Hero in Sestos: Ovid, Epistulæ XVII and XVIII.
75. *Quel:* the *fiume* of l. 70.
80. Ps. xcii (Vulg. xci), 4: 'For thou, Lord, *hast made me glad* through thy work.' The psalm proclaims the downfall of the wicked and the final triumph of the righteous.
82. Dante, who was third in the circles of gluttony and lust (XXII, 127–8; XXVI, 16–7), and second in traversing the fire (XXVII, 46–7), is now first.
87. The statement of Statius in XXI, 43–54, seems to be contradicted by the presence of water and wind at the top of the mountain.
91. As God alone is perfect, he can be altogether satisfied only with himself.
94. *Per sua diffalta*, 'by his own shortcoming,' not because of any imperfection in the place.

Perchè il turbar che sotto da sè fanno
L' esalazion dell' acqua e della terra,
Che quanto posson retro al calor vanno,
All' uomo non facesse alcuna guerra, 100
Questo monte salìo verso 'l ciel tanto;
E libero n' è d' indi ove si serra.
Or, perchè in circuïto tutto quanto
L' aër si volge con la prima volta,
Se non gli è rotto il cerchio d' alcun canto, 105
In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta
Nell' aër vivo, tal moto percote,
E fa sonar la selva, perch' è folta;
E la percossa pianta tanto puote
Che della sua virtute l' aura impregna, 110
E quella poi girando intorno scote;
E l' altra terra, secondo ch' è degna
Per sè e per suo ciel, concepe e figlia
Di diverse virtù diverse legna.
Non parrebbe di là poi maraviglia, 115
Udito questo, quando alcuna pianta

97. *Perchè*, 'in order that.' — *Turbar* is the subject of *facesse* in l. 100. — *Che* is the object of *fanno*.

102. 'And it is free from them, from that point on where it is locked,' i. e., above the gate: cf. XXI, 48.

104. The air that envelops the earth is surrounded by a layer of fire, which in turn is enclosed in the heaven of the moon. As there are no intervals of empty space between these spheres, the two mobile elements — air and fire — are swept around the earth by the heavens in their 'primal revolution,' or daily circuit. Dante can hardly have estimated the velocity of such a motion of the atmosphere.

105. 'If its course is not broken in some quarter.' On the rugged surface of the earth the daily revolution of the air encounters so many obstacles that it is not felt; but this mountain-top, rising so high that it is 'quite free in the quick air,' receives the atmospheric current unobstructed.

109. *Tanto puote*, 'has such force.'

111. The air, in its revolution around the earth, scatters far and wide the vital power of the plant.

114. *Di*, 'from.' — This explanation of the diversity of vegetation in each climate has not been found in any other author.

Senza seme palese vi s' appiglia.
E saper dei che la campagna santa
Ove tu sei d' ogni semenza è piena,
E frutto ha in sè che di là non si schianta. 120
L' acqua che vedi non surge di vena
Che ristori vapor che gel converta,
Come fiume ch' acquista e perde lena;
Ma esce di fontana salda e certa,
Che tanto dal voler di Dio riprende 125
Quant' ella versa, da due parti aperta.
Da questa parte con virtù discende
Che toglie altrui memoria del peccato;
Dall' altra, d' ogni ben fatto la rende.
Quinci Letè, così dall' altro lato 130
Eünoè si chiama, e non adopra
Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.
A tutt' altri sapori esto è di sopra. —
Ed avvegna ch' assai possa esser sazia
La sete tua perch' io più non ti scopra, 135
Darotti un corollario ancor per grazia;
Nè credo che il mio dir ti sia men caro,
Se oltre promission teco si spazia.
Quelli che anticamente poetaro
L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice, 140

117. *Vi s' appiglia*, 'takes root there.'

120. *Di là non si schianta*, 'is not plucked in your world.' The Garden of Eden contains all the flora of the rest of the world, and some besides.

121. *Vena*, 'spring': cf. Canzone XV, 53. The water of this stream comes from a miraculous fount, not from any natural spring fed by condensed aqueous vapor.

131. *Adopra*, 'works.' To be operative, the water must be tasted in both streams.

138. *Promission*, 'my promise.' — *Si spazia*, 'extends.'

140. The golden age was 'poetized' by Ovid, *Met.*, I, 89–112. The ancient poets were gifted with sight beyond that of their contemporaries (cf. the 'nobile castello' in *Inf.* IV), and had some inkling of the truth. When they sang of Parnassus and the golden age, they may have been dimly conscious of the real origin of man.

Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.
Qui fu innocente l' umana radice;
Qui primavera è sempre, ed ogni frutto;
Nettare è questo, di che ciascun dice.'
Io mi volsi diretro allora tutto 145
A' miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso
Udito avevan l' ultimo costrutto.
Poi alla bella Donna tornai il viso.

144. 'This (stream) is the nectar of which they all sing.'
147. *Costrutto*, 'passage,' words.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

At the solemn moment when Dante is to pass through the stages of contrition, confession, and satisfaction to absolution, the Church, with Beatrice, or Revelation, as its guiding power, appears to him in all its majesty. He is following the stream of Lethe up towards its source, when a splendid pageant approaches on the other bank. At a signal from Heaven, it comes to a halt opposite him. Then, after the sacrament of penance and the remission of sin, Dante joins the radiant host. Thus does the Church come to meet the penitent sinner, thus does it reveal itself to him and finally receive him into its bosom. In all this episode the poet makes use of a symbolism more formal and more minute than is his wont. The kind of ceremonial that he describes is remote from modern experience, though not unfamiliar to Dante's contemporaries. In his day elaborate allegorical processions, both religious and secular, were common enough. We find something similar in the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ Jesu*, written in 1305 by Ubertino da Casale, the leader of the Franciscan sect known as the *Spirituales* (*Par.* XII, 124). At a later date the type was developed by Petrarch in his *Trionfi*.

Dante's inspiration came, in large measure, from the Apocalypse and from Ezekiel. His procession is in the shape of a cross, in the middle of which is the Chariot of the Church, drawn by Christ, its founder, in the form of a griffin. Christ, to Dante's mind, was always a divine figure, a part of the triune God, who could be conceived by the human intellect only through the medium of symbols. He seldom thought of him as an historical person or as a model for human life. What particularly impressed him was the mystery of his dual nature, a fusion of man and God; and this duality he expresses by means of the griffin, a creature half eagle, half lion, belonging both to heaven and to earth. He may have got the idea of this beast from St. Isidore's *Etymologiæ*, XII, ii, 17, where it is described; in the same chapter, but not in connection with the griffin, Christ is compared both to a lion and to an eagle (43, 44). The griffin is often pictured in ancient art,

notably in the frieze of the temple of Faustina in Rome. In Christian art, too, it is not uncommon; it is the emblem of the city of Perugia, and is displayed everywhere in that old town; it is seen also on the 11th century façade of the cathedral of Assisi. In Dante's portrayal there are several traits taken from the Song of Solomon, which from very early times was interpreted as an allegory of Christ and the Church. Beside the two wheels of the chariot are two groups of figures symbolizing the Theological and the Cardinal Virtues.

At the head of the procession, at first unrecognizable, then gradually revealing themselves as they approach, are seven golden candlesticks. Seven lamps or candlesticks are repeatedly mentioned in the Bible. Exod. xxv, 37: 'And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof.' Rev. i, 12: 'I saw seven golden candlesticks.' Rev. i, 13: 'And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man' (cf. ii, 1: 'who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks'). Rev. i, 20: 'the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches' (cf. 11). Rev. iv, 5: 'and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.' This last interpretation is apparently the one that Dante chose: his candlesticks represent the sevenfold Spirit of God. The flame of each candle leaves, as it passes, a trail of colored light, which stretches as far as the eye can reach. These seven streaks of brightness, all of different hues, form a canopy over the marching band. They probably symbolize the gifts of the Spirit of the Lord, mentioned in Isaiah xi, 2, 3: 'And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him' (the 'rod out of the stem of Jesse'), 'the spirit of *wisdom* and *understanding*, the spirit of *counsel* and *might*, the spirit of *knowledge* and of the *fear of the Lord*. And shall make him of quick understanding in the *fear of the Lord*.' The Vulgate, instead of repeating 'fear of the Lord,' has in the first verse *pietatis*, in the second *timoris*, making seven gifts in all. In the *Convivio*, IV, xxi, 105–12, Dante discusses the '*Doni di Spirito Santo*, li quali, secondochè li distingue Isaia Profeta, sono sette, cioè: *Sapienza*, *Intelletto*, *Consiglio*, *Fortezza*, *Scienza*, *Pietà* e *Timor di Dio*.'

After the candlesticks, come twenty-four old men. Rev. iv, 4: 'And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold' (cf. also 10 and 11). St. Jerome, in the *Prologus Galeatus* to the Vulgate, refers to an interpretation of these elders as the books of the Old Testament, namely: the five books of Law, written by

Moses (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy); eight books of Prophets, i. e., seven major prophets and one book made up of the twelve minor prophets; nine books of sacred writings, historical and didactic; Ruth and Lamentations, which Jerome himself was inclined to regard as not canonical. Dante's elders are clad in white and crowned with lilies, white being the color of faith: the Old Testament is the expression of faith in the coming Saviour.

Next, surrounding the chariot and the griffin, are four animals representing the Gospels; they are crowned with green, the color of hope. Each has six wings, to carry it abroad through the world; and the wings seem full of eyes, for nothing can escape its flight. Ezekiel i, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12: 'And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the color of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. . . . And their wings were stretched upward. . . . And they went every one straight forward; whither the spirit was to go, they went.' Rev. iv, 6, 7, 8: 'and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.' These four beasts were early adopted by Christian art as emblems of the four Evangelists. Ezekiel x, with its account of cherubims and wheels, may be compared also. At the end of the troop, dressed in white and garlanded with red, are seven personages, who stand for the remaining books of the New Testament.

Cantando come donna innamorata,
Continüò col fin di sue parole:
'*Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata!*'
E come ninfe che si givan sole

2. Matilda continued her song 'at the end' of her speech.

3. Ps. xxxii (Vulg. xxxi), 1: '*Blessed is he* whose transgression is forgiven, *whose sin is covered.*' The earthly paradise represents the stage of the soul's journey at which sin is remitted.

Per le salvatiche ombre, disïando 5
Qual di veder, qual di fuggir lo sole,
Allor si mosse contra il fiume, andando
Su per la riva, ed io pari di lei,
Picciol passo con picciol seguitando.
Non eran cento tra i suo' passi e i miei, 10
Quando le ripe igualmente dier volta,
Per modo ch' a levante mi rendei.
Nè ancor fu così nostra via molta,
Quando la Donna tutta a me si torse,
Dicendo: 'Frate mio, guarda ed ascolta!' 15
Ed ecco un lustro subito trascorse
Da tutte parti per la gran foresta,
Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse.
Ma perchè il balenar, come vien, resta,
E quel durando più e più splendeva, 20
Nel mio pensar dicea: 'Che cosa è questa?'
Ed una melodia dolce correva
Per l' aere luminoso; onde buon zelo
Mi fe' riprender l' ardimento d' Eva,
Che, là dove ubbidia la terra e il cielo, 25
Femmina sola, e pur testè formata,
Non sofferse di star sotto alcun velo;
Sotto il qual, se devota fosse stata,
Avrei quelle ineffabili delizie

8. Matilda on one side of the river and the three travellers on the other turn to Dante's right and proceed up-stream, i. e., to the south.

12. At this point the river turns a right angle, and Dante and his companions, still walking up-stream, face the east, as they did before they came to the water.

16. *Lustro*, 'gleam': cf. *Par.* XIV, 68.

18. *Mi mise in forse*, 'it was suggestive to me.'

19. *Come vien, resta*, 'stops as quickly as it comes.'

20. *Quel:* sc., *lustro*.

27. 'She could not endure remaining under any veil' of ignorance. Cf. Gen. iii, 4–6.

Sentite prima, e più lunga fïata. 30
Mentr' io m' andava tra tante primizie
Dell' eterno piacer, tutto sospeso,
E disïoso ancora a più letizie,
Dinanzi a noi, tal quale un foco acceso
Ci si fe' l' aere, sotto i verdi rami, 35
E il dolce suon per canto era già inteso.
O sacrosante Vergini, se fami,
Freddi, o vigilie mai per voi soffersi,
Cagion mi sprona ch' io mercè ne chiami.
Or convien ch' Elicona per me versi, 40
Ed Uranía m' aiuti col suo coro,
Forti cose a pensar mettere in versi.
Poco più oltre sette arbori d' oro
Falsava nel parere il lungo tratto
Del mezzo, ch' era ancor tra noi e loro; 45
Ma quando fui sì presso di lor fatto
Che l' obbietto comun, che il senso inganna,
Non perdea per distanza alcun suo atto,

30. If Eve had not yielded, all mankind would have been born in the Garden of Eden and would have lived there until the Day of Judgment. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ*, Cap. III.

37. Dante appeals once more to the muses, as in I, 8.

38. Cf. 2 Cor. xi, 27.

39. 'My need goads me to ask you for my reward.'

40. Cf. *Æn.*, VII, 641: 'Pandite nunc Helicona, Deæ, cantusque movete.' Helicon was a mountain near Parnassus, sacred to the muses. — *Versi*, 'pour forth' the water of its springs.

41. Urania, muse of astronomy, genius of the 8th or starry heaven, is regarded as the leader of the 'choir.'

42. *Forti cose a pensar*, 'things hard to conceive.'

44. 'The long stretch' of intervening space 'produced a false impression' of seven golden trees.

47. By the *obbietto comun* Dante seems to mean the *sensibile comune*, the sum of attributes perceptible to more than one sense, the 'variously recognizable character' of a thing. Such attributes are shape, size, number, and motion or stillness; whereas color and light are perceived by the eye alone: *Conv.*, III, ix, 55–66. In *Conv.*, IV, viii, 46–50, we learn that we are often deceived by our senses, especially with regard to 'variously recognizable characters,' or *sensibili comuni*.

48. *Atto*, 'attribute.'

La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammanna
Sì com' elli eran candelabri apprese, 50
E nelle voci del cantare, '*Osanna!*'
Di sopra fiammeggiava il bello arnese
Più chiaro assai che luna per sereno
Di mezza notte nel suo mezzo mese.
Io mi rivolsi d' ammirazion pieno 55
Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose
Con vista carca di stupor non meno.
Indi rendei l' aspetto all' alte cose,
Che si moveano incontro a noi sì tardi
Che foran vinte da novelle spose. 60
La Donna mi sgridò: 'Perchè pur ardi
Sì nell' aspetto delle vive luci,
E ciò che vien diretro a lor non guardi?'
Genti vid' io allor, com' a lor duci,
Venire appresso, vestite di bianco; 65
E tal candor di qua giammai non fuci.
L' acqua splendeva dal sinistro fianco,
E rendea a me la mia sinistra costa,
S' io riguardava in lei, come specchio anco.
Quand' io dalla mia riva ebbi tal posta 70

49. 'The faculty that supplies procedure for the reason': the power of estimation, or discernment.
50. *Sì come*, 'that.' — *Apprese*, 'apprehended,' understood.
52. *Arnese*, 'array.'
58. *Rendei l' aspetto*, 'I turned back my eyes.'
60. *Foran vinte*, 'they would have been outstripped' by a bride in a wedding procession.
64. *Com' a lor duci* is to be connected with *appresso* in l. 65.
66. *Fuci = ci fu:* for the rhyme see *Inf.* VIII, 17. — Cf. Mark ix, 3: 'And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them.'
67. Dante, walking up-stream on the left bank, has the water on his left. The procession is coming down-stream on the opposite side.
68. *Rendea*, 'reflected' — 'even as a mirror' (l. 69). Though released from sin, Dante is not yet free from remorse; in the light of the 'seven Spirits of God' he sees his own worst part, his 'left side.'

Che solo il fiume mi facea distante,
Per veder meglio ai passi diedi sosta,
E vidi le fiammelle andar davante,
Lasciando retro a sè l' aër dipinto,
E di tratti pennelli avean sembiante; 75
Sì che lì sopra rimanea distinto
Di sette liste, tutte in quei colori
Onde fa l' arco il sole, e Delia il cinto.
Questi ostendali dietro eran maggiori
Che la mia vista; e, quanto al mio avviso, 80
Dieci passi distavan quei di fuori.
Sotto così bel ciel com' io diviso,
Ventiquattro seniori, a due a due,
Coronati venian di fiordaliso.
Tutti cantavan: 'Benedetta tue 85
Nelle figlie d' Adamo, e benedette
Sieno in eterno le bellezze tue.'
Poscia che i fiori e l' altre fresche erbette,
A rimpetto di me dall' altra sponda,
Libere fur da quelle genti elette, 90
Sì come luce luce in ciel seconda,
Vennero appresso lor quattro animali,
Coronato ciascun di verde fronda.

73. *Andar davante,* 'marching on.'
75. 'And they looked like moving paint-brushes,' i. e., 'brushes drawn' across a wall or ceiling, leaving lines of color behind.
78. *Delia = Diana,* born in Delos, goddess of the moon.
79. *Ostendali,* 'banners': the streaks of colored light. — *Eran maggiori,* 'extended further.'
81. *Quei di fuori,* 'the (two) outer ones,' representing *wisdom* and *fear of the Lord.* All seven gifts are contained within the ten commandments, by which God transmitted them to man.
82. *Diviso,* 'describe.'
85. *Tue = tu :* cf. XVI, 26. — The books of the Old Testament anticipate the greeting to Mary uttered by Gabriel and by Elizabeth (Luke i, 28, 42) at the time of the annunciation.
91 *Luce :* star. — *Seconda,* 'follows': cf. XVI, 33.

Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,
Le penne piene d' occhi; e gli occhi d' Argo, 95
Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.
A descriver lor forme più non spargo
Rime, lettor; ch' altra spesa mi strigne
Tanto che a questa non posso esser largo.
Ma leggi Ezechïel, che li dipigne 100
Come li vide dalla fredda parte
Venir con vento, con nube e con igne;
E quali i troverai nelle sue carte
Tali eran quivi, salvo ch' alle penne
Giovanni è meco, e da lui si diparte. 105
Lo spazio dentro a lor quattro contenne
Un carro, in su due rote, trïonfale,
Ch' al collo d' un grifon tirato venne.
Esso tendea in su l' una e l' altr' ale
Tra la mezzana e le tre e tre liste, 110
Sì ch' a nulla fendendo facea male;
Tanto salivan che non eran viste.
Le membra d' oro avea, quanto era uccello,

95. The hundred-eyed Argus was the guardian of Io: cf. *Met.*, I, 625–9.
100. Ezekiel i, 4–6, 11, 12.
102. *Igne*, 'fire.'
103. *I = li.*
105. In the Revelation of St. John the Divine iv, 6–8, the animals have six wings, while in Ezekiel they have only four.
107. *Carro* is the object of *contenne.* — The two wheels are probably the Franciscan and Dominican orders: cf. *Par.* XI, 35–6, and XII, 106–10.
108. Song of Solomon i, 3: 'Draw me, we will run after thee.' Cf. *Mon.*, III, iii, 78–9: 'dicit Ecclesia, loquens ad Sponsum: Trahe me post te.' Here the passage in the song is distinctly applied to the Church and Christ.
109. The wings extending up out of sight indicate the divine origin of Christ, his miraculous descent from Heaven without really leaving it.
110. The wings extend upward on either side of the middle strip of the colored canopy, the strip representing *might.* On the right of the right wing are *wisdom, understanding,* and *counsel;* on the left of the left wing, *knowledge, piety,* and *fear of the Lord.*
111. The supernatural advent and return of Christ were entirely in accord with the prophecy of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.
113. The eagle-like, or divine, part is of gold, the symbol of purity. Cf. Song of Solomon v, 11: 'His head is as the most fine gold.'

E bianche l' altre, di vermiglio miste.
Non che Roma di carro così bello 115
Rallegrasse Affricano, o vero Augusto,
Ma quel del Sol saria pover con ello —
Quel del Sol, che, svïando, fu combusto
Per l' orazion della Terra devota,
Quando fu Giove arcanamente giusto. 120
Tre donne in giro, dalla destra rota,
Venian danzando: l' una tanto rossa
Ch' a pena fora dentro al foco nota;
L' altr' era come se le carni e l' ossa
Fossero state di smeraldo fatte; 125
La terza parea neve testè mossa.
Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,
Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa
L' altre toglièan l' andare, e tarde e ratte.
Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa, 130
In porpora vestite, dietro al modo

114. The lion-like, or earthly, part is white and red, like human flesh. These are the colors of faith and love. Cf. Song of Solomon v, 10: 'My beloved is white and ruddy.'

115, 116. 'Not only did Africanus (Publius Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal) and Augustus never gladden Rome with a chariot so beautiful (on returning in triumph).'

117. *Con*, 'compared with.'

118. *Combusto:* cf. *Inf.* I, 75. At the prayer of the scorched earth, Phaethon, the unsuccessful driver of the chariot of the sun, was stricken down by Jove, who thus punished the crime which, for unknown reasons, he had allowed: *Met.*, II, 227-332. Cf. *Inf.* XVII, 107.

122. Red is the color of Love, or Charity, the greatest of the three Christian virtues. Cf. VIII, 88-93.

124. 'The next' is Hope, whose color is green.

126. *Mossa*, 'fallen.' White symbolizes Faith.

127. *Tratte*, 'led.' Hope must arise either from Faith or from Love: cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xvii, Art. 7 and 8. Love, the foundation of all goodness (1 Cor. xiii, 2), sets the pace by her song for the other two virtues.

130. The four beside the left wheel are the cardinal virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude. Cf. I, 22-7.

131. They are clad in 'purple' (which in the Middle Ages was a color nearly identical with red) to indicate that they depend for their existence on Love: see

D' una di lor, ch' avea tre occhi in testa.
Appresso tutto il pertrattato nodo,
Vidi due vecchi in abito dispari,
Ma pari in atto ed onesto e sodo. 135
L' un si mostrava alcun de' famigliari
Di quel sommo Ippocrate che natura
Agli animali fe' ch' ell' ha più cari.
Mostrava l' altro la contraria cura
Con una spada lucida ed acuta, 140
Tal che di qua dal rio mi fe' paura.
Poi vidi quattro in umile paruta,
E diretro da tutti un veglio solo
Venir dormendo, con la faccia arguta.
E questi sette col primaio stuolo 145
Erano abitüati, ma di gigli
Dintorno al capo non facevan brolo,
Anzi di rose e d' altri fior vermigli;

St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxv, Art. 2. Cf. Moore, III, 184–6.

132. Their leader is Prudence, who sees past, present, and future. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xvii, 81–4; IV, xxvii, 42–6. Also St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxv, Art. 1; Tertia, Qu. xi, Art. 1.

133. *Il pertrattato nodo*, 'the group described.'

138. Nature created Hippocrates, the famous Greek doctor and father of medical science, for the benefit of mankind. His follower represents the book of the Acts of the Apostles, written by 'Luke, the beloved physician' (Colossians iv, 14).

140. 'The other,' who seemed more disposed to cut than to cure, represents the Epistles of Paul. St. Paul is generally pictured with a sword, perhaps 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God' of Ephesians vi, 17; cf. Hebrews iv, 12.

142. The 'four of humble mien' are the minor Epistles, those of Peter, James, John, and Jude.

144. The 'old man' stands for the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the last book of the New Testament. In art John is often depicted asleep. It was commonly believed that he was sleeping in Ephesus, not to wake until the Judgment Day: see A. Bassermann in the *Zeitschrift zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 2.

145. They were dressed 'like the first band,' the 24 elders.

147. *Brolo*, 'garland.' Instead of white wreaths, they had red, symbolic of love.

Giurato avria poco lontano aspetto,
Che tutti ardesser di sopra dai cigli. 150
E quando il carro a me fu a rimpetto,
Un tuon s' udì; e quelle genti degne
Parvero aver l' andar più interdetto,
Fermandos' ivi con le prime insegne.

149. *Aspetto*, 'eye' (i. e., spectator), is the subject of *avria*.
154. 'The first ensigns' are the candlesticks with their streamers.

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

At the culmination of a climax subtly contrived at every step to whet increasingly the reader's curiosity and to intensify his impression of majesty and loveliness, Beatrice emerges into view from the midst of a rain of flowers. And before he sees her features, Dante recognizes her by the love that fills him. Inasmuch as the Christian Church is founded on Revelation, from which it derives its authority, Beatrice now appears as its dominating spirit and mouthpiece, and takes back to herself its power and its functions. She it is who leads the penitent through contrition, confession, and satisfaction to the final remission of sin, administered under her direction. Contrition, the first stage of the sacrament of penance, must spring from a full recognition of guilt. Just as Lady Philosophy greets with stern rebuke the captive Boethius, in *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, I, Pr. ii, so the divine Beatrice bitterly chides Dante for his recreancy after the death of her mortal part. Without entering upon specific charges, she accuses him of having forsaken the true way and 'given himself to others,' following 'false images of good.' Worldliness, ambition, unworthy companionship or unworthy love — among these is perhaps to be found the fault so discreetly recalled. Canto XXXI will perhaps afford a clue. The first word the accuser speaks (l. 56) is Dante's name, which occurs nowhere else in the poem. 'Di necessità qui si registra,' the author explains (l. 63): without this humiliating record of his identity, his confession — which is not merely an incident in the fiction, but also a real admission, before the world, of real sin — would have been incomplete.

Quando il settentrïon del primo cielo, —
  Che nè occaso mai seppe nè orto,
  Nè d' altra nebbia che di colpa velo,

1. The Septentrion is the constellation of Ursa Minor, the Little Dipper, which contains the North Star, the sailors' guide. The seven candlesticks, representing the sevenfold Spirit of the Lord, are called the Septentrion, or sevenfold guiding light, of the 'first heaven,' or Empyrean. — *Settentrion* is the subject of *si affisse* in l. 7.
3. Nothing but man's sinfulness has ever hidden from him the light of the Spirit of the Lord.

E che faceva lì ciascuno accorto
Di suo dover, come il più basso face 5
Qual timon gira per venire a porto, —
Fermo si affisse, la gente verace,
Venuta prima tra il grifone ed esso,
Al carro volse sè, come a sua pace.
Ed un di loro, quasi da ciel messo, 10
'*Veni, sponsa, de Libano!*' cantando,
Gridò tre volte, e tutti gli altri appresso.
Quali i beati al novissimo bando
Surgeran presti ognun di sua caverna,
La rivestita voce alleluiando, 15
Cotali, in sulla divina basterna,
Si levar cento (*ad vocem tanti senis*)
Ministri e messaggier di vita eterna.
Tutti dicean: '*Benedictus qui venis!*'
E, fior gittando di sopra e dintorno, 20
'*Manibus o date liliä plenis!*'

4. *Lì:* in the procession of the Church.
5. *Il più basso* (sc., *settentrion*): the real Ursa Minor, in the starry sphere, below the Empyrean.
6. *Qual*, 'him who': the helmsman.
7. The 'truthful people' are the elders representing the prophetic Old Testament.
10. The one who stands for the Song of Solomon.
11. Song of Solomon iv, 8: 'Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse.' The 'spouse' is the Church. In the Vulgate the word *veni*, 'come,' occurs three times.
13. *Novissimo bando*, 'last trump.'
15. An absolute construction. — Rev. xix, 1: 'And after those things I heard a great voice of much people in Heaven, saying, Alleluia.'
16. *Basterna*, 'carriage.'
17. A hundred angels suddenly arose 'at the voice of so great an elder.' The Latin, appropriate enough to the ecclesiastical tone of the whole passage, is evidently needed here to prepare for the coming rhymes.
19. Mat. xxi, 9: 'And the multitudes that went before, and that followed' (Christ as he entered Jerusalem), 'cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David: *Blessed is he that cometh* in the name of the Lord.' The last clause is taken from Ps. cxviii (Vulg. cxvii), 26. Dante changes *venit*, 'cometh,' to *venis*, 'comest.' — The elder has sung the invitation of Christ to the Church; the angels in the chariot of the Church now respond with the greeting to Christ.
21. *Æn.*, vi, 883: 'Oh, give lilies with full hands!' On the point of dismissing

Io vidi già nel cominciar del giorno
La parte orïental tutta rosata,
E l' altro ciel di bel sereno adorno,
E la faccia del sol nascere ombrata, 25
Sì che per temperanza di vapori
L' occhio la sostenea lunga fïata;
Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,
Che dalle mani angeliche saliva,
E ricadea in giù dentro e di fuori, 30
Sopra candido vel cinta d' oliva
Donna m' apparve, sotto verde manto
Vestita di color di fiamma viva.
E lo spirito mio, che già cotanto
Tempo era stato che alla sua presenza 35
Non era di stupor tremando affranto,
Senza degli occhi aver più conoscenza,
Per occulta virtù che da lei mosse,
D' antico amor sentì la gran potenza.
Tosto che nella vista mi percosse 40
L' alta virtù, che già m' avea trafitto
Prima ch' io fuor di püerizia fosse,
Volsimi alla sinistra col rispitto

Virgil from his narrative, Dante pays him the supreme honor of putting a phrase from his *Æneid* into the mouth of angels, together with words from the Bible.

22. *Io vidi già*, 'I have sometimes seen.'

26. *Temperanza*, 'tempering.'

31. 'Garlanded with olive over a white veil.' Olive is the emblem of peace. In these three lines are the colors of the three Christian virtues; but green, the symbol of hope, really occurs twice. In XXXI, 116, Beatrice's eyes, too, are green; and in *Par.* XXXI, 79, she is addressed as 'donna in cui mia *speranza vige*.'

35, 36. 'Had been so long without being stricken with awe, trembling, in her presence.' Cf. *V. N.*, II, 19–25; XI, 17–25; XIV, 24–34; XXIV, 1–5. As Beatrice had died in 1290 (*V. N.*, XXX, 7–13), Dante had not seen her, except in dreams, for ten years: cf. *Purg.* XXXII, 2.

42. When Dante first saw Beatrice, he was but nine years old: *V. N.*, II, 1–6.

43. *Rispitto*, 'expectation,' is a noun taken from the old verb *ri-* or *re-spittare*, 'expect,' which occurs in the *Fiore*. The word is used also by G. Villani.

Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,
Quando ha paura o quando egli è afflitto, 45
Per dicere a Virgilio: 'Men che dramma
Di sangue m' è rimaso che non tremi;
Conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma.'
Ma Virgilio n' avea lasciati scemi
Di sè — Virgilio, dolcissimo padre — 50
Virgilio, a cui per mia salute die' mi!
Nè quantunque perdè l' antica madre
Valse alle guance nette di rugiada,
Che lagrimando non tornassero adre.
'Dante, perchè Virgilio se ne vada, 55
Non pianger anco, non pianger ancora;
Chè pianger ti convien per altra spada!'
Quasi ammiraglio, che in poppa ed in prora
Viene a veder la gente che ministra
Per gli altri legni, ed a ben far la incuora, 60
In su la sponda del carro sinistra,
Quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,
Che di necessità qui si registra,
Vidi la Donna, che pria m' appario
Velata sotto l' angelica festa, 65
Drizzar gli occhi ver me di qua dal rio,

48. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 23: 'Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ.'
49. *Scemi*, 'bereft.' This parting, so intensely pathetic in the literal narrative, corresponds spiritually to the shock experienced by the soul passing from the guidance of Reason to that of divine Authority.
52. Not all Eden . . .
53. 'Could prevent my dew-cleansed cheeks': cf. I, 121–9.
54. 'From being darkened once more by weeping.' — *Adre* = *atre*.
55. *Perchè*, 'though.'
56. *Anco*, 'yet.'
57. Hebrews iv, 12: 'For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, . . . and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.'
59. *Ministra*, 'serves.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 302: 'Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat.'

Tutto che il vel che le scendea di testa,
  Cerchiato dalla fronde di Minerva,
  Non la lasciasse parer manifesta.
Regalmente, nell' atto ancor proterva, 70
  Continüò, come colui che dice
  E il più caldo parlar diretro serva:
'Guardaci ben! Ben sem, ben sem Beatrice!
  Come degnasti d' accedere al monte?
  Non sapei tu che qui è l' uom felice?' 75
Gli occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte;
  Ma veggendomi in esso, i trassi all' erba,
  Tanta vergogna mi gravò la fronte.
Così la madre al figlio par superba
  Com' ella parve a me, perchè d' amaro 80
  Sente il sapor della pietate acerba.
Ella si tacque, e gli Angeli cantaro
  Di subito: '*In te, Domine, speravi;*'
  Ma oltre '*pedes meos*' non passaro.
Sì come neve tra le vive travi 85

67. *Tutto che*, 'although.'
68. *Cerchiato*, 'wreathed.' — The olive was sacred to Minerva. The phrase perhaps suggests that peace comes through knowledge; cf. the 'warfare of ignorance' in XX, 145.
70. *Proterva*, 'wrathful.' Her anger shows itself in the impetuousness of the following speech.
72. *Il più caldo:* his hottest rebukes. — *Diretro serva*, 'reserves for the end.' Cf. *Conv.*, II, ix, 9–13.
73. Beatrice speaks in the first person plural, like a monarch.
74. *Degnasti*, 'hast thou deigned.' From the imperiousness of the first line, she passes abruptly to the irony of the second, and thence, with equal suddenness, to the direct rebuke of the third. — Cf. Ps. xxiv (Vulg. xxiii), 3, 4.
75. *Sapei = sapevi.*
77. *I = li.* — Contrition is caused by seeing our real selves.
81. *Acerba*, 'unripe': pity that is not yet ready to reveal itself.
83. Ps. xxxi (Vulg. xxx): 'In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust.' It expresses trust and gratitude, and prays for continued defence and deliverance.
84. Verse 8 (Vulg. 9) ends with: 'thou hast set *my feet* in a large room' (Vulg.: 'statuisti in loco spatioso *pedes meos*'). After this verse the tone of the psalm is rather mournful than jubilant.
85. The 'living rafters' are trees.

Per lo dosso d' Italia si congela,
Soffiata e stretta dalli venti schiavi,
Poi liquefatta in sè stessa trapela, —
Pur che la terra che perde ombra spiri, —
Sì che par foco fonder la candela: 90
Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri
Anzi il cantar di quei che notan sempre
Dietro alle note degli eterni giri;
Ma poi che intesi nelle dolci tempre
Lor compatire a me, — più che se detto 95
Avesser: 'Donna, perchè sì lo stempre?' —
Lo gel che m' era intorno al cor ristretto
Spirito ed acqua fessi, e con angoscia
Per la bocca e per gli occhi uscì del petto.
Ella, pur ferma in su la detta coscia 100
Del carro stando, alle sustanzie pie
Volse le sue parole così poscia:
'Voi vigilate nell' eterno dìe,
Sì che notte nè sonno a voi non fura
Passo che faccia il secol per sue vie; 105
Onde la mia risposta è con più cura
Che m' intenda colui che di là piagne,

86. The 'back of Italy' is the Apennine range.
87. *Stretta*, 'packed.' — *Schiavi*, 'Slavic.'
89. *Pur che*, 'if but.' — 'The land that loses shadow' is the African desert, where the sun is sometimes directly overhead.
90. Cf. Ps. lxviii, 2 (Vulg. lxvii, 3): 'as wax melteth before the fire.'
92. *Notan*, 'sing.'
93. In harmony with the music of the spheres. Cf. *Par.* I, 78, 82.
94. *Tempre*, 'airs.'
96. *Stempre*, 'confoundest.'
98. *Fessi = si fece.* — It is the pity of the angels that finally awakens complete contrition of the heart, the first stage of the sacrament of penance.
100. *Detta coscia*, 'aforesaid (l. 61) flank' of the chariot.
101. The 'kindly substances' are the angels.
103. *Dìe = dì*, 'day.'
104. *A voi . . . fura*, 'steals from you' a single step of the world's course.
106. *È con più cura*, 'is more concerned.'

Perchè sia colpa e duol d' una misura.
Non pur per opra delle rote magne,
Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine, 110
Secondo che le stelle son compagne,
Ma per larghezza di grazie divine
Che sì alti vapori hanno a lor piova
Che nostre viste là non van vicine,
Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova, 115
Virtüalmente, ch' ogni abito destro
Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova.
Ma tanto più maligno e più silvestro
Si fa il terren col mal seme e non colto,
Quant' egli ha più del buon vigor terrestro. 120
Alcun tempo il sostenni col mio volto;
Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti a lui,
Meco il menava in dritta parte volto.
Sì tosto come in su la soglia fui
Di mia seconda etade, e mutai vita, 125
Questi si tolse a me e diessi altrui.
Quando di carne a spirto era salita,
E bellezza e virtù cresciuta m' era,
Fu' io a lui men cara e men gradita;

109. The 'great wheels' are the revolving heavens, which determine, by the arrangement of the stars at his birth, the disposition of every human being.

112. God bestows upon every individual a special degree of grace, upon which his keenness of spiritual vision depends. The reasons that govern God's uneven distribution of grace neither men nor angels can fathom. His graces rain down from so high — 'have such high vapors for their rain' (l. 113) — that no eye can approach their source. See St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lvii, Art. 5. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxi, 100–5.

115. *Questi:* Dante. — *Nuova,* 'young.'

116. *Virtualmente,* 'potentially.' — *Abito destro,* 'right disposition.'

125. The 'second age,' *gioventù,* begins at 25: see *Conv.*, IV, xxiv, 3–5, 11–3. — Dante was born (probably) in May, 1265. Beatrice, who was nearly a year younger (*V. N.*, II, 9–15), was doubtless born in the first third of 1266. She died in June, 1290: *V. N.*, XXX, 1–13. — *Mutai:* 'changed' the temporal for the eternal.

126. *Diessi* = *si diede.*

E volse i passi suoi per via non vera, 130
Imagini di ben seguendo false,
Che nulla promission rendono intera.
Nè impetrare spirazion mi valse,
Con le quali ed in sogno ed altrimenti
Lo rivocai; sì poco a lui ne calse. 135
Tanto giù cadde che tutti argomenti
Alla salute sua eran già corti,
Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti.
Per questo visitai l' uscio dei morti,
Ed a colui che l' ha quassù condotto 140
Li preghi miei piangendo furon porti.
Alto fato di Dio sarebbe rotto,
Se Letè si passasse e tal vivanda
Fosse gustata senza alcuno scotto
Di pentimento che lagrime spanda.' 145

131. Boethius uses the phrase 'imagines veri boni' in *Cons.*, III, Pr. ix. Cf. *Purg.* XVI, 91.
132. *Promission*, 'promise': cf. XXVIII, 138. — Cf. *Cons.*, III, Pr. viii: 'hæ quæ nec præstare quæ pollicentur bona possunt.'
133. 'And it availed me not to obtain (from God) inspirations.' See *V. N.*, XL, 1–26; XLII, Sonnet XXV; XLIII, 1–6.
136. *Argomenti*, 'means.'
142. *Fato*, 'decree.'
143. The 'viand' is the living water of Lethe.
144. *Scotto*, 'payment.' It would be contrary to God's justice to allow forgetfulness of sin without previous contrition.

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

Contritio cordis is followed by *confessio oris* and *satisfactio operis*, after which comes remission of sin. This whole solemn and elaborate episode — far more elaborate than the allegory itself would seem to require — strikes one as having been devised by the author partly for the purpose of making real amends for past wrong, and setting himself right before the world. What may have been the nature of the guilt thus expiated, as it were, by avowal? Was it a mundane love or an undue literary or scientific ambition? Our evidence is slight.

On the completion of Dante's confession Beatrice rebukes him once more, 'that he may be stronger another time when he hears the sirens' (ll. 44–5). It will be remembered that in Dante's second dream a siren (XIX, 19) represented the sins of the flesh. On the other hand, in *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, I, Pr. i, in a situation somewhat analogous to the one under discussion, Philosophy, finding the exiled and imprisoned author in the company of the muses of poetry, drives them away, saying: 'Sed abite potius, *Sirenes* usque in exilium dulces, meisque eum Musis curandum relinquite' — the sirens of poetry must yield the place to the muses of philosophy. Beatrice's 'sirens,' then, can be used on either side of the argument.

A few lines further on (58–60), after recalling the keen sorrow and disappointment that came to him from her own departure from this world, Beatrice declares that he should not have allowed any 'little maid, or other so short-lived vanity,' to attach him to earth, to be wounded again. Here the question arises anew: is the *pargoletta* to be taken literally, or does she symbolize some intellectual pursuit (for instance, poetry, as the author's son Pietro thought)? Dante's sixth ballad begins 'Io mi son *pargoletta* bella e nova.' Now this lyric, from its tone and style, seems distinctly to belong to the same group as the tenth ballad and the first two *canzoni* of the *Convivio* (also, probably, Canzone IX and a few miscellaneous shorter poems), all concerned with a maiden who, Dante tells us (*Conv.*, II, ii), is identical with the compassionate lady of the latter part of the *Vita Nuova* (Ch. XXXVI–XL, Son.

XIX–XXII). This young person attracted his notice and then his affection by her apparent pity for him after the death of Beatrice. Of his passion for her — a harmless enough infatuation, as far as one can judge — he was profoundly ashamed (*V. N.*, XXXVIII–XL); his acquaintances, no doubt, and his literary circle were likewise dissatisfied and expressed their disapproval of his celebration of this *pargoletta*. When, therefore, he undertook the *Convivio*, he did so partly to defend himself from such criticism (*Conv.*, I, ii, 114–30) by showing that the poems in question are allegorical, the lady being none other than Philosophy (*Conv.*, II, xiii). For the unprejudiced reader of the *Vita Nuova* it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that the sympathetic young lady there described is a purely allegorical figure. The incident is peculiarly lifelike; and such an allegory is quite foreign to the spirit of that early work. It is certainly true that Dante found comfort in the study of philosophy at about the same time that he was consoled by the sight of this *donna gentile*. It would have been, then, quite in accordance with his practice (with the example of Boethius before him) to make her the symbol of the consolation of Philosophy, and of Philosophy herself; and it would have been equally natural for him, when his moody yearning for her had died away, to try to forget that she had ever been anything more to him than the embodiment of the subject of his absorbing study. To make others accept her as a pure symbol was one of the objects of the *Convivio*. It is noteworthy that this treatise was never finished. Dante's conscience, apparently, was ill at ease; and here, in the *Commedia*, he at last tells the whole truth, admitting that his love for the *pargoletta* was not merely an innocent devotion to that 'figlia d' Iddio, regina di tutto, nobilissima e bellissima Filosofia' (*Conv.*, II, xiii, 71–2), but also, and originally, a sentiment deserving reprobation. Now, as far as we can see, Dante's devotion to Philosophy never ceased, his admiration never waned; throughout the *Commedia*, as in the *Convivio*, she is the handmaid of religion and, though not omniscient, the guide to revelation. That she ever was a dangerous companion for him, or that he ever thought of his pursuit of her as excessive, there is no clear indication. He could scarcely have referred to her, at any time, as a 'short-lived vanity.' If, then, we are to see in the *pargoletta* of the *Commedia* anything more than a woman, it is more likely that she represented, to Dante's repentant mind, a whole mode of life and thought, a practical, imaginative, and artistic materialism inconsistent with the spiritual ideal he always cherished.

An interesting question remains, and we have no means of answering it. What part, if any, in Dante's guilt and confession had the damsel of the Casentino, that mysterious 'Pietra' to whom the poet dedicated his most impassioned lyrics, unsurpassed in beauty by any of those inspired by Beatrice or the *donna gentile?* Even if these poems were composed long after 1300, they must have been present in the author's memory when he wrote this canto. Are we to see a reference to 'Pietra' in the 'altra vanità con sì breve uso'? And, if so, does she stand for some other mood of the poet, some other mundane interest or aspiration?

For different views, see: R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, pp. 266 ff.; P. A. Menzio, *Il traviamento intellettuale di Dante Alighieri*, 1903. For discussions of 'Pietra' and the 'Pargoletta': G. Carducci, *Delle rime di Dante*, in his *Studi letterari*, VIII, pp. 1 ff.; A. Zenatti, *Le rime di Dante per la Pargoletta*, in the *Rivista d' Italia*, Jan. 15, 1899; V. Imbriani, *Sulle canzoni pietrose di Dante*, in his *Studî danteschi*, 1891, pp. 427 ff.; A. Abbruzzese, *Su le "Rime Pietrose" di Dante*, in the *Giorn. dant.*, XI, pp. 97 ff. For a study of the development and purification of love in Dante's heart, as revealed in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Commedia*, see J. B. Fletcher in *The Nation* (New York), Dec. 16, 1909, 595–6.

'O tu, che sei di là dal fiume sacro,'
  Volgendo suo parlare a me per punta,
  Che pur per taglio m' era paruto acro,
Ricominciò, seguendo senza cunta,
  'Di', di', se questo è vero! A tanta accusa 5
  Tua confession conviene esser congiunta.'
Era la mia virtù tanto confusa
  Che la voce si mosse, e pria si spense
  Che dagli organi suoi fosse dischiusa.
Poco sofferse, poi disse: 'Che pense? 10
  Rispondi a me; chè le memorie triste
  In te non sono ancor dall' acqua offense.'
Confusione e paura insieme miste
  Mi pinsero un tal 'sì' fuor della bocca

2. *Per punta*, 'with the point.' Her speech is a sword: cf. XXX, 57.
3. *Per taglio*, 'with the edge,' i. e., addressed to me indirectly, being ostensibly directed to the angels: cf. XXX, 103–8. — *Acro*, 'keen': cf. IX, 136.
4. *Cunta*, 'delay.'
10. *Sofferse*, 'she waited.' — *Che pense:* cf. *Inf.* V, 111.
12. *Acqua:* of Lethe. — *Offense*, 'impaired.'

Al quale intender fur mestier le viste. 15
Come balestro frange, quando scocca
Da troppa tesa, la sua corda e l' arco,
E con men foga l' asta il segno tocca,
Sì scoppia' io sott' esso grave carco,
Fuori sgorgando lagrime e sospiri, 20
E la voce allentò per lo suo varco.
Ond' ella a me: 'Per entro i miei disiri,
Che ti menavano ad amar lo bene
Di là dal qual non è a che si aspiri,
Quai fossi attraversati o quai catene 25
Trovasti, per che del passare innanzi
Dovessiti così spogliar la spene?
E quali agevolezze o quali avanzi
Nella fronte degli altri si mostraro,
Per che dovessi lor passeggiare anzi?' 30
Dopo la tratta d' un sospiro amaro,
A pena ebbi la voce che rispose,
E le labbra a fatica la formaro.
Piangendo dissi: 'Le presenti cose
Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi, 35
Tosto che il vostro viso si nascose.'
Ed ella: 'Se tacessi, o se negassi

17. *Da troppa tesa*, 'from excessive tension.' — *Corda* and *arco* are objects of *frange* in l. 16.
18. *Foga*, 'force.' — *Asta*, 'shaft.'
21. Cf. *Æn.*, XI, 150-1:

'hæret lacrimansque gemensque
Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est.'

25. Obstacles, such as were used to prevent the passage of a hostile army or fleet. — *Fossi attraversati*, 'cross ditches.'
28. *Agevolezze*, 'comforts.' — *Avanzi*, 'advantages.'
29. *Altri*, sc., *beni:* cf. l. 23.
30. *Lor passeggiare anzi*, 'dally with them.' Cino da Pistoia (ed. Bindi and Fanfani, Sonnet LII), describing spiritual contemplation of his beloved, says: 'Quando davanti passo.'
31. *Tratta*, 'heaving.'

Ciò che confessi, non fora men nota
La colpa tua: da tal giudice sassi!
Ma quando scoppia dalla propria gota 40
L' accusa del peccato, in nostra corte
Rivolge sè contra il taglio la rota.
Tuttavia, perchè mo vergogna porte
Del tuo errore, e perchè altra volta
Udendo le Sirene sie più forte, 45
Pon giù il seme del piangere, ed ascolta;
Sì udirai come in contraria parte
Mover doveati mia carne sepolta.
Mai non t' appresentò natura o arte
Piacer, quanto le belle membra in ch' io 50
Rinchiusa fui, e sono in terra sparte.
E se il sommo piacer sì ti fallio
Per la mia morte, qual cosa mortale
Dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio?
Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale 55
Delle cose fallaci, levar suso
Diretro a me che non era più tale.
Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso,
Ad aspettar più colpi, o pargoletta
O altra vanità con sì breve uso. 60

39. *Sassi* = *si sa.*
40. The use of *gota*, 'cheek,' instead of 'lips,' was perhaps suggested, not only by the rhyme, but also by the idea of the blush of shame that accompanies the words.
42. 'The grindstone turns back against the edge': the sword of justice is blunted, i. e., tempered with mercy.
43. *Porte* = (*tu*) *porti.*
46. The odd phrase, 'the seed of weeping,' is evidently due to a reminiscence of Ps. cxxvi (Vulg. cxxv), 5: 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.'
50. *Piacer quanto*, 'a delight equal to' . . . Cf. *V. N.*, Sonnets XV, XVI.
51. Cf. Gen. iii, 19: 'unto dust shalt thou return.'
57. *Tale:* i. e., *fallace.*
58. The subjects of *dovea* are *pargoletta*, 'little maid,' and *altra vanità*, in ll. 59, 60.
60. *Uso*, 'duration.' — Cf. Eccles. i, 2: 'Vanity of vanities.'

Nuovo augelletto due o tre aspetta;
  Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti
  Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta.'
Quali i fanciulli vergognando muti,
  Con gli occhi a terra, stannosi ascoltando 65
  E sè riconoscendo e ripentuti,
Tal mi stava io. Ed ella disse: 'Quando
  Per udir sei dolente, alza la barba,
  E prenderai più doglia riguardando.'
Con men di resistenza si dibarba 70
  Robusto cerro, o vero al nostral vento
  O vero a quel della terra di Iarba,
Ch' io non levai al suo comando il mento;
  E quando per la barba il viso chiese,
  Ben conobbi il velen dell' argomento. 75
E come la mia faccia si distese,
  Posarsi quelle prime creature
  Da loro aspersïon l' occhio comprese;
E le mie luci, ancor poco sicure,
  Vider Beatrice volta in su la fiera 80

61. *Nuovo*, 'young.' — *Due o tre*, sc., *colpi:* cf. l. 59.
62. *Pennuti*, 'full-fledged': experienced.
63. Cf. Pr. i, 17: 'Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird' — 'ante oculos *pennatorum*.'
66. *Sè riconoscendo*, 'conscience-stricken.'
67. *Quando*, 'since.'
68. In the Middle Ages, *barba*, in many regions, meant both 'beard' and 'chin': cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV, 191. Dante apparently plays on the double sense of the word.
70. *Si dibarba*, 'is uprooted.'
71. *Nostral*, 'native,' coming from our pole.
72. Iarbas was king of Libya: *Æn.*, IV, 196.
75. The 'venom of her speech' consists in the implication that the beard, the plumage of the full-fledged (cf. I, 42), is inconsistent with Dante's youthful vagaries.
76. *Si distese*, 'was upstretched.'
77, 78. 'My eye perceived those primal creatures (the angels) resting from their sprinkling (of flowers).'
80. *Volta in su la fiera*, 'turned toward the animal' (the griffin).

Ch' è sola una persona in due nature.
Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera,
Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica —
Vincer — che l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era.
Di penter sì mi punse ivi l' ortica 85
Che di tutt' altre cose, qual mi torse
Più nel suo amor, più mi si fe' nimica.
Tanta riconoscenza il cor mi morse
Ch' io caddi vinto; e quale allora femmi,
Salsi colei che la cagion mi porse. 90
Poi quando il cor di fuor virtù rendemmi,
La Donna ch' io avea trovata sola
Sopra me vidi, e dicea: 'Tiemmi, tiemmi.'
Tratto m' avea nel fiume infino a gola,
E tirandosi me dietro, sen giva 95
Sopr' esso l' acqua, lieve come spola.
Quando fui presso alla beata riva,
'*Asperges me*' sì dolcemente udissi
Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva.
La bella Donna nelle braccia aprissi, 100
Abbracciommi la testa, e mi sommerse
Ove convenne ch' io l' acqua inghiottissi;

84. *Vincer*, 'surpass,' is insistently repeated. — *Che l' altre*, 'than she surpassed all other women.'
86. *Di*, 'of.' — *Qual mi torse*, 'whatsoever one had drawn me.'
88. *Riconoscenza*, 'remorse.' — This swoon evidently represents *satisfaction*, the last stage of the sacrament of penance.
89. *Femmi* = *mi fei*, i. e., *mi feci*.
90. *Salsi* = *se lo sa*.
91. *Di fuor virtù*, 'my outward faculties,' my senses.
92. *Donna*: Matilda.
93. *Tiemmi* = *tienimi*, 'cling to me.'
98. Ps. li, 7 (Vulg. l, 9.): '*Purge me* with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow' — a verse that accompanies absolution. — *Udissi* = *si udì*.
99. *Non che*, 'far less.'
100. *Nelle braccia aprissi* (= *si aprì*), 'spread her arms open.' The figure in the poet's mind seems to be that of a butterfly unfolding its wings.

Indi mi tolse, e bagnato mi offerse
  Dentro alla danza delle quattro belle,
  E ciascuna del braccio mi coperse. 105
'Noi sem qui ninfe, e nel ciel semo stelle.
  Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,
  Fummo ordinate a lei per sue ancelle.
Merrenti agli occhi suoi; ma nel giocondo
  Lume ch' è dentro aguzzeranno i tuoi 110
  Le tre di là, che miran più profondo.'
Così cantando cominciaro; e poi
  Al petto del grifon seco menarmi,
  Ove Beatrice stava volta a noi.
Disser: 'Fa che le viste non risparmi! 115
  Posto t' avem dinanzi agli smeraldi
  Ond' Amor già ti trasse le sue armi.'
Mille disiri più che fiamma caldi
  Strinsermi gli occhi agli occhi rilucenti,
  Che pur sopra il grifone stavan saldi. 120
Come in lo specchio il sol, non altrimenti
  La doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava,
  Or con uni, or con altri reggimenti.
Pensa, lettor, s' io mi maravigliava,
  Quando vedea la cosa in sè star queta, 125

106. *Sem* = *siamo.* — *Stelle:* cf. I, 23; VIII, 91. — The cardinal virtues, which are within the reach of pagans (VII, 34–6), are both human and divine. They existed before God revealed himself to man.

109. *Merrenti* = *ti meneremo.*

111. *Le tre:* the theological virtues, who are beside the right wheel. The cardinal virtues may lead up to Revelation, but the Christian virtues are needed for its comprehension.

116. The eyes of Beatrice are called emeralds: green is the color of hope. The emerald, too, was thought to preserve and strengthen the sight.

117. *Trasse,* 'shot.' Cf. *V. N.*, Canzone I, 70–3; Sonnet XI, 1.

120. The eyes of Revelation are fixed upon Christ alone.

123. Now with its human, now with its divine 'bearing.' Revealed theology analyzes the nature of Christ into its two component parts, although in reality they are eternally fused into one.

E nell' idolo suo si trasmutava.
Mentre che, piena di stupore e lieta,
L' anima mia gustava di quel cibo
Che saziando di sè, di sè asseta;
Sè dimostrando di più alto tribo 130
Negli atti, l' altre tre si fero avanti,
Danzando al loro angelico caribo.
'Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi,'
Era la lor canzone, 'al tuo fedele,
Che per vederti ha mossi passi tanti! 135
Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele
A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna
La seconda bellezza che tu cele!'
O isplendor di viva luce eterna,
Chi pallido si fece sotto l' ombra 140
Sì di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna,
Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra,
Tentando a render te qual tu paresti
Là dove, armonizzando, il ciel t' adombra,
Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti? 145

126. *Idolo*, 'image.'
129. Cf. Ecclus. xxiv, 29.
130. *Tribo*, 'order.'
132. *Caribo*, 'measure.' *Caribo* is a kind of dance music.
138. The first beauty is the eyes; the second, the mouth. Cf. *Conv.*, III, xv, 12–23: 'E qui si conviene sapere che gli *occhi* della Sapienza sono le sue *dimostrazioni*, colle quali si vede la Verità certissimamente; e 'l suo *riso* sono le sue *persuasioni*, nelle quali si dimostra la luce interiore della Sapienza sotto alcuno velamento: e in queste due si sente quel piacere altissimo di beatitudine, il qual è massimo bene in Paradiso. Questo piacere in altra cosa di quaggiù esser non può, se non nel guardare in questi *occhi* e in questo *riso*.'
140. *Chi*, 'who ever?'
144. *T'adombra*, 'is thine only veil.' Brunetto Latini, describing Lady Nature (in imitation of Boethius's picture of Lady Philosophy), says, in the *Tesoretto*, III, 29–30:

'Talor toccava il cielo
Sì che parea suo velo.'

145. *Ti solvesti*, 'didst unfold thyself.'

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

When the sinner has chosen the road to reformation, the Church comes to meet him, takes him to itself, directs him in the way he should go, and leads him Heavenward. Such is the spiritual meaning of the procession which comes out of the east, stops opposite Dante, receives him as a companion, and then, turning to the right, wheels about and marches eastward, with the sun and the seven candlesticks in front — with God-given intelligence and the sevenfold Spirit of the Lord as its guides. These movements, however, probably contain also an historical allegory: the Church originated in the Orient, made its way westward to the Atlantic, and then took up its abode in Rome, midway between its eastern and its western frontier. This last event is symbolized by the halt of the band after it has gone back a distance of some three arrow shots, — that is, perhaps, has crossed Spain, France, and Italy. Then Beatrice descends from her chariot beneath the tree of Law: the Church puts itself under the authority of the State. Christ himself is careful not to trespass on the field of temporal power, as is shown by the griffin's forbearing to harm the tree. 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers,' says St. Paul in Romans xiii, 1. 'For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.'

Law naturally takes the form, 'thou shalt not'; and the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the subject of God's first prohibition to man (Gen. ii, 17), is a fit symbol of divine Law. This tree, of vast height, is shaped like those in the circle of gluttony (XXII, 132–5), its offshoots: it tapers downward, the branches being long above and short below, so that no one can climb it — a token of prohibition. According to a legend wide-spread in the Middle Ages, Seth, returning to the Garden of Eden, found there a bare tree of lofty stature, the tree of knowledge, thus denuded since his parents' disobedience (Gen. iii, 6, 17); taking a branch, — or, as another version says, three seeds of the apple eaten by Adam, — he planted another tree, from which, later, the Cross was made. Thus sin and atonement sprang from the same wood. Dante's

tree is likewise bare until the griffin, Christ, draws up the chariot of the Church and, fastening the pole — which is the Cross — to the mother trunk, 'leaves bound to it that which came from it' (l. 51). Then the tree clothes itself in purple foliage — divine Law is revived in the form of Empire. Church and State being thus allied, humanity enjoys (or would have enjoyed, had this ideal condition lasted) a perfect tranquillity, which is symbolized by the deep sleep into which Dante now falls, as he listens to a mysterious hymn of peace.

When the sleeper comes to himself, he finds that the scene has been transformed. Christ and the Scriptures have left the earth and returned to Heaven, whence they came. They have left below as their representative the Church, with Revelation for its guide, and the sevenfold Spirit of God in the keeping of the seven Virtues. A change as wonderful as this was experienced once before, when the three disciples who had witnessed the Transfiguration recovered from their fright. Mat. xvii, 1–8: 'And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart. And was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him. Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here . . . While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud . . . And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, for they were sore afraid. And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid. And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only.' Dante discusses the moral sense of this episode in the *Convivio*, II, i, 45–51, and refers to its allegorical significance in *De Monarchia*, III, ix, 81–6.

There is now revealed to Dante, for the benefit of mankind, a picture of the vicissitudes of the Church. The persecution of the Christians by the early Roman Emperors, harmful to the State even more than to the victim, is represented by the descent of an eagle, which breaks flowers, leaves, and bark from the tree, and shakes the chariot. A fox, rebuked and put to flight by Beatrice (Truth revealed), stands for a more insidious foe, heresy, which attacks the Church within. The Song of Solomon ii, 15, speaks of 'little foxes, that spoil the vines.' According to Origen (and others after him), these foxes, in the 'third,' or 'spiritual,' sense, signify false doctrines distracting the Church. If Dante had in mind any particular heresy, it must have been an early one,

Gnosticism or Arianism. After the fox, the eagle returns, this time with no hostile intent but with more damaging effect, and leaves its feathers in the chariot. The Emperor thus designated is Constantine, whose donation of his western possessions to the Church was accepted by Dante and his contemporaries as an historical fact: cf. *Inf.* XIX, 115–7; XXVII, 94–5; *Par.* XX, 55–60; *Mon.*, III, x. Next is recorded a great schism, either the secession of the Greek Church or the Mohammedan movement, which was regarded as a departure from Christianity: cf. *Inf.* XXVIII, 31. This disaster, brought about by Satan, is pictured as the removal of a part of the bottom of the chariot by the sting of a dragon that has emerged from the ground beneath it. The figure is suggested by Rev. xii, 3, 4, 9: 'And . . . behold a great red dragon. . . . And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth. . . . And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world' (cf. xx, 2). Meanwhile the gift of temporal possessions has borne its inevitable fruit of corruption. The love of wealth possesses the clergy and disfigures the Church. Feathers suddenly cover the whole chariot; and seven heads, representing the seven capital vices, spring forth on its pole and its corners. The three on the pole are two-horned, and stand for pride, envy, and anger, which are harmful to both the sinner and his neighbor (cf. XVII, 112–23); the other four, single-horned, symbolize sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust, which do not necessarily affect anyone but the vicious man himself. Here again Dante drew his inspiration from the Apocalypse: 'and I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns' (Rev. xiii, 1). Riding fearlessly, 'with swift roving eyes,' upon the monstrous chariot — like the woman 'upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns' in Rev. xvii, 3 — is an 'unbridled harlot,' who evidently personifies the corrupt Papacy. The House of France, her master, stands beside her in the form of a giant. In Epistola VII, viii, 178, Philip the Fair, the worst offender among the French kings, is called Goliath. Inasmuch as Philip and Boniface VIII were sometimes in accord for evil ends, the giant and the harlot are described as 'kissing from time to time.' But when she turns 'her greedy, restless eye' on Dante, her 'fierce lover' beats her 'from head to foot.' This scourging apparently signifies the outrage perpetrated by Philip on Boniface at Anagni (cf. XX, 85–90). The eager glance at Dante is harder to interpret, but seems to indicate the covetous designs of Boniface on Tuscany. In that case Anagni would

appear to be a retribution for the betrayal of Florence. After the punishment, the giant drags off the chariot through the forest — an allegory of the removal of the Papal see to Avignon in 1305 by the French Pope, Clement V, who was thought to be under the control of Philip. The chariot is drawn so far, Dante says, that the wood alone screens it from his eyes. As the forest is used in l. 100 distinctly as a symbol of this world, contrasted with Heaven, the closing lines may mean that the worldliness of the Papal court, more than its physical distance from Rome, destroys its moral influence in Italy.

For a discussion of the allegory of this canto, and an explanation different in some respects, see Moore, III, 201 ff. For a radically different interpretation of the latter part, see E. Proto, *L'Apocalissi nella Divina Commedia*, 1905. For the legend of Seth: Tor., 614–5. For the scourging of the 'puttana sciolta': F. M. Josselyn in *Modern Philology*, III, 333.

Tanto eran gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti
A disbramarsi la decenne sete
Che gli altri sensi m' eran tutti spenti,
Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete
Di non caler (così lo santo riso 5
A sè traeali con l' antica rete!),
Quando per forza mi fu volto il viso
Ver la sinistra mia da quelle Dee,
Perch' io udia da loro un: 'Troppo fiso!'
E la disposizion ch' a veder èe 10
Negli occhi pur testè dal sol percossi,
Senza la vista alquanto esser mi fee;

2. Ten years: from June, 1290, to April, 1300.
3. Cf. IV, 1–12. The same fact was noted by Ristoro d'Arezzo and Fra Giordano: see Tor., 612.
4. *Essi:* the eyes.
5. *Non caler,* 'indifference.'
8. The 'Divinities' are the three Christian Virtues.
9. By 'Too fixedly!' the Virtues remind Dante that Revelation cannot be directly comprehended, in its entirety, by the ordinary human mind, but can be best understood through its manifestation in the Church. A similar warning is uttered by Beatrice herself in *Par.* XVIII, 21.
10. *Ee = è:* cf. IV, 47. So in l. 12 *fee = fe = fece.* — 'The ability to see that is in eyes,' etc., i. e., the dazzled condition. The contemplation of divine mysteries blinds mortal man to material reality.

Ma poi che al poco il viso riformossi
(Io dico 'al poco' per rispetto al molto
Sensibile, onde a forza mi rimossi), 15
Vidi in sul braccio destro esser rivolto
Lo gloriöso esercito, e tornarsi
Col sole e con le sette fiamme al volto.
Come sotto gli scudi per salvarsi
Volgesi schiera e sè gira col segno 20
Prima che possa tutta in sè mutarsi,
Quella milizia del celeste regno
Che precedeva, tutta trapassonne
Pria che piegasse il carro il primo legno.
Indi alle rote si tornar le donne, 25
E il grifon mosse il benedetto carco
Sì che però nulla penna crollonne.
La bella donna che mi trasse al varco
E Stazio ed io seguitavam la rota
Che fe' l' orbita sua con minore arco. 30
Sì passeggiando l' alta selva vota
(Colpa di quella ch' al serpente crese),
Temprava i passi un' angelica nota.

13. *Poco:* sc., *sensibile* (l. 15), 'perceptibility,' i. e., visibility, the light of the procession. — *Viso*, 'sight.' — *Riformossi*, 'readjusted itself.'
16. *Sul braccio destro*, 'to the right.'
19. The figure is that of a troop of soldiers retreating, with their shields locked over their heads.
20. 'A rank turns, and wheels with its standard.'
21. 'Before it can completely face about.'
24. The candlesticks and the 24 elders all 'passed us,' 'before the chariot bent its first wood,' i. e., its pole, which is the Cross.
25. The seven Virtues returned to their two wheels (XXIX, 121, 130), which they had left (XXXI, 109, 131).
27. 'In such wise that not a feather of him shook withal': Christ set the Church in motion, by means of the Cross, without disturbing his divine part.
28. Matilda: XXXI, 91–104.
30. The wheel 'that made its turn with the smaller curve' is the right wheel, inasmuch as the chariot is turning to the right. Dante and Statius, with Matilda, join the Theological Virtues.
32. *Colpa* is used like the Latin ablative, *culpa*, 'through the fault.' — *Crese* = *credette*.

Forse in tre voli tanto spazio prese
Disfrenata saetta quanto eramo 35
Rimossi, quando Beatrice scese.
Io sentii mormorare a tutti: 'Adamo!'
Poi cerchiaro una pianta dispogliata
Di fiori e d' altra fronda in ciascun ramo.
La coma sua, che tanto si dilata 40
Più quanto più è su, fora dagl' Indi
Nei boschi lor per altezza ammirata.
'Beato sei, grifon, che non discindi
Col becco d' esto legno dolce al gusto,
Posciachè mal si torce il ventre quindi.' 45
Così d' intorno all' arbore robusto
Gridaron gli altri; e l' animal binato:
'Sì si conserva il seme d' ogni giusto.'
E volto al temo ch' egli avea tirato,
Trasselo al piè della vedova frasca; 50
E quel di lei a lei lasciò legato.
Come le nostre piante, quando casca
Giù la gran luce mischiata con quella

35. *Disfrenata*, 'loosed' from the string. — *Eramo* =*eravamo*. — Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 695–6; *Thebaid*, VI, 354.

37. Cf. 4 Esdras vii, 48: 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.'

40. *Coma*, 'tresses,' i. e., branches.

41. India was famous for high trees: cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 122–4. For a symbolical tree of great height, cf. Daniel iv, 10–2, 20–2.

43. *Discindi*, 'breakest off.' Cf. *Mon.*, III, x, 34–6: 'Sed contra officium deputatum Imperatori est *scindere* imperium.' — See *Mon.*, II, xii, xiii; Mat. xxii, 21.

45. 'For the belly is sadly racked afterwards.'

47. *Binato*, 'dual,' of two natures.

48. Mat. iii, 15: 'For thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness' — 'Sic enim decet nos implere omnem *justitiam*.' Cf. Rom. v, 19: 'For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.' — Justice is identical with the divine will: *Mon.*, II, ii, 39–61.

49. *Temo* (cf. XXII, 119) = *timone*, 'pole': the Cross.

50. *Frasca*, 'trunk.'

53. When the sun's light descends 'mingled with that' of Aries, — the constellation which follows Pisces, the 'heavenly carp,' — it is spring.

Che raggia retro alla celeste lasca,
Turgide fansi, e poi si rinnovella 55
Di suo color ciascuna, pria che il sole
Giunga li suoi corsier sott' altra stella:
Men che di rose e più che di vïole
Colore aprendo, s' innovò la pianta
Che prima avea le ramora sì sole. 60
Io non lo intesi nè qui non si canta
L' inno che quella gente allor cantaro,
Nè la nota soffersi tutta quanta.
S' io potessi ritrar come assonnaro
Gli occhi spietati, udendo di Siringa, — 65
Gli occhi a cui più vegghiar costò sì caro, —
Come pittor che con esemplo pinga,
Disegnerei com' io m' addormentai;
Ma qual vuol sia che l' assonnar ben finga!
Però trascorro a quando mi svegliai, 70
E dico ch' un splendor mi squarciò il velo
Del sonno, ed un chiamar: 'Surgi! Che fai?'
Quale, a veder dei fioretti del melo

57. The 'next constellation' to which the sun 'hitches his steeds' is Taurus, which follows Aries.

58. The color between red and violet is the Imperial purple.

60. *Ramora* = *rami*, 'branches.'

61. *Qui:* 'on earth.' — Cf. Rev. xiv, 3: 'And they sung as it were a new song before the throne . . . : and no man could learn that song . . .'

63. *Nota*, 'tune.' — *Soffersi*, 'I heard out.'

65. The hundred eyes of Argus, the guardian of Io (cf. XXIX, 95), were put to sleep by Mercury's song of the nymph Syrinx, loved by Pan; Mercury then slew the over-vigilant guardian: *Met.*, I, 568–747.

69. 'But let him who will make a good counterfeit presentment of the act of falling asleep!' — *Qual vuol sia*, 'let it be he who wishes.' Cf. Patecchio's phrase, 'cui illi vol sia': E. Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana*, I, 102, l. 17.

73–8. 'As Peter, John, and James, led to behold the flowerlets of that apple-tree which makes the angels greedy for its fruit and holds eternal wedding feasts in Heaven, and overwhelmed at that sight, came to themselves at the sound of that voice by which deeper sleep had been broken . . . '

73. *Quale* is correlative with *tal* in l. 82. — *A veder* is to be connected both with *condotti*, l. 76, and with *vinti*, l. 77. — *Fioretti:* the foretaste of Christ's

Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti
E perpetüe nozze fa nel cielo, 75
Pietro e Giovanni e Jacopo, condotti
E vinti, ritornaro alla parola
Dalla qual furon maggior sonni rotti,
E videro scemata loro scuola
Così di Moïsè come d' Elia, 80
Ed al Maestro suo cangiata stola,
Tal torna' io, e vidi quella pia
Sopra me starsi che conducitrice
Fu de' miei passi lungo il fiume pria.
E tutto in dubbio dissi: 'Ov' è Beatrice?' 85
Ond' ella: 'Vedi lei sotto la fronda
Nuova sedere in su la sua radice.
Vedi la compagnia che la circonda;
Gli altri dopo il grifon sen vanno suso,
Con più dolce canzone e più profonda.' 90
E se più fu lo suo parlar diffuso
Non so, però che già negli occhi m' era
Quella ch' ad altro intender m' avea chiuso.

glory. — *Melo:* Christ. Cf. Song of Solomon ii, 3: 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons.'

74. *Pomo:* the full glory of Christ. Cf. Rev. xviii, 14: 'the fruits that thy soul lusted after' — '*poma* desiderii animæ tuæ'; 1 Peter i, 12: 'which things the angels desire to look into.'

75. Rev. xix, 9: 'Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.'

76. Mat. xvii, 1.

77. Mat. xvii, 5-7.

78. *Maggior sonni:* the sleep of death. Cf. Luke vii, 14-5; John xi, 43-4.

79. 'And saw their company diminished': Mat. xvii, 8.

80. 'Both by Moses and by Elias': Mat. xvii, 3.

81. 'And their Master's raiment changed,' no longer 'white as the light,' as it had been at the moment of the Transfiguration: Mat. xvii, 2.

87. Beatrice sits upon the root of the tree: Revelation (Religion) and Law (Empire) come from the same source.

88. *Compagnia:* the Virtues.

93. *Quella:* Beatrice. — *Intender,* 'attention.'

Sola sedeasi in sulla terra vera,
  Come guardia lasciata lì del plaustro 95
  Che legar vidi alla biforme fiera.
In cerchio le facevan di sè claustro
  Le sette ninfe, con quei lumi in mano
  Che son sicuri d' Aquilone e d' Austro.
'Qui sarai tu poco tempo silvano, 100
  E sarai meco senza fine cive
  Di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano.
Però, in pro del mondo che mal vive,
  Al carro tieni or gli occhi, e quel che vedi,
  Ritornato di là, fa che tu scrive.' 105
Così Beatrice; ed io, che tutto ai piedi
  De' suoi comandamenti era devoto,
  La mente e gli occhi, ov' ella volle, diedi.
Non scese mai con sì veloce moto
  Foco di spessa nube, quando piove 110
  Da quel confine che più va remoto,
Com' io vidi calar l' uccel di Giove
  Per l' arbor giù, rompendo della scorza,
  Non che dei fiori e delle foglie nuove.

94. Beatrice, the divine, has descended to the 'real earth,' putting herself at the disposal of the lowliest through the medium of the Church.
95. *Plaustro*, 'car.'
96. 'Which I had seen bound by the twoshaped beast': l. 51.
97. *Claustro*, 'ring.'
98. *Lumi:* the candlesticks.
99. 'Which are safe from Aquilo and Auster,' the north and the south wind: which no physical blast can extinguish.
100. *Silvano*, 'forester.' Thou shalt dwell a little while on earth.
101. *Cive*, 'citizen.' Then thou shalt dwell forever in Heaven. Cf. Ephesians ii, 19: 'fellowcitizens with the saints, and of the household of God.'
103. *In pro*, 'for the benefit.'
105. *Scrive = scriva*. Cf. Rev. i, 11: 'What thou seest, write in a book.'
110. *Spessa*, 'dense.' — *Piove*, 'it (the lightning) falls:' cf. *Bull.*, XVI, 147.
112. The emblem of the Roman Empire is the eagle, 'Jove's bird': *Æn.*, I, 394. — Cf. Ezekiel xvii, 3-4.
114. *Non che*, 'likewise.'

E ferì il carro di tutta sua forza, 115
Ond' ei piegò, come nave in fortuna,
Vinta dall' onda, or da poggia or da orza.
Poscia vidi avventarsi nella cuna
Del trïonfal veïculo una volpe,
Che d' ogni pasto buon parea digiuna. 120
Ma, riprendendo lei di laide colpe,
La Donna mia la volse in tanta futa
Quanto sofferson l' ossa senza polpe.
Poscia, per indi ond' era pria venuta,
L' aquila vidi scender giù nell' arca 125
Del carro, e lasciar lei di sè pennuta.
E qual esce di cor che si rammarca,
Tal voce uscì del cielo e cotal disse:
'O navicella mia, com' mal sei carca!'
Poi parve a me che la terra s' aprisse 130
Tr' ambo le rote, e vidi uscirne un drago,
Che per lo carro su la coda fisse;
E come vespa che ritragge l' ago,
A sè traendo la coda maligna,
Trasse del fondo, e gissen vago vago. 135
Quel che rimase, — come di gramigna
Vivace terra, — della piuma, offerta

116. *Fortuna*, 'storm.'
117. *Poggia*, 'leeward.' — *Orza*, 'windward.'
118. The 'cradle' is the body of the chariot.
119. Cf. Ezekiel xiii, 4: 'O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts.'
121. *Riprendendo*, 'rebuking.' — *Laide*, 'ugly.'
122. *Futa*, 'flight.'
123. 'Such as its fleshless bones permitted.'
125. The 'ark,' like the 'cradle' above, means the body of the chariot.
129. According to a familiar legend, after the donation of Constantine a voice from Heaven was heard crying: 'Hodie diffusum est venenum in Ecclesia Dei.' — For Dante's views on the donation, see *Mon.*, III, x.
135. 'It pulled out some of the bottom, and twisted and twined itself away.'
136. *Come*, etc., as 'live earth' does 'with dog's grass.'
137. *Della piuma* goes with *Si ricoperse* in l. 139.

Forse con intenzion sana e benigna,
Si ricoperse, e funne ricoperta
E l' una e l' altra rota e il temo, in tanto 140
Che più tiene un sospir la bocca aperta.
Trasformato così, il dificio santo
Mise fuor teste per le parti sue,
Tre sopra il temo ed una in ciascun canto.
Le prime eran cornute come bue, 145
Ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte.
Simile mostro visto ancor non fue!
Sicura quasi rocca in alto monte,
Seder sopr' esso una puttana sciolta
M' apparve, con le ciglia intorno pronte. 150
E come perchè non gli fosse tolta,
Vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante;
E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta.
Ma perchè l' occhio cupido e vagante
A me rivolse, quel feroce drudo 155
La flagellò dal capo infin le piante.
Poi, di sospetto pieno e d' ira crudo,
Disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva
Tanto che sol di lei mi fece scudo
Alla puttana ed alla nuova belva. 160

140. *In tanto:* so quickly.
142. *Dificio*, 'engine' (cf. *Inf.* XXXIV, 7): the chariot.
144. *Temo:* cf. l. 49.
152. *Di costa a lei*, 'beside her.'
153. Cf. Rev. xviii, 2, 3: 'Babylon the great is fallen, . . . and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her.'
157. *Sospetto*, 'jealousy.'
158. The 'monster' is the chariot; so is the 'strange beast' of l. 160. — *Trassel* = *lo trasse.*

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

The 13th and 14th centuries witnessed a considerable vogue of prophetic literature and mystic interpretation. Aside from the Kabbalistic method, — which assigned numerical values to the letters, and explained one word by another whose letters added up to the same sum, — the transposition of letters was used, and the attribution of special significances to letters and numbers. Speculation as to the secret meaning of numbers, which is so curiously illustrated in the *Vita Nuova*, Ch. XXX, was common enough among scholars and theologians. A standing problem was the 'number of the beast,' in Rev. xiii, 18: 'Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six.' St. Joachim and St. Thomas discuss the possible values of the letters and the numbers that make up DCLXVI, and point out (as Victorinus had done in the fourth century) that with a shift of its last two members the combination reads DIC LVX, the not very relevant Latin phrase, *dic, lux.*

This idea of transposition seems to have been adopted by Dante when, in the present canto, he follows up the prophecies of a temporal redeemer uttered in *Inf.* I, 100–11, and *Purg.* XX, 13–5, with the solemn and mysterious announcement of an approaching heir to the vacant Imperial throne, a '*cinquecento diece e cinque*,' sent by God, who shall slay the harlot and the giant. The number DXV, with a shift similar to that noted above, gives DVX, the Latin word *dux*, or 'leader.' An Imperial leader of mankind, ordained by God, is soon to correct the greedy and unscrupulous Papacy and overthrow the power of the House of France. In choosing 515 as a symbol, Dante undoubtedly had in mind also the mystic attributes (whatever he may have thought them to be) of the numbers that compose it. His imagination may have been touched, furthermore, by the familiar abbreviation of the name of Christ, a Greek X (= CH) and P (= R), so combined as to look like a P superposed on an X, or a D connected by a downward prolongation of its upright line with a V which forms

the upper half of an X. This sign was sometimes interpreted as D*eus* CH*ristus* V*enturus*, 'Lord Christ to come,' just as I . H . S, the first three letters of *Jesus* in Greek spelling, is explained as J*esus* H*ominum* S*alvator*. The word *Christ*, as Dante knew, means 'king'; and the temporal Christ, who is to appear near the end of the world, corresponds to the spiritual Messiah, who inaugurated our era.

To emphasize the mysteriousness of his prediction, Dante compares it to the utterances of the goddess Themis, whose obscure oracle is recorded in *Met.*, I, 377–94, and to the riddle of the bloodthirsty Theban Sphinx, finally guessed by Œdipus (*Met.*, VII, 759–61; *Thebaid*, I, 66–7). Dark though his words may be, — he adds, — the events shall ere long solve the problem — even as Œdipus, the son of Laius, unravelled the Sphinx's puzzle. Ovid, in *Met.*, VII, 759–60, relates that this son of Laius had cleared up the riddles which had never been understood before:

> 'Carmina Laïades non intellecta priorum
> Solverat ingeniis.'

Dante, however, evidently read the passage in a faulty text, which substituted *Naiades* for *Laiades* and *solvunt* for *solverat*, and was thus led to believe that Naiads, or water-nymphs, were the successful guessers. Therefore, instead of saying 'the events shall be the Œdipus (or Laiades) that shall explain the mystery,' he puts it: 'The facts shall soon be the Naiads that shall solve this hard enigma.'

See I. Della Giovanna in the *Giornale d' Italia*, Jan. 26, 1905 (cf. *Bull.*, XIII, 37–9); P. Chistoni in *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 194 (cf. D. Guerri in *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 306). An ingenious and interesting attempt to explain the prophecy as a Kabbalistic reference to Henry VII is to be found in Moore, III, 253 ff. (cf. *Bull.*, IX, 40). — Cf. G. Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe le Bel*, 1910.

'*Deüs venerunt gentes*,' alternando
Or tre or quattro, dolce salmodia
Le donne incominciaro, e lagrimando;
E Beatrice sospirosa e pia
Quelle ascoltava sì fatta che poco 5

1. Ps. lxxix (Vulg. lxxviii), 1: '*O God, the heathen are come* into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled.' This psalm, depicting the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, and closing with a prayer for restoration, is now applied to the profanation of the Church described at the end of Canto XXXII. The Theological and the Cardinal Virtues sing the verses alternately.
5. *Sì fatta*, 'with such an expression.'

Più alla croce si cambiò Maria.
Ma poi che l' altre vergini dier loco
A lei di dir, levata dritta in piè
Rispose, colorata come foco:
'*Modicum, et non videbitis me,* 10
Et iterum, sorelle mie dilette,
Modicum, et vos videbitis me!'
Poi le si mise innanzi tutte e sette,
E dopo sè, solo accennando, mosse
Me e la Donna, e il Savio che ristette. 15
Così sen giva, e non credo che fosse
Lo decimo suo passo in terra posto
Quando con gli occhi gli occhi mi percosse;
E con tranquillo aspetto: 'Vien più tosto,'
Mi disse, 'tanto che s' io parlo teco, 20
Ad ascoltarmi tu sie ben disposto.'
Sì com' io fui, com' io doveva, seco,
Dissemi: 'Frate, perchè non ti attenti
A domandarmi omai venendo meco?'
Come a color che troppo reverenti 25
Dinanzi a' suoi maggior parlando sono,

6. Mary at the foot of the cross — the *Mater dolorosa* of art and song — was scarcely more altered by grief than Beatrice.

7. *Dier = diedero.*

10. In answer to the complaint and prayer of the Virtues, Beatrice repeats the prophecy of Christ to his disciples in John xvi, 16: 'A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me.' Truth, as revealed through the Church, shall be hidden for a time, but shall shine forth again.

14. *Solo accennando,* 'merely beckoning': she had no need to speak.

15. *Donna:* Matilda. — *Savio:* Statius.

17. The 9 to 10 steps probably represent a period of over 9 years, between 1305, when Clement V was induced by Philip the Fair to make Avignon the seat of the Papacy, and 1314, when both Clement and Philip died. After their death the world was in a better condition to expect a redeemer. Cf. E. Gorra in *Mélanges Chabaneau,* 1907, 585. Moore, III, 263, offers a different explanation.

22. *Sì com',* 'as soon as.' — *Seco,* 'with her.'

23. *Ti attenti,* 'thou venturest.'

24. *Domandarmi,* 'question me.'

Che non traggon la voce viva ai denti,
Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono
Incominciai: 'Madonna, mia bisogna
Voi conoscete, e ciò ch' ad essa è buono.' 30
Ed ella a me: 'Da tema e da vergogna
Voglio che tu omai ti disviluppe,
Sì che non parli più com' uom che sogna.
Sappi che il vaso che il serpente ruppe
Fu e non è; ma chi n' ha colpa creda 35
Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe.
Non sarà tutto tempo senza reda
L' aquila che lasciò le penne al carro,
Per che divenne mostro e poscia preda.
Ch' io veggio certamente, — e però il narro, — 40
A darne tempo già stelle propinque,
(Sicure d' ogni intoppo e d' ogni sbarro)
Nel quale un cinquecento diece e cinque,
Messo da Dio, anciderà la fuia
Con quel gigante che con lei delinque. 45

34. The 'vessel' is the chariot, and the 'serpent' is the dragon of XXXII, 131.

35. Rev. xvii, 8: 'The beast that thou sawest was, and is not.' The material Church has ceased to exist. — *Chi n' ha colpa*, 'he who is to blame': Clement and Philip shall both be stricken down (cf. l. 17).

36. 'God's vengeance fears no bullying,' like that of the harlot by the giant. It seems that *suppe*, in the colloquial language, sometimes had this sense: see D. Guerri in *Giorn. Stor.*, LIII, 297. The old and most of the modern commentators explain the verse as a reference to a hypothetical custom of eating sops on a murdered man's grave. Tor., 624–5, suggests an emendation.

37. *Reda*, 'heir': note the rhymes in *-eda* in the prophetic lines 13 and 15 of Canto XX. — In *Conv.*, IV, iii, 38–43, Dante calls Frederick II, who died in 1250, the last Roman Emperor — '*ultimo* dico per rispetto al tempo presente, non ostante che Ridolfo e Adolfo e Alberto poi eletti sieno appresso la sua morte e de' suoi discendenti,' inasmuch as these three never came to Italy. Cf. VI, 97; VII, 94.

41, 42. 'Stars — safe from every let and hindrance — on the point of giving us a time . . .'

44. *Fuia :* the 'thief' is the harlot who has usurped the place of the rightful authority.

45. *Delinque*, 'sins.'

E forse che la mia narrazion, buia
  Qual Temi e Sfinge, men ti persüade,
  Perch' a lor modo lo intelletto attuia;
Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiade
  Che solveranno questo enigma forte, 50
  Senza danno di pecore o di biade.
Tu nota; e sì come da me son porte,
  Così queste parole segna ai vivi
  Del viver ch' è un correre alla morte;
Ed abbi a mente, quando tu le scrivi, 55
  Di non celar qual hai vista la pianta
  Ch' è or due volte dirubata quivi.
Qualunque ruba quella o quella schianta,
  Con bestemmia di fatto offende a Dio,
  Che solo all' uso suo la creò santa. 60
Per morder quella, in pena ed in disio
  Cinquemil' anni e più l' anima prima
  Bramò Colui che il morso in sè punio.
Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non estima
  Per singular cagione essere eccelsa 65
  Lei tanto, e sì travolta nella cima.
E se stati non fossero acqua d' Elsa

48. 'Because it clouds the understanding, as they did.'

51. Themis, to avenge the death of the Sphinx, sent the Thebans a beast to lay waste their flocks and fields: *Met.*, VII, 763 ff. But the followers of the new Œdipus, the Redeemer to come, will have nothing to fear from Themis, the goddess of Justice.

57. The tree of Law has been despoiled by Adam and by the giant.

59. *Bestemmia di fatto*, 'blasphemy of deed.'

61. *Per*, 'because of.'

62, 63. Adam longed for redemption by Christ, — who took upon himself the punishment for Adam's sin, — during more than 5000 years, i. e., 930 on earth (Gen. v, 5) and 4302 in Limbus (*Par.* XXVI, 118–20). According to the chronology of Eusebius, Christ was born in the year 5200 after the creation.

65. *Singular cagione*, 'a special reason.' — *Eccelsa:* cf. XXXII, 41–2.

66. *Travolta:* cf. XXXII, 40–1.

67. The water of the Tuscan river, Elsa, coats with carbonate of lime anything that falls into it. The 'vain thoughts' have petrified Dante's mind.

Li pensier vani intorno alla tua mente,
E il piacer loro un Piramo alla gelsa,
Per tante circostanze solamente 70
La giustizia di Dio nello interdetto
Conosceresti all' arbor moralmente.
Ma perch' io veggio te nello intelletto
Fatto di pietra, ed, impietrato, tinto
Sì che t' abbaglia il lume del mio detto, 75
Voglio anco, e se non scritto, almen dipinto,
Che il te ne porti dentro a te, per quello
Che si reca il bordon di palma cinto.'
Ed io: 'Sì come cera da suggello, —
Che la figura impressa non trasmuta, — 80
Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello.
Ma perchè tanto sopra mia veduta
Vostra parola disïata vola
Che più la perde quanto più s' aiuta?'
'Perchè conoschi,' disse, 'quella scuola 85
Ch' hai seguitata, e veggi sua dottrina
Come può seguitar la mia parola;
E veggi vostra via dalla divina
Distar cotanto quanto si discorda
Da terra il ciel che più alto festina.' 90

69. His 'delight in them' has discolored his mind, as the blood of Pyramus stained the mulberry: cf. XXVII, 39.

72. 'Thou wouldst have recognized in the tree, in the moral sense.'

77. *Il : detto*, l. 75. — *Per quello*, 'for the same reason' (cf. XV, 133): pilgrims bring back their 'staff wreathed with palm' from the Holy Land, to show where they have been and what they have seen.

84. *S' aiuta*, 'it strives.'

85. *Conoschi* = (*tu*) *conosca*. — *Scuola :* the 'school' of those who live according to the senses, and thus become deaf and blind to spiritual truth.

86. *Veggi* = (*tu*) *veda*.

87. *Come*, 'how (little).'

90. *Il ciel :* the Primum Mobile, the swiftest and most distant of the heavens. — Cf. Isaiah lv, 9: 'For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.'

Ond' io risposi lei: 'Non mi ricorda
Ch' io straniassi me giammai da voi,
Nè honne coscïenza che rimorda.'
'E se tu ricordar non te ne puoi,'
Sorridendo rispose, 'or ti rammenta 95
Come bevesti di Letè ancoi;
E se dal fummo foco s' argomenta,
Cotesta oblivïon chiaro conchiude
Colpa nella tua voglia altrove attenta.
Veramente oramai saranno nude 100
Le mie parole, quanto converrassi
Quelle scoprire alla tua vista rude.' —
E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,
Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge, —
Che qua e là, come gli aspetti, fassi, — 105
Quando s' affisser (sì come s' affigge
Chi va dinanzi a gente per iscorta,
Se trova novitate o sue vestigge)
Le sette donne al fin d' un' ombra smorta,
Qual sotto foglie verdi e rami nigri 110
Sopra suoi freddi rivi l' Alpe porta.

96. *Ancoi*, 'this day': cf. XIII, 52; XX, 70.

98. *Chiaro conchiude*, 'clearly proves.'

99. 'That there was guilt in the turning of thy desire to another quarter.' Inasmuch as Lethe removes only the memory of *sin*, the fact that he has now forgotten his recreancy to Beatrice — which he remembered just before drinking of the stream (XXXI, 34–6) — proves that this estrangement was sinful.

100. *Veramente*, 'be that as it may.'

103. It is noon. When the sun is overhead, it seems to move slower than when it is near the horizon: cf. *Par.* XXIII, 11–2.

105. The 'noonday circle,' or meridian, 'shifts to one side and the other, according to the point of view': it is not a fixed line, like the equator.

106. *S' affisser*, 'stopped.'

108. 'If he finds something strange, or any indication of it.'

109. The 'pallid shade' is a dark pool under the trees.

110. *Nigri* = *neri*.

111. *Sopra:* at the source of . . .

Dinanzi ad esse Eüfrates e Tigri
  Veder mi parve uscir d' una fontana,
  E quasi amici dipartirsi pigri.
'O luce, o gloria della gente umana, 115
  Che acqua è questa che qui si dispiega
  Da un principio, e sè da sè lontana?'
Per cotal prego detto mi fu: 'Prega
  Matelda che il ti dica.' E qui rispose,
  Come fa chi da colpa si dislega, 120
La bella Donna: 'Questo ed altre cose
  Dette gli son per me; e son sicura
  Che l' acqua di Letè non gliel nascose.'
E Beatrice: 'Forse maggior cura,
  Che spesse volte la memoria priva, 125
  Fatta ha la mente sua negli occhi oscura.
Ma vedi Eünoè che là deriva:
  Menalo ad esso, e come tu sei usa,
  La tramortita sua virtù ravviva.'

112. Boethius, *Cons.*, V, Metr. i, 3–4:

'Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt
Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis.'

Cf. Lucan, *Phars.*, III, 256–9. So Brunetto Latini in the *Trésor* and St. Isidore in the *Origines* (both citing Sallust as an authority) describe these two rivers as coming from the same source. — Obliviousness to evil and consciousness of good spring from the same spiritual condition, and neither can be complete without the other (XXVIII, 131–2).

115. John viii, 12: 'I am the light of the world.'

116. *Si dispiega*, 'gushes.'

119. This is the only mention of the lady's name.

120. *Da colpa si dislega*, 'frees himself from blame.'

123. There can be no guilt in any words spoken by Matilda, the personification of Innocence.

125. *Priva*, 'robs.' — Remorse for his sin had made Dante forget the promise of good (XXVIII, 127–33); now the recollection of sin has been removed by Lethe, and the memory of the good that is his due must be revived by Eunoe.

126. 'Has darkened his mental eyes.'

128. Apparently Matilda performs this office for all souls that reach this stage. The complete restoration of Innocence implies that all evil is banished from the mind and the memory of all good is revived.

Com' anima gentil che non fa scusa, 130
  Ma fa sua voglia della voglia altrui,
  Tosto ch' ell' è per segno fuor dischiusa,
Così, poi che da essa preso fui,
  La bella Donna mossesi, ed a Stazio
  Donnescamente disse: 'Vien con lui.' 135
S' io avessi, lettor, più lungo spazio
  Da scrivere, io pur canterei in parte
  Lo dolce ber che mai non m' avria sazio;
Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
  Ordite a questa Cantica seconda, 140
  Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte.
Io ritornai dalla santissim' onda
  Rifatto sì come piante novelle
  Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle. 145

135. *Donnescamente*, 'with womanly grace.' — Statius now disappears from the narrative.

144. Cf. Ephesians iv, 23: 'And be renewed in the spirit of your mind.'

145. Like the first and third, this second *cantica* ends with the word *stelle* pointing to the goal of Dante's journey.

PARADISO

PRELIMINARY NOTE

Of the three parts of the *Commedia*, the *Purgatorio* seems to a twentieth century reader most modern, the *Paradiso* most mediæval. The idea of everlasting progress, apparently so indispensable to latterday thought, is here quite absent. We of the present generation are so devoted to perpetual betterment that a state of perfection is almost abhorrent to us. It is the approach that concerns us, not the attainment. An eternity of absolute but unchanging and unproductive happiness does not attract mankind now as it did of old. Furthermore, the scholastic philosophy that pervades the third book of the poem has to-day lost much of its vital interest. The physical universe, too, is of course constructed by our author on the Ptolemaic model, a system rational in its assumptions and logically worked out, but long since abandoned in favor of the Copernican. The permanent charm of Dante's *Paradise* abides solely on its power to satisfy our craving for pure beauty and for purely religious emotion.

In this *cantica* the Almighty is disclosed to us, first through his works, then through Christian dogma, and lastly in his own essence. The real theme of the whole *Paradiso* is, in fact, an allegory of contemplation, of the human soul rising by stages from consideration of God's universe to the understanding of its Maker. Lacking the dramatic element of his *Hell*, and the human appeal of his *Purgatory*, Dante's *Paradise* reveals — especially in its unrivaled climax — a reach of imagination not to be found in either of the preceding parts. Out of such unsubstantial materials as light, motion, and sound the poet constructs those wondrous scenes which make visible to us the unseen and intangible realm of the spirit.

The reader of the *Paradiso* must be prepared for much instruction. Certain fundamental principles are established in the first

five cantos, and the discussion of many difficult philosophical and theological questions runs through the following ones, although the very last are reserved for the divine vision. The didactic matter which here abounds must not be regarded as intrusive: it is an integral part, if not indeed the nucleus, of the whole conception. We must remember, too, that for a keenly inquisitive mind like Dante's a large share of the happiness which Heaven has in store must consist in the true solution of the great problems that have so vexed us during life. The blest see all things in God; and the fullness of their knowledge is a source of intellectual satisfaction, as the vast love which they give and receive satisfies the affection.

The blessedness of Heaven is not the same for all. In proportion to the grace bestowed on them by divine predestination, human souls (as well as angels) have diverse powers of sight, and consequently see their Maker in diverse ways; and upon their vision of God their ardor and happiness depend. This variety in happiness is asserted by many theologians, Popes, and councils (cited by G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, II, 1912, 18). 'In my Father's house are many mansions'; and the 'mansions,' according to St. Augustine and St. Thomas, in their exposition of John xiv, 2, are different degrees of knowledge of God. The Divine Care, in itself, is equal for all, but is unequal in its gifts to one and to another (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cxii, Art. 4). Every soul, however, is perfectly content, being aware that it receives knowledge, joy, and love to the full extent of its capacity, and that its capacity has been foreordained by God's just but mysterious will. The mystery of predestination is the keynote of the third *cantica*. The degree of celestial beatitude is not primarily determined, then, by one's earthly conduct, although admission to Heaven is, of course, contingent on the right use of free election in the first life.

Even more than his picture of Hell, and far more than his Purgatory, Dante's portrayal of Heaven is to be looked upon as visualized allegory rather than as an interpretation of concrete

reality. The general structure of the physical world is, to be sure, conceived according to the astronomical science of the author's day; but, aside from this framework, nearly all the supermundane description is of purely symbolic import. For instance, the appearance of the various orders of the blest in the several spheres, as Dante traverses them, does not indicate that these regions are really inhabited by souls, but is merely a visible token of the different grades of beatitude. The device has the further advantage of peopling with hosts of spirits the immense lonely spaces through which the journey lies.

Some figures in the *Convivio* give us an idea of the extent of these uninhabited expanses and of the size of the heavenly bodies. When Venus is nearest to us, she is 542,750 miles away (II, vii, 100–108); the diameter of the sun is 35,750 miles (IV, viii, 56–64), that of the earth 6500 (IV, viii, 58–60), that of Mercury, the smallest planet, 232 (II, xiv, 92–98). The earth, being so much smaller than the sun which illumines it, casts into space a tapering shadow, whose apex extends to the sphere of Venus. The three nearest heavens, — those of the moon, Mercury, and Venus, — within reach of the earth's shadow, form the lowest group of spheres. Then come the heavens of the sun, Mars, and Jupiter. The highest group is composed of the heaven of Saturn, that of the fixed stars, and the Crystalline Heaven or Primum Mobile. It will be remembered that each heaven is a transparent hollow sphere, or shell, of rare matter, invisible save for the heavenly body (or bodies) which it contains. The spheres fit into one another, with no empty space between. At the centre of the universe is the solid, round, motionless earth, about which the heavens revolve, carrying with them their luminous orbs. Dante's transfer from sphere to sphere is instantaneous, and he is conscious of no motion; as he reaches each sphere, he enters into its star — or, in the eighth heaven, into one of its constellations — and revolves with it as long as he remains there. In the ninth sphere there is no heavenly body, and therefore nothing visible and no special station for the traveler.

In the heavens upon which the earth's shadow falls, appear the souls whose goodness was foreordained to have some earthly strain: in the moon, the religious but inconstant; in Mercury, the beneficent but ambitious; in Venus, the affectionate but sensual. These enjoy the lower degrees of beatitude. The sun, Mars, and Jupiter display spirits of masterful, righteous activity, the souls respectively of great teachers (mainly theologians), of warriors of the Faith, and of just rulers. In Saturn are seen the contemplative spirits. The seeming dwellers in these last four heavens may be said to exemplify the four cardinal virtues: prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance. In the heaven of the fixed stars, Dante beholds the Apostles, Christ, and Mary; in the Crystalline Heaven he has a vision of God and the angels. It must be understood that the real home of all of these is the true Paradise or Empyrean, the world of spirit, which lies outside the spherical universe of matter.

The operation of the heavens and the influence of their various stars constitute the power called Nature, which is governed by God, not directly, but through his ministers, the heavenly Intelligences or angels. One order of angels presides over each sphere. There are, then, nine orders, which fall into three groups, or hierarchies, of three orders each. Every order has its own character and functions; the Cherubim, for example, embody divine wisdom, the Seraphim divine love. The nine orders, with their spheres, and the classes of souls associated with them, may be tabulated as follows:

Angels	MOON	*Inconstant Nuns*
Archangels	MERCURY	*Ambitious Statesmen*
Principalities	VENUS	*Sensual Lovers*
Powers	SUN	*Teachers of Wisdom*
Virtues	MARS	*Soldiers of the Faith*
Dominations	JUPITER	*Just Rulers*
Thrones	SATURN	*Monks*
Cherubim	FIXED STARS	(*Apostles*)
Seraphim	PRIMUM MOBILE	

From a theological standpoint, Dante's rating of the blest should be based on the intensity of their love, which is a product of Grace. This principle of gradation is harmonized, as far as possible, with the astronomical order of the spheres. Such a combination is appropriate, inasmuch as both Grace and stellar influence contribute to the shaping of character. See *Purgatorio* XXX, 109–117. St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xiii, 1–8, dwells on the all-importance of charity; and St. Thomas insists on charity, or love of God, as the basis of merit and reward, the moral virtues being merely its instruments (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xii, Art. 6; Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxxiv, Art. 1). The same author (Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xxiv, Art. 9) distinguishes three degrees of charity, — the incipient, the proficient, and the perfect, — corresponding in a way to three stages of perfection (Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxxiv, Art. 2). Now charity manifests itself in deed, in will, and in intellect, the first of these types being the lowest, the last the highest. Assuming that in the incipient stage all three types are imperfect, we arrive at a sevenfold gradation of charity, which matches the seven planetary heavens: *Incipient Charity* (moon); *Proficient Charity* of Deed (Mercury), of Will (Venus), of Intellect (sun); *Perfect Charity* of Deed (Mars), of Will (Jupiter), of Intellect (Saturn). The planets, it will be seen, are here divided into three groups, consisting of one, three, and three; and they are so divided in *Paradiso* XXII, 139–150, when Dante looks down on them from above. Furthermore, St. Thomas avers that three kinds of life are symbolized by the planets: the active, the voluptuous, the contemplative. To these modes of life correspond three desires, which, by subdivision, increase to seven (*De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, III, lxiii). If the order of their enumeration be changed, they fit Dante's seven planetary spheres, as well as the seven grades of charity already discussed: Desire of Self-Preservation (voluptuous) — *Incipient Charity* (Moon); Desire of Fame (active) — *Proficient Charity* of Deed (Mercury), Desire of Pleasure (voluptuous) — *Proficient Charity* of Will (Venus), Desire of Wealth of Wisdom (active) — *Proficient*

Charity of Intellect (sun); Desire of Strong and Rational Action (active)— *Perfect Charity* of Deed (Mars), Desire of Government (active) — *Perfect Charity* of Will (Jupiter), Desire of Knowledge of Truth (contemplative) — *Perfect Charity* of Intellect (Saturn). These correspondences are developed by Busnelli in the work cited below.

See E. G. Gardner, *Dante's Ten Heavens*, 2d ed. 1904; G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, 2 vols., 1911–12; E. G. Parodi, *La costruzione del Paradiso dantesco* in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, Dec. 5, 1908, and *La costruzione e l'ordinamento del Paradiso dantesco* in *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna nel quarantesimo anno del suo insegnamento*, 1911, 893 (see also *Bull.*, XV, 182). — See E. G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, 1913.

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

The keynote of the third *cantica* is struck in its majestic opening verse, 'La gloria di colui che tutto move.' Dante's *Inferno* deals with man's failure to appreciate God's goodness and his own opportunity; the *Purgatorio* illustrates God's mercy to his erring but repentant creatures; the *Paradiso* proclaims the splendor of the divine idea and its realization in the heavens. It is God's love that moves the universe: so Dante has told us in the *Convivio* (III, xv, 155–164); and our poem closes with the words, 'L'Amor che move il sole e le altre stelle.' His glory penetrates everything; but, even as those objects that are inherently bright receive most of the sunshine, so the noblest parts of the world respond best to the spiritual radiance from on high (*Conv.*, III, vii, 10–64). The realm in which the divine light shines brightest is the Empyrean, the abode of pure spirit, the real home of the angels and the blest.

The universe is regulated by an order which reveals the Maker's plan and keeps the material world in harmony with its Creator. To this order all things are subject, each in its own way. Matter and spirit and their compounds, animate and inanimate, have an infallible instinct that tells them what to do. This instinct impels fire to strive upward towards its sphere, which lies just below the heaven of the moon; it compresses the earth into a globe; it makes the Primum Mobile revolve, whirling the other spheres in their course. This same instinct constantly inclines the human soul to mount up to its Creator; but, inasmuch as man's will is free, his primal instinct may be thwarted by a perverse use of this freedom, and his soul may sink instead of rising, just as, under certain conditions, fire may move downwards, in the form of lightning. If, however, the original impulse is undisturbed by sin, spirit moves upward as naturally and inevitably as unhampered flame. Thus it is that Dante, cleansed of all impurity, shoots heavenward with Beatrice, passing through the light matter which constitutes the spheres.

His rise to God begins appropriately at noon, in the full glory of the day; with like fitness, the ascent of Purgatory began in the

hopeful hour of morning, and the descent into Hell in the sad eventide. Furthermore, the season of his journey is the best season of the year. At the creation, the world was shaped in its vernal state, the sun in the sign of Aries; and the Conception and the Redemption found the sun in this same constellation. Coupled with the Ram, the sun moulds the earthly wax better than it can fashion it from any other part of the zodiac. At noontide of a spring day Dante leaves the earth.

On quitting our globe, the poet apostrophizes Apollo and the Muses. Upon the latter powers he has already called, at the beginning of each of the first two *cantiche* (*Inf.* II, 7; *Purg.* I, 7–12). In the *Vita Nuova* (XXV, 88–93) Dante defines the Muses as the writer's 'own science,' the poetic art; this has sufficed for the portrayal of Hell and Purgatory. For the description of Heaven, divine inspiration is needed as well, and he invokes it under the name of Apollo, as did Statius in the *Achilleid* (I, 9–11). Parnassus, as Lucan tells us (*Phars.*, III, 173), has two peaks, one of which Dante assigns to Apollo, the other to the Muses. The invocation fills verses 13–36 of the canto, the preceding twelve lines being devoted to a proem; the proem and the invocation together, according to the Letter to Can Grande (Epistola X, xviii), form the prologue to the *Paradiso*.

For the hour and season see Moore, III, 60–62; D'Ovidio[3], 545 ff. — For a discussion of St. Paul's rapture and the meaning of his 'third heaven' (2 Cor. xii, 2), see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxv, Art. 3. According to the second sense of the vision, he declares it appropriate 'ut primum cælum dicatur cognitio cælestium corporum; secundum, cognitio cælestium spirituum; tertium, cognitio ipsius Dei.'

La gloria di colui che tutto move
　Per l' universo penetra, e risplende
　In una parte più, e meno altrove.
Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende
　Fu' io, e vidi cose che ridire　　　5
　Nè sa nè può chi di lassù discende;
Perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,
　Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto
　Che retro la memoria non può ire.

8. *Si profonda tanto,* 'sinks so deep.'　　9. *La memoria* is subject.

Veramente quant' io del regno santo 10
Nella mia mente potei far tesoro
Sarà ora matera del mio canto.
O buono Apollo, all' ultimo lavoro
Fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso
Come domandi a dar l' amato alloro! 15
Infino a qui l' un giogo di Parnaso
Assai mi fu, ma or con ambedue
M' è uopo entrar nell' aringo rimaso.
Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue
Sì come quando Marsïa traesti 20
Della vagina delle membra sue!
O divina virtù, se mi ti presti
Tanto che l' ombra del bëato regno
Segnata nel mio capo io manifesti,
Venir vedra'mi al tuo diletto legno, 25
E coronarmi allor di quelle foglie
Che la matera e tu mi farai degno.
Sì rade volte, padre, se ne coglie, —
Per trïonfare o Cesare o Poeta
(Colpa e vergogna delle umane voglie), — 30

10. *Veramente*, 'nevertheless.'
12. *Matera* = *materia*.
15. *Come domandi a dar*, 'as thou requirest before thou wilt bestow.' — *Amato:* Daphne, loved and pursued by Apollo, was changed to a laurel. Cf. *Met.*, I, 452–567; especially 557–565.
17. *Assai*, 'enough.'
18. *Aringo*, 'arena': the remaining *cantica* of the poem.
19. *Tue* = *tu:* cf. *Purg.* IV, 47.
20. The satyr Marsyas, having challenged Apollo to a musical contest, was defeated and then flayed by him: *Met.*, VI, 382–400.
23. *Ombra:* the shadowy recollection.
25. The 'beloved tree' is the laurel: cf. l. 15.
27. *Che* = *di cui*. — *Farai* is used for *farete*, both *matera* and *tu* being subjects.
29. 'For the triumph of soldier or poet.'
30. 'Because of the sin and shame of human desires.' *Colpa* and *vergogna* are used in the ablative construction.

Che partorir letizia in sulla lieta
  Delfica deïtà dovria la fronda
  Peneia, quando alcun di sè asseta.
Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda:
  Forse retro da me con miglior voci 35
  Si pregherà perchè Cirra risponda. —
Surge ai mortali per diverse foci
  La lucerna del mondo; ma da quella
  Che quattro cerchi giunge con tre croci,
Con miglior corso e con migliore stella 40
  Esce congiunta, e la mondana cera
  Più a suo modo tempera e suggella.
Fatto avea di là mane e di qua sera
  Tal foce quasi; e tutto era là bianco
  Quello emisperio, e l' altra parte nera, 45

32. *Fronda* is the subject of *dovria* (=*dovrebbe*) *partorir*, of which *letizia* is the object. — The 'joyous Delphic deity' is Apollo, whose most famous temple was at Delphi, below Mt. Parnassus.

33. The 'Peneian leaf' is the laurel: Daphne was the daughter of the river god Penēus. — *Quando alcun di sè asseta*, 'when it (the laurel leaf) makes anyone thirst for it.'

34. *Favilla* is the object, *fiamma* the subject, of *seconda*, 'follows.'

36. 'Prayer will be made that Cyrrha may respond': i. e., poets will pray for Apollo's aid. Cyrrha was the seaport of Delphi.

37–44. In these lines Dante describes the season. On every day of the year the sun rises from a particular point in the horizon, and this point differs from day to day. The points are called *foci*, 'outlets.' The best 'outlet' is the one from which the sun emerges on March 21, the vernal equinox. This is the *foce* that 'brings together four circles with three crosses': it is the point where three great heavenly circles intersect the horizon, each of them forming a cross with it. The circles are the equator, the ecliptic, and the colure of the equinoxes; this last is a great circle that traverses the two heavenly poles and crosses the ecliptic at Aries and Libra. When the sun rises from this point, it is 'coupled with its best orbit, and with its best constellation,' namely Aries. In that sign, the sun has the most benign influence on the earth. Now on the day when Dante rose to heaven, the sun had passed 'almost' through that *foce:* it was considerably later than March 21 (it was, in fact, Wednesday, April 13, 1300), but the sun was still in Aries; 'almost this outlet,' then, 'had made morning yonder (in Eden) and evening here (in the Hemisphere of Land).'

44–45. Here Dante tells the hour. It was noon in Eden, midnight in Jerusalem: the Hemisphere of Water was all light, the Hemisphere of Land all dark.

Quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco
Vidi rivolta, e riguardar nel sole:
Aquila sì non gli s' affisse unquanco.
E sì come secondo raggio suole
Uscir del primo, e risalire insuso, 50
Pur come peregrin che tornar vuole,
Così dell' atto suo, per gli occhi infuso
Nell' imagine mia, il mio si fece,
E fissi gli occhi al sole oltre a nostr' uso.
Molto è licito là, che qui non lece 55
Alle nostre virtù, mercè del loco
Fatto per proprio dell' umana spece.
Io nol soffersi molto, nè sì poco
Ch' io nol vedessi sfavillar dintorno,
Qual ferro che bogliente esce del foco. 60
E di subito parve giorno a giorno
Essere aggiunto, come quei che puote
Avesse il ciel d' un altro sole adorno.
Beatrice tutta nell' eterne rote
Fissa con gli occhi stava, ed io in lei 65
Le luci fissi, di lassù remote.
Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei
Qual si fe' Glauco nel gustar dell' erba
Che il fe' consorte in mar degli altri Dei.

49. *Secondo:* i. e., reflected.
53. *Imagine*, 'imagination': cf. *Purg.* XVII, 7.
56. *Mercè del loco*, 'thanks to the place,' Eden: cf. Gen. ii, 8, 15.
62. Without knowing it, Dante has left the earth and is speeding heavenwards. — *Come* = *come se.* — 'He who can' is God.
63. *Adorno* = *adornato.*
64. The 'eternal wheels' are the revolving heavens.
66. *Le luci*, 'my eyes,' which I had 'turned away' from the sky. — It is by gazing on Beatrice, or Revelation, that Dante is 'transhumanized.'
67. *Fei* = *feci.*
68. The fisherman Glaucus, tasting of a certain herb that had revived his fishes, became a sea god: *Met.*, XIII, 898–968.

Trasumanar significar *per verba* 70
Non si poria; però l' esemplo basti
A cui esperïenza grazia serba.
S' io era sol di me quel che crëasti
Novellamente, Amor che il ciel governi,
Tu il sai, che col tuo lume mi levasti. 75
Quando la rota, che tu sempiterni
Desiderato, a sè mi fece atteso
Con l' armonia che temperi e discerni,
Parvemi tanto allor del cielo acceso
Dalla fiamma del sol che pioggia o fiume 80
Lago non fece mai tanto disteso.

70. *Trasumanar*, 'transhumanizing,' rising above the human state, as Glaucus did. For the attributes of the glorified body, see St. Thomas, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, IV, lxxxvi. — *Per verba*, 'in words.'

71. *Poria* = *potrebbe*. — The 'example' is that of Glaucus.

72. 'To those for whom Grace reserves a like experience' — the experience of sanctification. Cf. Flam., II, 110.

73. *Se*, 'whether.' — *Sol di me quel*, 'only that part of me,' i. e., the soul: cf. *Purg.* XXV, 70–72.

74. *Novellamente*, 'most recently,' 'latest.' — Dante is not sure whether he took his body with him to Heaven, of left it behind. St. Paul expresses the same doubt with regard to his own experience, 2 Cor. xii, 2–4: '. . . And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth;) How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' St. Augustine (*De Genesi ad Litteram*, XII, iii–vi) and St. Thomas discuss the question, but leave it undecided. The poet considers his rapture as similar in kind to St. Paul's, and therefore repeats St. Paul's words. In the following narrative Dante seems to think of himself as still in the flesh, although he ultimately sees God. Whether St. Paul actually beheld God or not is a matter on which theologians have disagreed, St. Augustine and St. Thomas holding the affirmative opinion. Cf. Exod. xxxiii, 20: 'Thou canst not see my face: for no man shall see me, and live.'

76. *Rota:* the revolution of the heavens. — *Sempiterni*, 'makest eternal.'

77. *Desiderato*, 'by being desired.' The swift motion of the Primum Mobile, the outermost sphere of the material universe, is due to the eagerness of every one of its parts to come into contact with every part of God's own Heaven, the Empyrean; and the Primum Mobile imparts its revolution to all the heavens within it. Cf. *Conv.*, II, iv, 19–27. — *Atteso*, 'attentive.'

78. 'The harmony which thou dost attune and modulate' is the harmony of the spheres, imagined by Pythagoras, derided by Aristotle, and described by Cicero in the *Somnium Scipionis* (*De Republica*, VI, xi).

79–81. As Dante approaches the sun, its fiery disk grows bigger and bigger. Cf. l. 61.

La novità del suono e il grande lume
Di lor cagion m' accesero un disio
Mai non sentito di cotanto acume.
Ond' ella, che vedea me sì com' io, 85
A quïetarmi l' animo commosso,
Pria ch' io a domandar, la bocca aprìo,
E cominciò: 'Tu stesso ti fai grosso
Col falso imaginar, sì che non vedi
Ciò che vedresti, se l' avessi scosso. 90
Tu non se' in terra, sì come tu credi;
Ma folgore, fuggendo il proprio sito,
Non corse come tu ch' ad esso riedi.'
S' io fui del primo dubbio disvestito
Per le sorrise parolette brevi, 95
Dentro ad un nuovo più fui irretito;
E dissi: 'Già contento requïevi
Di grande ammirazion; ma ora ammiro
Com' io trascenda questi corpi lievi.'
Ond' ella, appresso d 'un pïo sospiro, 100
Gli occhi drizzò ver me con quel sembiante
Che madre fa sopra figliuol deliro;
E cominciò: 'Le cose tutte quante
Hann' ordine tra loro; e questo è forma
Che l' universo a Dio fa simigliante. 105

87. *Aprìo* = *aprì*.
88. *Grosso*, 'dull.'
90. *Se l' avessi scosso*, 'if thou hadst cast it (*falso imaginar*) off.'
92–93. When lightning descends, it leaves its proper abode, the sphere of fire. Dante's real home is the Empyrean, toward which he is returning more swiftly than lightning ever fell from the sky.
96. *Irretito*, 'enmeshed,' caught: cf. *irretivit* in Pr. vii, 21.
97–102. Cf. St. Thomas, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, IV, lxxxvii.
98. *Di*, 'concerning.' — *Ammirazion*, 'wonder.' — *Ammiro*, 'I wonder.'
101. *Ver* = *verso*. 104. *Forma*, 'character.' 105. *Che* is subject of *fa*.

Qui veggion l' alte crëature l' orma
Dell' eterno valore, il quale è fine
Al quale è fatta la toccata norma.
Nell' ordine ch' io dico sono accline
Tutte nature, per diverse sorti 110
Più al principio loro, e men, vicine;
Onde si movono a diversi porti
Per lo gran mar dell' essere, e ciascuna
Con istinto a lei dato che la porti.
Questi ne porta il foco inver la luna, 115
Questi nei cor mortali è permotore,
Questi la terra in sè stringe ed aduna.
Nè pur le crëature che son fuore
D' intelligenza quest' arco saëtta,
Ma quelle ch' hanno intelletto ed amore. 120
La provvidenza che cotanto assetta,
Del suo lume fa il ciel sempre quïeto
Nel qual si volge quel ch' ha maggior fretta.
Ed ora lì, com' a sito decreto,
Cen porta la virtù di quella corda 125
Che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto.

106. *Qui*, 'in it' (the order of the universe). — The 'exalted creatures' are angels and men, who have intelligence. — *Orma*, 'mark.'
107. *Valore*, 'goodness.' — *Fine*, 'the end.'
108. *La toccata norma*, 'the aforesaid rule.'
109. *Accline*, 'bent,' obedient.
110. *Sorti*, 'fates.'
111. Their source, to which some are ordained to be nearer than others, is God.
114. *Che la porti*, 'to carry it.'
115. 'This (instinct)' is the subject. *Ne* is the adverb, 'off.'
118. *Nè pur*, 'not only.' — *Creature* is the object of *saetta*, of which *arco* is subject. The bow of instinct pierces with its arrows not only things devoid of intelligence, but also angels and men, who possess love and understanding.
121. *Che cotanto assetta*, 'which adjusts all this.'
122. *Il ciel*, 'that heaven': the Empyrean, within which the swift Primum Mobile revolves.
124. *Lì:* to the Empyrean. Thither the power of the bowstring of instinct is carrying us on.

Ver' è che, come forma non s' accorda
  Molte fïate alla intenzion dell' arte
  (Perch' a risponder la matera è sorda),
Così da questo corso si diparte 130
  Talor la crëatura ch' ha potere
  Di piegar, così pinta, in altra parte
(E sì come veder si può cadere
  Foco di nube), se l' impeto primo
  L' atterra, torto da falso piacere. 135
Non dei più ammirar, se bene estimo,
  Lo tuo salir, se non come d' un rivo
  Se d' alto monte scende giuso ad imo.
Maraviglia sarebbe in te, se, privo
  D' impedimento, giù ti fossi assiso, 140
  Come a terra quïete in foco vivo.'
Quinci rivolse inver lo cielo il viso.

127-129. Often the character (*forma*) of the product does not equal the intention of the artisan, because matter — the material with which the artisan (God) must work — is unresponsive.

132. *Pinta*, 'propelled' by instinct. Only a creature that possesses free will has 'power to incline in another direction.'

134-135. 'If the primal impulse (instinct), diverted by deceptive pleasure, brings it (the creature) down to earth.'

136. *Dei* = *devi*. — *Ammirar*, 'wonder at (thine ascent).' — *Stimo*, 'I argue.'

137. *Se non come*, 'any more than' thou wouldst wonder at a brook.

141. '(As great a wonder) as immobility in a live fire on earth.'

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

> 'Ma chi cantare vole nè valer bene,
> In suo legno nocchier diritto pone,
> Ed orrato saver mette al timone;
> Dio fa sua stella, e vera lausor sua spene,'

sang Guittone d' Arezzo in his *Ora parà s'eo saverò cantare*, ll. 16–19. In the *Paradiso* our author is about to expound to us not only the structure of the universe, but also the fundamental truths of Christianity, a theme never before attempted in a poem. Setting sail on this untried sea, — with wisdom (Minerva) for his favoring wind, Inspiration (Apollo) for his helmsman, and the nine muses for pilots, — he warns his followers to turn back, save only those who have from early years accustomed themselves to feed upon sacred knowledge, 'the bread of the angels.' 'Man,' says Ps. lxxviii (Vulg. lxxvii), 25, 'did eat angels' food (*panem angelorum*).' Even here on earth, then, one may eat of it, but one is never satisfied: cf. *Purg.* XXXI, 129; also Ecclus. xxiv, 29. In the *Convivio*, I, i, 51–54, Dante exclaims: 'Oh beati que' pochi che seggono a quella mensa ove il pane degli Angeli si mangia, e miseri quelli che colle pecore hanno comune cibo!'

As he pictures himself rising with Beatrice to the sphere of the moon, the poet takes advantage of the occasion to explain — through the lips of his guide — the function of Nature, the power to which all the activities of the material universe are due. By Nature Dante means the operation of the heavenly bodies, directed by celestial Intelligences, or angels, which are the ministers of God. The world of matter, therefore, exactly corresponds to the world of spirit, and is its visible image. From the Maker, in his Empyrean abode, descends a vital principle, which is received by the ninth sphere, or Primum Mobile, the outermost of the revolving heavens. This sphere, which contains no stars, is alike in all its parts; and for that reason it does not analyze the force bestowed upon it, but imparts it, translated into material energy, to the heavens within its circuit. The eighth sphere — that of the fixed stars — by means of these bodies differentiates, in accordance

with the needs of the world, the single but potentially multiform power that comes from the Primum Mobile: cf. *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*, xxi, 11–29. This diversified power then sifts downward to the earth, passing through the other spheres, each of which combines with those energies which are akin to its own essence, and transmits them still further modified. The brightness of the heavenly bodies is due ultimately to this same power, derived from God, whose gladness is the source of all light. The various stars, according to their nature, combine to a greater or less degree with this energizing and light-giving principle; and that is why one star differs from another in glory. So it is with the moon. Some parts of this orb are less sensitive than others to the illumining energy, and hence, when seen from below, appear as spots on the lunar surface. Looked at from above, the moon has no such marks: *Par.* XXII, 139–141 (*Bull.*, VII, 385). To the dwellers on earth the spots are the 'man in the moon,' whom ignorant people called Cain. He was represented as carrying a bundle of thorns for his offering: cf. *Inf.* XX, 126.

Averrhoës and Albertus Magnus believed the moon-spots to be the results of the presence, in some regions of the moon, of rarer matter, which was unfit to refract the sun's light; and they attributed this opinion to Aristotle (Toynbee, 78–79). The same view is expressed by Dante in *Conv.*, II, xiv, 72–76. By the time he wrote the *Paradiso*, however, he had evidently become dissatisfied with such a material explanation, and had worked out a more spiritual one, which applies to the stars as well as to the moon. The refutation of his former theory is conducted, in scholastic style, by Beatrice, some of whose arguments may be found in Albertus Magnus, *De Cœlo et Mundo*, Lib. II, Tr. ii and iii (Toynbee, 82).

In the first place, we must assume that the obscurity of some parts of the moon is due to the same cause as the comparative dimness of some of the stars. The question then is, whether this difference in brightness is caused by a difference in density, or quantity of matter, or by a difference in quality. Now we know that each of the several heavenly bodies and groups of stars has a special influence on the earth. If the stars differed only in the density of their matter, the quality being the same, the effect of all would be the same in kind, and would differ only in degree. Different influences must be the result of different fundamental principles; and these principles, if Dante's earlier view were correct, would be reduced to one. Therefore the celestial bodies —

and, by inference, the various parts of the moon — must differ in kind.

As far as the moon is concerned, there is another argument, a purely physical one. Supposing the moon contained streaks of rarer matter, these layers would either extend through the moon, from side to side, or not. If they did, we should see the sun shining through them at the time of a solar eclipse, when the moon is between the sun and the earth. If they did not, there must be dense matter behind the rare; and in that case this dense matter would refract the light, just as if it were on the surface. But — it may be objected — the light refracted from further back would be fainter than that reflected from the outside, and the fainter reflections would appear as spots. To be convinced that this is not true, says Beatrice, try an experiment. Aristotle has declared that experiment is the source of science (*Metaphysics*, I, i). Place three mirrors upright at a distance from you, one a little further back than the other two. Somewhere behind you put a light in such a position that it will shine into the glasses and be reflected by them. You will see that the reflection in the three mirrors is equally bright, although its image in the more remote one is of somewhat smaller dimensions. If, as seems likely, Dante had actually performed this experiment, he must have done so under such conditions that, to the eye, his conclusion was correct.

For the 'panem angelorum,' see St. Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium*, Tractatus XIII, 4–5. For the relation of light to stellar influence, St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxvii, Art. 3.

O voi che siete in piccioletta barca,
  Desiderosi d' ascoltar, seguiti
  Retro al mio legno che cantando varca,
Tornate a riveder li vostri liti,
  Non vi mettete in pelago; chè forse 5
  Perdendo me rimarreste smarriti.
L' acqua ch' io prendo giammai non si corse.
  Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo,
  E nove Muse mi dimostran l' Orse.

1. *Siete* goes with the *seguiti* of l. 2.
9. *Orse:* the constellations of the Great and Little Bear, by which sailors are guided.

Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo 10
  Per tempo al pan degli Angeli, del quale
  Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo,
Metter potete ben per l' alto sale
  Vostro navigio, servando mio solco
  Dinanzi all' acqua che ritorna equale. 15
Quei gloriosi che passaro a Colco
  Non s' ammiraron, come voi farete,
  Quando Jason vider fatto bifolco.
La concrëata e perpetüa sete
  Del deïforme regno cen portava 20
  Veloci quasi come il ciel vedete.
Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava;
  E forse in tanto in quanto un quadrel posa
  E vola e dalla noce si dischiava,
Giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa 25
  Mi torse il viso a sè; e però quella
  Cui non potea mia opra essere ascosa,
Volta ver me sì lieta come bella:
  'Drizza la mente in Dio grata,' mi disse,
  'Che n'ha congiunti con la prima stella.' 30

13. *Sale*, 'salt sea.'
14. *Solco*, 'wake.'
16. The bold Argonauts, who crossed to Colchis in quest of the golden fleece, were amazed to see Jason, their leader, compel two monstrous, fire-breathing bulls to draw a plough: *Met.*, VII, 104–122.
21. Our 'inborn and eternal thirst' for Heaven 'was sweeping us on almost as swift as you see the sky' — a curious comparison, since we are ordinarily not conscious of the sky's motion. If, however, we follow the position of a heavenly body from hour to hour, we see that in a brief period it traverses an immense distance. The sky, without seeming to move, is really traveling with inconceivable velocity; and so were we.
23–24. 'And perhaps in as much time as that in which a bolt (from a crossbow) stops and flies and quits the notch': the three incidents in the flight of the arrow are arranged in inverse order, to indicate that, to the eye, they are simultaneous. The same device is used in XXII, 109.
27. *Opra*, 'doing.'
30. *La prima stella:* the moon.

Pareva a me che nube ne coprisse
  Lucida, spessa, solida e polita,
  Quasi adamante che lo sol ferisse.
Per entro sè l' eterna margarita
  Ne ricevette, com' acqua recepe 35
  Raggio di luce, permanendo unita.
S' io era corpo (e qui non si concepe
  Com' una dimension altra patio —
  Ch' esser convien, se corpo in corpo repe),
Accender ne dovrïa più il disio 40
  Di veder quella essenza, in che si vede
  Come nostra natura e Dio s' unìo.
Lì si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede,
  Non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,
  A guisa del ver primo che l' uom crede. 45
Io risposi: 'Madonna, sì devoto
  Com' esser posso più, ringrazio lui
  Lo qual dal mortal mondo m' ha remoto.
Ma ditemi, che son li segni bui
  Di questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra 50
  Fan di Caïn favoleggiare altrui?'

33. *Adamante*, 'diamond.'
35. *Recepe* =*riceve*. A ray of light can penetrate water without displacing its particles. Cf. IX, 114; Canzone IX, 27; Guinizelli, *Al cor gentil*, 39.
37. *S' io era corpo:* cf. I, 73. — *Qui*, 'in this case.'
38. 'How one bulk brooked another': how one solid body could, without displacement, be penetrated by another. This, according to St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxxiii, Art. 3), may be brought about by a miracle. See also St. Thomas, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, IV, lxxxvii.
39. *Che*, 'which,' referring to the preceding clause. — *Repe*, 'creeps.'
40. *Ne*, 'us.' — *Disio* is the subject of *dovria* (=*dovrebbe*) *accendere*.
41. In the 'essence' of Christ the human and the divine nature are miraculously united. The thought of my body and the matter of the moon occupying simultaneously the same space should make us eager to rise to Heaven and behold, in the person of Christ, the greatest miracle of the kind — a miracle which we accept on faith, without being able to understand it. In Heaven it will be as clear and natural as a 'primal truth,' or axiom.
51. 'People' (*altrui*) 'down on earth' called the dark spots Cain.

Ella sorrise alquanto, e poi: 'S' egli erra
L' opinïon,' mi disse, 'dei mortali,
Dove chiave di senso non disserra,
Certo non ti dovrien punger gli strali 55
D' ammirazione omai; poi retro ai sensi
Vedi che la ragione ha corte l' ali.
Ma dimmi quel che tu da te ne pensi?'
Ed io: 'Ciò che n' appar quassù diverso,
Credo che il fanno i corpi rari e densi.' 60
Ed ella: 'Certo assai vedrai sommerso
Nel falso il creder tuo, se bene ascolti
L' argomentar ch' io gli farò avverso.
La spera ottava vi dimostra molti
Lumi, li quali e nel quale e nel quanto 65
Notar si posson di diversi volti.
Se raro e denso ciò facesser tanto,
Una sola virtù sarebbe in tutti,
Più e men distributa, ed altrettanto.
Virtù diverse esser convengon frutti 70
Di principii formali, e quei, fuor ch'uno,
Seguiterieno a tua ragion distrutti.

52. The superfluous and untranslatable *egli* merely anticipates the subject, *opinion*.

56. *Ammirazione*, 'wonder.' — *Poi dietro ai sensi*, 'since even under the guidance of the senses.' It is no wonder that men go astray in the interpretation of spiritual things, when they cannot even explain physical phenomena.

64. The 'eighth sphere' is that of the fixed stars.

65. *E nel quale e nel quanto*, 'both in kind and in size.'

66. *Volti*, 'aspects.'

67. 'If rarity and density alone produced this': i. e., this difference in apparent kind and size.

69. 'Distributed more (upon some) or less (upon others), or equally (upon certain ones that are equally bright).'

71. *Principii formali*, 'fundamental principles,' or inherent characters. — *Fuor ch'uno*, 'all but one.'

72. These principles, 'according to thine argument, would be obliterated.' There would be one and the same nature in all the stars, and they would all have the same influence.

Ancor, se raro fosse di quel bruno
Cagion che tu domandi, od oltre in parte
Fora di sua matera sì digiuno 75
Esto pianeta, o, sì come comparte
Lo grasso e il magro un corpo, così questo
Nel suo volume cangerebbe carte.
Se il primo fosse, fora manifesto
Nell' eclissi del sol, per trasparere 80
Lo lume, come in altro raro ingesto.
Questo non è; però è da vedere
Dell' altro, e s' egli avvien ch' io l 'altro cassi,
Falsificato fia lo tuo parere.
S' egli è che questo raro non trapassi, 85
Esser conviene un termine, da onde
Lo suo contrario più passar non lassi;
Ed indi l' altrui raggio si rifonde
Così, come color torna per vetro
Lo qual diretro a sè piombo nasconde. 90
Or dirai tu ch' ei si dimostra tetro

74. *Che tu domandi*, 'about which thou inquirest.' — *Od*, 'either.' — *Oltre in parte*, 'all through,' from side to side. Cf. Guinizelli, *Lo vostro bel saluto*, l. 6: (through the heart is shot an arrow) 'Ched oltre in parte lo taglia e divide.'
75. This planet (the moon) 'would be thus deficient in its matter.'
77. The body of an animal 'divides fat and lean' in layers which do not extend all the way through.
78. The moon 'would change pages in its volume.' When a book is opened in the middle, and lies flat, the pages on each side extend only half way through the volume. Each set of pages comes to an end in the middle of the book.
79 *Il primo*, 'the first (case)': ll. 74–75.
81. 'As it does when introduced into any other rare matter.'
83. *Dell' altro*, 'concerning the second (hypothesis)': ll. 76–78. — *Egli avvien*, 'it happens.' — *Cassi*, 'quash.'
84. *Parere*, 'opinion.'
87. 'Its contrary (the dense) allows no further passage (of the rare).'
88. *Indi*, 'thence': from the place where the rare ends and the dense begins. — *Si rifonde*, 'is poured back.'
89. 'Just as color comes back through glass' that is backed with lead, i. e., is reflected from a mirror, the glass corresponding to the rare matter, the leaden back to the dense.
91. *Ei* anticipates the subject, *raggio:* cf. the *egli* of l. 52.

Quivi lo raggio più che in altre parti,
Per esser lì rifratto più a retro.
Da questa instanzia può diliberarti
Esperïenza, se giammai la provi, 95
Ch' esser suol fonte ai rivi di vostr' arti.
Tre specchi prenderai, e due rimovi
Da te d' un modo, e l' altro, più rimosso,
Tr' ambo li primi gli occhi tuoi ritrovi.
Rivolto ad essi, fa che dopo il dosso 100
Ti stea un lume che i tre specchi accenda
E torni a te da tutti ripercosso.
Benchè nel quanto tanto non si stenda
La vista più lontana, lì vedrai
Come convien ch' egualmente risplenda. 105
Or, come ai colpi delli caldi rai
Della neve riman nudo il suggetto
E dal colore e dal freddo primai,
Così rimaso te nello intelletto
Voglio informar di luce sì vivace 110
Che ti tremolerà nel suo aspetto.
Dentro dal ciel della divina pace
Si gira un corpo, nella cui virtute
L' esser di tutto suo contento giace.

94. *Instanzia*, 'objection.' — *Diliberarti*, 'rid thee.'
95. *Esperienza*, 'experiment,' is the subject of *può*.
98. *D' un modo*, 'to the same distance.'
101. *Stea* = *stia*.
103. *Nel quanto*, 'in size.' — *Si stenda*, 'spreads.'
104. *Vista*, 'image.'
106–108. 'Now just as, beneath the blows of the hot sunbeams, that which underlay the snow (*il suggetto della neve*)' — i. e., the ground which was under the snow — 'is left stript of its previous color and cold.'
109–111. 'Thee, reduced to like state mentally (the snow of error being melted from thy mind), will I infuse with light so keen that it will quiver as it appears to thee.'
112–114. The 'body' which revolves inside the Empyrean (the 'Heaven of divine peace,' which lies without the confines of the material universe) is the

Lo ciel seguente, ch' ha tante vedute, 115
 Quell' esser parte per diverse essenze
 Da lui distinte e da lui contenute.
Gli altri giron, per varie differenze,
 Le distinzion che dentro da sè hanno
 Dispongono a lor fini e lor semenze. 120
Questi organi del mondo così vanno,
 Come tu vedi omai, di grado in grado,
 Che di su prendono, e di sotto fanno.
Riguarda bene a me sì com' io vado
 Per questo loco al ver che tu disiri, 125
 Sì che poi sappi sol tener lo guado.
Lo moto e la virtù dei santi giri —
 Come dal fabbro l' arte del martello —
 Dai bëati motor convien che spiri;
E il ciel cui tanti lumi fanno bello 130
 Dalla mente profonda che lui volve
 Prende l' image, e fassene suggello.
E come l' alma dentro a vostra polve
 Per differenti membra, e conformate

Primum Mobile, 'in whose power is the existence of all that it contains' (*contento* =*contenuto*). All the rest of the material world derives its special mode of being from the outermost revolving sphere.

115. 'The next heaven' is the starry sphere. — *Vedute*, 'phenomena,' i. e., stars.

116. 'Distributes that existence in various types.'

117. 'Different from it (the *essere*) but contained in it.'

118. *Giron*, 'rings' or spheres, is the subject of *dispongono*, of which *distinzion* is the object.

120. *A lor fini e lor semenze*, 'according to their own purposes and their sowings (i. e., their operation on the world below).'

123. 'Receiving from above and acting on what is beneath.'

125. *Questo loco:* this subject.

129. *Convien che spiri*, 'must derive.' — The 'blessed motors' are the angels.

130. The sphere of the fixed stars.

131. The 'deep mind' is that of the heavenly intelligences which preside over this eighth sphere: namely, the Cherubim, who are the repositories of divine wisdom.

133. *Vostra polve:* the human body.

A diverse potenze, si risolve, 135
Così l' intelligenza sua bontate
Multiplicata per le stelle spiega,
Girando sè sopra sua unitate.
Virtù diversa fa diversa lega
Col prezïoso corpo ch' ell' avviva, 140
Nel qual, sì come vita in voi, si lega.
Per la natura lieta onde deriva,
La virtù mista per lo corpo luce,
Come letizia per pupilla viva.
Da essa vien ciò che da luce a luce 145
Par differente, non da denso e raro;
Essa è formal principio che produce,
Conforme a sua bontà, lo turbo e il chiaro.'

135. *Potenze,* 'faculties.' — *Si risolve,* 'is distributed.'
136. *Intelligenza:* the angelic intelligence.
138. The heavenly intelligence is one and indivisible, self-contained, unerring and constant in its operation. Circular revolution symbolizes perfect and unending intellectual activity. Cf. *Purg.* XXV, 75. See also *Par.* XIII, 55–60.
139–140. Each 'different power' from on high 'makes a different mixture' with the 'precious' or incorruptible heavenly 'body which it quickens.'
143. 'This mixed power' is the subject of 'shines.'
145. *Essa:* the *virtù mista,* or fusion of the heavenly bodies, to different degrees and in different modes, with the power from above.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

'In my Father's house are many mansions' (John xiv, 2). By 'mansions' are meant degrees of happiness: so says St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xciii, Art. 2, 3; see also his Commentary on John xiv, and St. Augustine's Treatise on John, lxvii. Every soul in Heaven receives all the gladness of which it is capable, but the capacity differs. God, on creating each soul, endows it — according to his mysterious grace — with a certain degree of keenness of spiritual sight, upon which (if the soul attains Heaven) depends its vision of God, and upon the clearness of this vision depend the soul's love and joy. Every soul is contented with its kind of beatitude, because it knows that its condition was predestined by its Maker, and because it feels that its own state of happiness is the only one for which it is fit. 'E questa è la ragione per che li Santi non hanno tra loro invidia; perocchè ciascuno aggiugne il fine del suo desiderio, il quale desiderio è colla natura della bontà misurato' (*Conv.*, III, xv, 100–104).

The real abode of the blest is the Empyrean, the realm of pure spirit, outside the confines of the world of matter; there they dwell with God and the angels. But in order to make evident to Dante the difference in their degrees, and to illustrate the correspondence of the material universe to the world of spirit, the souls first reveal themselves to him in the spheres that symbolize their state. In his Commentary on Aristotle's *De Cælo et Mundo*, II, x–xviii, St. Thomas informs us that while the Primum Mobile has only one motion, eternal and immutable, the other spheres have two or more, and therefore generate change; but they approach uniformity as they approach the Primum Mobile in position, the moon, which is the most distant from it, being the most variable. So it is fitting that the angels should be seen in the Primum Mobile, the Apostles in the next (or eighth) heaven, and the inconstant in the sphere of the moon.

In the heaven of Venus, and in all above it, the spirits appear merely as bright lights: the happiness that envelops them conceals their individual forms. In the sphere of Mercury, just below Venus, the poet has a glimpse of the soul within the light. In the

lowest heaven, that of the Moon, the spirits are discerned as faint translucent images of human shapes, like the reflections we sometimes catch in window-panes or in shallow water, when there is no dark background to make the figure clear. They are as difficult to see as a pearl against a white forehead. These are the ghosts of nuns who were compelled to break their vows. Among them he finds one for whom he had previously inquired (*Purg.* XXIV, 10), Piccarda Donati, a kinswoman of his wife and the sister of his old friend Forese (*Purg.* XXIII). We may suppose that all weak and inconstant persons who win salvation at all are to be connected with this sphere, the nuns being chosen as extreme examples.

Dante leaves us in doubt whether, in the literal sense of his narrative, the souls actually leave their seats in the Empyrean and come to meet him, or merely project their images into the several spheres. In the eighth heaven all the elect are seen by him, even those who have previously appeared below. The idea that the blest can change their places, without losing sight of God and thus interrupting their beatitude, is in no wise contrary to Christian doctrine. St. Thomas tells us as much in his *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxix, Art. 3, and Qu. lxxxiv, Art. 1 and 2; also in *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, IV, lxxxvi, where he discusses the active life of the spirits in Heaven. For their existence does not wholly consist of passive receptivity; they have the power of locomotion, they take interest in one another and (without diminution of their everlasting joy) in the world beneath. Their active and their quiet being may be symbolized by the physical heavens and the Empyrean. The 'essential reward' of the just is the vision of God, which never changes; their 'accidental reward' is the enjoyment of good done by themselves or others, and this may vary: see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 100–101. 'Accidentally,' then, their gladness is increased by the salvation of a fellow-creature, and their love goes forth to him, as does that of the angels. 'There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.' In the *Convivio*, IV, xxviii, 34–39, Dante pictures the blest coming to meet a new companion; and the same figure recurs in *Paradiso* XXI, 64–66.

In this sphere, as in most of the others, our author places sovereign and subject side by side. With the simple nun, Piccarda, is the great Empress, Constance. A similar contrast is to be found in the heavens of Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, and Jupiter. In Saturn, where only monks appear, both hermit and cenobite are

seen. And in the sun a grammarian, Donatus, accompanies the great theologians. It is curious, too, that only the planets with feminine names — Luna and Venus — show the spirits of women.

In *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxii, Art. 2, St. Thomas explains that the kind of beatitude of each soul depends on the nature of its vision of God, which is an effect of predestination. In *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxxix, Art. 8, and Qu. cxvii, Art. 4, also Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxix, Art. 1, he tells how souls may miraculously assume a body and appear to the living; cf. *Purg.* II, Argument. The question whether souls have a body before the Resurrection is discussed by St. Augustine in *De Genesi ad Litteram*, XII, xxxii–xxxiii.

Quel sol, che pria d' amor mi scaldò il petto,
  Di bella verità m' avea scoperto,
  Provando e riprovando, il dolce aspetto;
Ed io, per confessar corretto e certo
  Me stesso, tanto quanto si convenne 5
  Levai lo capo, a proferer, più erto.
Ma visïon m' apparve, che ritenne
  A sè me tanto stretto per vedersi,
  Che di mia confession non mi sovvenne.
Quali per vetri trasparenti e tersi, 10
  Ovver per acque nitide e tranquille,
  Non sì profonde che i fondi sien persi,
Tornan dei nostri visi le postille
  Debili sì che perla in bianca fronte
  Non vien men tosto alle nostre pupille, 15
Tali vid' io più facce a parlar pronte;
  Per ch' io dentro all' error contrario corsi
  A quel ch' accese amor tra l' uomo e il fonte.

1. The 'sun' is Beatrice, the symbol of Revelation.
3. *Riprovando*, 'refuting.'
6. *A proferer*, 'to speak.'
8. *Per vedersi*, 'to be seen' by me.
10. *Vetri*, 'panes.'
12. *Persi*, 'dark.'
13. *Postille*, 'tracings.'
18. *L' uomo:* Narcissus, who took his reflection in the fountain for a real form, whereas I took these real beings for reflections. Cf. *Met.*, III, 407–510.

Subito, sì com' io di lor m' accorsi,
Quelle stimando specchiati sembianti, 20
Per veder di cui fosser, gli occhi torsi;
E nulla vidi, e ritorsili avanti
Dritti nel lume della dolce guida,
Che sorridendo ardea negli occhi santi.
'Non ti maravigliar perch' io sorrida,' 25
Mi disse, 'appresso il tuo püeril coto,
Poi sopra il vero ancor lo piè non fida,
Ma ti rivolve, come suole, a voto.
Vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi,
Qui rilegate per manco di voto. 30
Però parla con esse, ed odi, e credi;
Chè la verace luce che le appaga
Da sè non lascia lor torcer li piedi.'
Ed io all' ombra che parea più vaga
Di ragionar drizza'mi, e cominciai, 35
Quasi com' uom cui troppa voglia ismaga:
'O ben crëato spirito, che a' rai
Di vita eterna la dolcezza senti
Che non gustata non s' intende mai,
Grazïoso mi fia, se mi contenti 40
Del nome tuo e della vostra sorte.'
Ond' ella pronta e con occhi ridenti:
'La nostra carità non serra porte
A giusta voglia, se non come quella
Che vuol simile a sè tutta sua corte. 45

26. *Appresso il tuo pueril coto,* 'behind the back of thy childish thought.'
27. *Poi = poichè.* — *Ancor lo piè non fida,* 'it (the thought) does not yet trust its foot.' Cf. *Mon.*, II, viii, 8–10.
28. *Voto,* 'emptiness,' vanity. For the rhyme of *voto* and *voto,* cf. *Inf.* XXII, 75.
32. The 'true light' is the visible God. Cf. XXXIII, 100–102.
36. *Ismaga,* 'bewilders.'
41. *Vostra:* thine and thy companions'.
44. *Se non come,* 'any more than.' — *Quella:* the charity of God.

Io fui nel mondo vergine sorella;
  E se la mente tua ben si riguarda,
  Non mi ti celerà l' esser più bella,
Ma riconoscerai ch' io son Piccarda,
  Che, posta qui con questi altri bëati, 50
  Bëata sono in la spera più tarda.
Li nostri affetti, che solo infiammati
  Son nel piacer dello Spirito Santo,
  Letizian del suo ordine formati.
E questa sorte, che par giù cotanto, 55
  Però n' è data perchè fur negletti
  Li nostri voti, e vòti in alcun canto.'
Ond' io a lei: 'Ne' mirabili aspetti
  Vostri risplende non so che divino,
  Che vi trasmuta dai primi concetti. 60
Però non fui a rimembrar festino,
  Ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,
  Sì che raffigurar m' è più latino.
Ma dimmi: voi che siete qui felici,
  Desiderate voi più alto loco 65
  Per più vedere, o per più farvi amici?'

47. *Mente*, 'memory.'
48. 'My being more beautiful' is the subject of the verb.
51. The sphere of the moon, being nearest to the centre, turns slowest in the diurnal revolution of the heavens. This comparative sluggishness of motion symbolizes a relatively low degree of love and of beatitude.
52. *Infiammati*, 'kindled.'
53. *Piacer*, 'will.' The Holy Ghost is divine love.
54. 'Rejoice at being fashioned in conformity with its plan.'
55. *Giù cotanto*, 'so lowly.'
57. *Voti in alcun canto*, 'void in some respect.' — For the collocation of *vôti e vòti*, cf. *Inf.* I, 36.
60. *Concetti*, 'impressions.'
61. *Festino*, 'quick.'
63. *Latino*, 'easy': cf. *Conv.*, II, iii, 1.
66. 'In order to see more and make yourselves more intimate' with God. The souls that are spiritually nearest to God are endowed with the keenest intellectual vision; they therefore see God clearest and love him most.

Con quelle altr' ombre pria sorrise un poco;
  Da indi mi rispose tanto lieta
  Ch' arder parea d' amor nel primo foco:
'Frate, la nostra volontà quïeta 70
  Virtù di carità, che fa volerne
  Sol quel ch' avemo, e d' altro non ci asseta.
Se disïassimo esser più superne,
  Foran discordi li nostri disiri
  Dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne, 75
Che vedrai non capere in questi giri,
  S' essere in carità è qui *necesse*,
  E se la sua natura ben rimiri.
Anzi è formale ad esto bëato *esse*
  Tenersi dentro alla divina voglia, 80
  Per ch' una fansi nostre voglie stesse.
Sì che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia
  Per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace,
  Com' allo re ch' a suo voler ne invoglia.
E la sua volontate è nostra pace; 85
  Ella è quel mare al qual tutto si move
  Ciò ch' ella crëa, e che natura face.'
Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove
  In cielo è Paradiso, e sì la grazia

70. *Volontà* is the object of *quieta*, 'pacifies.'
71. The subject of *quieta* is *virtù di carità*, 'the power of love' for God. — *Fa volerne*, 'makes us wish.'
75. *Cerne*, 'assigns.'
76. *Che*, 'which': i. e., such a discord. — *Capere*, 'enter.'
77. *Necesse*, 'a necessity,' i. e., inevitable.
78. *Sua :* of charity.
79. *Formale*, 'essential,' inherent. — *Esse*, 'being,' state.
82. *Sem* = *siamo*. — *Soglia*, 'stage.'
83. The subject of *piace* is the preceding clause.
84. *Ne invoglia*, 'inclines us.'
87. All that God's will creates by its own act, and all that is produced by Nature.
89 *Sì*, 'yet.'

Del sommo ben d'un modo non vi piove. 90
Ma sì com' egli avvien, se un cibo sazia
E d' un altro rimane ancor la gola,
Che quel si chiede e di quel si ringrazia,
Così fec' io con atto e con parola,
Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela 95
Onde non trasse infino a co la spola.
'Perfetta vita ed alto merto inciela
Donna più su,' mi disse, 'alla cui norma
Nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela,
Perchè in fino al morir si vegghi e dorma 100
Con quello sposo ch' ogni voto accetta
Che caritate a suo piacer conforma.
Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovinetta
Fuggi'mi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,
E promisi la via della sua setta. 105
Uomini poi, a mal più ch' al bene usi,
Fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra;
E Dio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi.
E quest' altro splendor, che ti si mostra
Dalla mia destra parte, e che s' accende 110
Di tutto il lume della spera nostra,

90. *D'un modo,* 'in the same measure,' equally.
91. *Egli avvien,* 'it happens.'
92. *Gola,* 'craving.'
93. 'That we ask for the one and refuse the other.'
95. *Tela,* 'web': i. e., the vow.
96. 'In which she did not draw the shuttle to the end': which she left uncompleted. — *Co* = *capo.*
97–98. *Inciela donna più su,* 'enheaven a lady higher up': give her a higher place in Heaven. The lady is St. Clare, the friend of St. Francis; in 1212 she founded the order that bears her name. — *Norma,* 'rule.'
100. *Perchè,* 'in order that.'
102. 'Which love conforms to his will' — the will of the Bridegroom.
106. The 'men more used to evil than to good' were her brother Corso Donati and his followers, who compelled her to marry.
108. *Fusi* = *fussi,* i. e., *si fu.* For the imperfect rhyme, cf. *Inf.* VIII, 17.

Ciò ch' io dico di me di sè intende:
  Sorella fu, e così le fu tolta
  Di capo l' ombra delle sacre bende.
Ma poi che pur al mondo fu rivolta 115
  Contra suo grado e contra buona usanza,
  Non fu dal vel del cor giammai disciolta.
Quest' è la luce della gran Costanza,
  Che del secondo vento di Soave
  Generò il terzo, e l' ultima possanza.' 120
Così parlommi, e poi cominciò: '*Ave,*
  Maria,' cantando; e cantando vanìo,
  Come per acqua cupa cosa grave.
La vista mia, che tanto la seguìo
  Quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse, 125
  Volsesi al segno di maggior disio,
Ed a Beatrice tutta si converse;
  Ma quella folgorò nello mio sguardo
  Sì che da prima il viso non sofferse;
E ciò mi fece a domandar più tardo. 130

112. 'Applies to herself what I say of me.'

117. 'She never was stripped of the veil of the heart': she remained at heart a nun.

118. Constance, the daughter and heiress of Roger II, in 1186 married Henry, son of Frederick I of Swabia, and brought him as a dowry the kingdom of Sicily. According to an unfounded tradition, she was taken from a nunnery and married against her will.

119. The Swabian Emperors are called 'blasts' because of the violence and the brief duration of their activity. Frederick I (Barbarossa) was the first; the 'second wind' was Constance's husband, Henry VI; the third and last was Frederick II. — *Soave* (German *Schwaben*) = *Svevia.*

122. *Vanìo,* 'vanished.'

126. *Segno,* 'target,' goal, object.

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

PLATO sets forth in his *Timæus* the idea that human souls were all created at once at the beginning of the world, each one being lodged in an appropriate star to await the birth of the body which it shall inhabit; and that after death the souls of those who have made a good use of earthly life shall go back to their stars again. Cicero's adaptation, the *Timæus* (Ch. xii), may have been Dante's source of information about the doctrine in question. Plato's theory appealed strongly to some of the early Christian theologians, but had to be abandoned after 540, when the Council of Constantinople decided that every soul is created by God at the birth of its body.

The real home of the elect, then, is not in the stars, nor anywhere in the material heavens, but in the Empyrean. Only to afford a visible image to Dante's understanding do they project their forms into the several spheres. In the lowest heaven, that of the inconstant moon, appear to him the souls least endowed with intellectual vision and therefore least capable of love and happiness in the realm of light. These, as we have seen, are the spirits of nuns who, under constraint, broke their vows and married. The compulsion does not justify their act, because no outside power can force the will. If these women returned to secular life and remained in it, they did so because they regarded such a course as better than death, ill treatment, or whatever the alternative might have been. Their 'absolute will' still chose the veil: that is, the convent, in itself, was always more attractive to them than any other place. Their 'conditioned will,' on the other hand, — namely, their preference as shaped by given circumstances, — inclined them to the easier way.

For St. Thomas's views on violence, see *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. vi, Art. 4 and 5. For his references to absolute and conditioned will, see the note at the end of the Argument to *Purg.* XXI. — For Cicero's *Timæus*, see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 64–65.

Intra due cibi, distanti e moventi
  D' un modo, prima si morria di fame,

1. *Moventi*, 'attractive.' 2. *D'un modo*, 'equally.'

Che liber' uomo l' un recasse ai denti,
Sì si starebbe un agno intra due brame
Di fieri lupi, egualmente temendo; 5
Sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame.
Per che, s' io mi tacea, me non riprendo,
Dalli miei dubbi d' un modo sospinto, —
Poich' era necessario, — nè commendo.
Io mi tacea, ma il mio disir dipinto 10
M' era nel viso, e il domandar con ello,
Più caldo assai che per parlar distinto.
Fe' sì Beatrice qual fe' Danïello,
Nabuccodonosor levando d' ira,
Che l' avea fatto ingiustamente fello, 15
E disse: 'Io veggio ben come ti tira
Uno ed altro disio, sì che tua cura
Sè stessa lega sì che fuor non spira.
Tu argomenti: "Se il buon voler dura,
La vïolenza altrui per qual ragione 20
Di meritar mi scema la misura?"
Ancor di dubitar ti dà cagione
Parer tornarsi l' anime alle stelle,
Secondo la sentenza di Platone.

3. The familiar paradox later known as the Ass of Buridan, or the donkey and the two bales of hay, is here applied to Dante, who is eager to ask two questions and cannot decide which to put first. See Aristotle, *De Cælo*, II, xiii; St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xiii, Art. 6. Cf. *Met.*, V, 164-166.

6. *Dame*, 'does.'

12. *Che per parlar distinto*, 'than if set forth by speech.'

13. *Qual*, 'as.' — Beatrice divined Dante's thought, just as Daniel, inspired by God, revealed the forgotten dream of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel ii), saving the impotent astrologers from the senseless anger of the king (ii, 13). The dream in question is that which suggested Dante's Old Man of Crete: *Inf.* XIV, 103-111.

22. *Ancor*, 'secondly.' — *Cagione di dubitar* is the object of *dà*, of which the subject is the clause in the next line.

24. This doctrine, expounded by Plato in the *Timæus*, is contrary to Christian faith. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xcvii, Art. 5.

Queste son le question che nel tuo *velle* 25
Pontano egualemente; e però pria
Tratterò quella che più ha di felle.
Dei Serafin colui che più s' india,
Moïsè, Samüel, e quel Giovanni
Qual prender vuoli — io dico, non Maria — 30
Non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni
Che quegli spirti che mo t' appariro,
Nè hanno all' esser lor più o meno anni.
Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro,
E differentemente han dolce vita, 35
Per sentir più e men l' eterno spiro.
Qui si mostraron, non perchè sortita
Sia questa spera lor, ma per far segno
Della celestïal ch' ha men salita.
Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno, 40
Però che solo da sensato apprende
Ciò che fa poscia d' intelletto degno.
Per questo la Scrittura condiscende
A vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
Attribuïsce a Dio, ed altro intende; 45

25-26. *Nel tuo* velle *pontano*, 'push upon thy will.'
27. *Felle* = *fiele*, 'gall': the bitterness of heresy.
28. *Colui che più s' india*, 'the one that unites closest with God.'
29-30. 'Whichever of the Johns (the Baptist and the Evangelist) thou wilt choose.'
32. *Appariro* = *apparirono*.
34. The 'first circle' is the Empyrean, which envelops the spherical universe of matter.
36. 'Because they are more or less susceptible to the eternal breath' of love.
37. *Mostraro* = *mostrarono*. — *Sortita*, 'allotted.'
39. 'Of the celestial sphere (i. e., grade of beatitude) that is least exalted.'
41. *Sensato*, 'sense-perception.' — *Apprende*, 'it (the human mind) grasps.'
42. *Che fa*, 'which it (the mind) makes.' — *Intelletto*, 'abstract understanding.'
45. *Altro intende*, 'means something different.' See *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. i, Art. 9-10, and Qu. lx, Art. 4; also, for the incorporeal nature of God, Tertia, Qu. i. Cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, iii, 9-24.

E santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
  Gabrïel e Michel vi rappresenta,
  E l' altro che Tobia rifece sano.
Quel che Timeo dell' anime argomenta
  Non è simile a ciò che qui si vede, 50
  Però che come dice par che senta.
Dice che l' alma alla sua stella riede,
  Credendo quella quindi esser decisa
  Quando natura per forma la diede.
E forse sua sentenza è d' altra guisa 55
  Che la voce non suona, ed esser puote
  Con intenzion da non esser derisa.
S' egl' intende tornare a queste rote
  L' onor dell' influenza e il biasmo, forse
  In alcun vero suo arco percote. 60
Questo principio, male inteso, torse
  Già tutto il mondo quasi, sì che Giove,
  Mercurio e Marte a nominar trascorse.
L' altra dubitazion che ti commove
  Ha men velen, però che sua malizia 65
  Non ti poria menar da me altrove.

48. Raphael, who cured the blindness of Tobit (Vulg. *Tobias*): Tobit xi.

51. 'Because he (Plato's Timæus) seems to understand it as he expresses it': i. e., literally, not allegorically. Cf. Guittone, *Ora parà s' eo saverò cantare*, 9: 'Se lo pensare a lo parlare sembra.'

53. *Quella:* the soul. — *Quindi:* from its star. — *Decisa*, 'descended.'

54. *Per forma*, 'as a *form*,' or dominant principle, to direct the body. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxiv, Art. 1: 'Forma autem hominis est anima rationalis.'

55. *Sentenza:* meaning.

56. *Puote* = *può*.

57. *Da non esser derisa:* worthy of respect.

58–60. 'If he means that the credit or the blame for influence (on human souls) reverts to these (heavenly) revolutions, perhaps the bow (of his speech) hits some truth.' Dante is evidently reluctant to impute fundamental error to such a philosopher as Plato.

61. 'This principle' of stellar influence. — *Torse*, 'misled.'

63. *Trascorse*, 'it (the world) went astray' in attributing the stellar power to heathen gods and in naming the planets after them. Cf. VIII, 1–3, 10–11.

Parere ingiusta la nostra giustizia
  Negli occhi dei mortali è argomento
  Di fede, e non d' eretica nequizia.
Ma perchè puote vostro accorgimento 70
  Ben penetrare a questa veritate,
  Come disiri, ti farò contento.
Se vïolenza è quando quel che pate
  Nïente conferisce a quel che isforza,
  Non fur quest' alme per essa scusate; 75
Chè volontà, se non vuol, non si ammorza,
  Ma fa come natura face in foco,
  Se mille volte vïolenza il torza.
Per che, s' ella si piega assai o poco,
  Segue la forza; e così queste fero, 80
  Possendo ritornare al santo loco.
Se fosse stato lor volere intero, —
  Come tenne Lorenzo in sulla grada,
  E fece Muzio alla sua man severo, —
Così le avria ripinte per la strada 85

67–69. *Parere . . . mortali* is the subject of *è*. — *Argomento*, 'proof.' — *Nequizia*, 'iniquity.' — If man had not faith in the perfection of divine justice, he would not be troubled by apparent deviation from it.

73–75. Beatrice begins by establishing a definition of violence. If this definition is correct (as it surely is), the souls in question cannot invoke violence as a sufficient excuse. — *Pate*, 'suffers.' — *Conferisce*, 'contributes.' — Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. lix, Art. 3.

76. *Se non vuol:* except by its own volition.

77. *Face* = *fa*. — Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, II, i, 2.

78. *Se*, 'though.' — *Torza* = *torca* or *torcia*.

79. *Ella:* the will.

80. *Segue*, 'it (the will) abets.' — *E così queste fero* (= *fecero*), 'and thus these women did.'

81. *Possendo ritornare*, 'when they might have returned.' — *Santo loco:* the convent.

83. 'Such as Lawrence preserved on the gridiron.' St. Lawrence was a Christian martyr of the third century.

84. Mucius Scævola burned off his own right hand, with which he had failed to kill Porsena, the enemy of Rome. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 115–118; *Mon.*, II, v, 121–127.

Ond' eran tratte, come furo sciolte;
Ma così salda voglia è troppo rada.
E per queste parole, — se ricolte
L' hai come devi, — è l' argomento casso
Che t' avria fatto noia ancor più volte. 90
Ma or ti s' attraversa un altro passo
Dinanzi agli occhi, tal che per te stesso
Non usciresti: pria saresti lasso.
Io t' ho per certo nella mente messo
Ch' alma bëata non poria mentire, 95
Però ch' è sempre al primo vero appresso;
E poi potesti da Piccarda udire
Che l' affezion del vel Costanza tenne:
Sì ch' ella par qui meco contradire.
Molte fïate già, frate, addivenne 100
Che, per fuggir periglio, contro a grato
Si fe' di quel che far non si convenne;
Come Almëone, — che, di ciò pregato
Dal padre suo, la propria madre spense, —
Per non perder pietà si fe' spietato. 105
A questo punto voglio che tu pense
Che la forza al voler si mischia, e fanno
Sì che scusar non si posson l' offense.
Voglia assoluta non consente al danno;

86. *Ond' eran tratte*, 'by which they had been dragged.' — *Come furo sciolte* as soon as they were free' from physical compulsion.
89. *Casso*, 'quashed.'
91. The 'pass' that meets Dante's eyes is another problem through which he must make his way.
96. *Primo vero:* God, the source of truth.
98. *Costanza* is the subject of *tenne*.
103–105. Alcmæon, to avenge his father, Amphiarāus (*Inf.* XX, 31–36), killed his mother, Eriphȳle (*Purg.* XII, 49–51), who had betrayed her husband's hiding-place: *Met.*, IX, 407–408. Thus, 'not to be lacking in duty, he became undutiful.' Cf. 'impietate pia' in *Met.*, VIII, 477.
106. 'I will have thee believe that at this point.'

Ma consentevi in tanto in quanto teme, 110
Se si ritrae, cadere in più affanno.
Però, quando Piccarda quello espreme,
Della voglia assoluta intende, ed io
Dell' altra, sì che ver diciamo insieme.'
Cotal fu l' ondeggiar del santo rio, 115
Ch' uscì del fonte ond' ogni ver deriva;
Tal pose in pace uno ed altro disio.
'O amanza del primo amante, o diva,'
Diss' io appresso, 'il cui parlar m' inonda
E scalda sì che più e più m' avviva, 120
Non è l' affezion mia tanto profonda
Che basti a render voi grazia per grazia;
Ma quei che vede e puote a ciò risponda!
Io veggio ben che giammai non si sazia
Nostro intelletto, se il ver non lo illustra 125
Di fuor dal qual nessun vero si spazia.
Posasi in esso, come fiera in lustra,
Tosto che giunto l' ha; e giugner puollo:
Se non, ciascun disio sarebbe *frustra*.
Nasce per quello, a guisa di rampollo, 130
A piè del vero il dubbio; ed è natura,
Ch' al sommo pinge noi di collo in collo.

109–111. Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, III, i; St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. vi, Art. 6, and Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xlvii, Art. 1–3.

114. *Altra:* the conditioned will.

118. *Amanza*, 'beloved' of God: cf. the Song of Solomon.

122. *Grazia per grazia*, 'grace (=thanks) for grace (=favor).' Cf. *Æn.*, I, 600–601.

126. *Si spazia*, 'extends.' The mind is satisfied only with that truth which contains within itself every other truth.

127. 'It (*intelletto*) reposes in it (*vero*).' — *Lustra*, 'lair.'

129. *Frustra*, 'vain.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xii, Art. 1: 'Si igitur intellectus rationalis creaturæ pertingere non possit ad primam causam rerum, remanebit inane desiderium naturæ.'

130. *Per quello*, 'therefore.' — *Rampollo*, 'sprout.' — Cf. St. Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, xxxix.

Questo m' invita, questo m' assicura,
  Con riverenza, donna, a domandarvi
  D' un' altra verità che m' è oscura. 135
Io vo' saper se l' uom può satisfarvi
  Ai voti manchi sì, con altri beni,
  Ch' alla vostra statera non sien parvi.'
Beatrice mi guardò con gli occhi pieni
  Di faville d' amor, così divini 140
  Che vinta mia virtù diede le reni,
E quasi mi perdei con gli occhi chini.

133. *Questo:* all that I have just stated.
136–137. The question of 'making amends for unfulfilled vows with other goods' is discussed by St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ,* Secunda Secundæ, Qu. lxxxviii, Art. 10–12. — *Vi,* 'to you,' Heavenly powers.
138. *Statera,* 'scales.' — *Parvi,* 'deficient.'
140. *Divini,* sc., *occhi.*
141. *Virtù,* 'power' of sight. — *Diede le reni,* 'turned its back,' fled.
142. Cf. *Inf.* V, 72: 'e fui quasi smarrito.'

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

Once more we are reminded that happiness depends on love, which in turn depends on perfection of spiritual sight. Inasmuch as happiness manifests itself by light, the brightness of a soul grows with any increase of joy. Justinian, when he has an opportunity to add to Dante's knowledge, appears more shining; and Beatrice becomes more splendid when she perceives that Dante is already illumined by divine truth. Justinian's narrative falls in the next canto, but Beatrice's answer to a question put by her pupil is the main theme of Canto V.

Can one offer, for broken vows, reparation sufficient to win salvation? This is the problem suggested to Dante by the sight of the souls in the moon. It was discussed by St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, lxxxviii, Art. 10–12. In the first place, it must be understood that a vow is a covenant between God and man, and must be accepted by both parties. A bad promise is not received by God. Men must be cautious in their pledges, for they may sin in keeping a foolish or wicked pact that has not been sanctioned by the Lord. Thus Agamemnon erred, when he sacrificed his daughter to obtain from the gods a favorable wind to carry him and his army to Troy. Equally mistaken was Jephthah (Judges xi, 30–40), who, having sworn, in return for victory, to offer up whatever first came to meet him on his return, made a victim of his only child.

There are two elements in a good vow: the promise itself and the thing promised. The first can never be set aside, even by the highest earthly authority; it is an offering of the free will, accepted by God. If we have once entered into such an agreement, we are bound to fulfil our obligation. But may we not alter the terms of it, substituting another sacrifice for the one specified? In other words, is not the second element — the thing promised — subject to change? In Leviticus xxvii sundry privileges of this kind are accorded the Hebrews. In the Christian Church, we are told, the thing originally pledged may sometimes be replaced, but only by something manifestly more valuable, and only with the approval of a properly authorized member of the clergy.

If, however, the thing promised is more precious than any other possession of the promiser, no exchange is possible. It follows that when we have vowed abdication of the will, there can be no release. For the free will is the best of God's gifts to man, the one most in conformity with divine goodness. 'Hæc libertas,' says Dante in *Mon.*, I, xii, 39–44, 'sive principium hoc totius libertatis nostræ, est maximum donum humanæ naturæ a Deo collatum, sicut dixi; quia per ipsum hic felicitamur ut homines, per ipsum alibi felicitamur ut Dii.'

'S' io ti fiammeggio nel caldo d' amore
  Di là dal modo che in terra si vede,
  Sì che degli occhi tuoi vinco il valore,
Non ti maravigliar; chè ciò procede
  Da perfetto veder, che, come apprende, 5
  Così nel bene appreso move il piede.
Io veggio ben sì come già risplende
  Nello intelletto tuo l' eterna luce
  Che, vista sola, sempre amore accende;
E s' altra cosa vostro amor seduce, 10
  Non è se non di quella alcun vestigio
  Mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce.
Tu vuoi saper se, con altro servigio,
  Per manco voto si può render tanto
  Che l' anima sicuri di litigio.' 15
Sì cominciò Beatrice questo canto;

5. For the perfection of the beatific vision, see *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xcv, Art. 5. — *Come apprende*, 'as it perceives,' i. e., perfectly, not confusedly as on earth (*Purg.* XVII, 127).

6. 'Turns, in the same (perfect) way, to the good it has perceived.'

9. *Vista sola*, 'merely seen.'

11. *Vestigio:* unworthy things mislead the love of you mortals (*vostro amor*), not because they are evil, but because they have in them some 'trace' of the 'eternal light.' *Mon.*, I, viii, 15–17: 'quum totum universum nihil aliud sit quam vestigium quoddam divinæ bonitatis.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xciii, Art. 1–4.

15. *Che* is the subject of *sicuri*. — *Litigio*, 'contradiction' of its right to enter Heaven.

E sì com' uom che suo parlar non spezza,
Continüò così il processo santo:
'Lo maggior don che Dio per sua larghezza
Fesse creando, ed alla sua bontate 20
Più conformato, e quel ch' ei più apprezza,
Fu della volontà la libertate,
Di che le crëature intelligenti —
E tutte e sole — furo e son dotate.
Or ti parrà, se tu quinci argomenti, 25
L' alto valor del voto, s' è sì fatto
Che Dio consenta quando tu consenti;
Chè nel fermar tra Dio e l' uomo il patto,
Vittima fassi di questo tesoro,
Tal qual io dico, e fassi col suo atto. 30
Dunque che render puossi per ristoro?
Se credi bene usar quel ch' hai offerto,
Di mal tolletto vuoi far buon lavoro.
Tu se' omai del maggior punto certo;
Ma perchè santa Chiesa in ciò dispensa, — 35
Che par contra lo ver ch' io t' ho scoperto, —
Convienti ancor sedere un poco a mensa,
Però che il cibo rigido ch' hai preso
Richiede ancora aiuto a tua dispensa.
Apri la mente a quel ch' io ti paleso, 40

20. *Fesse* = *facesse*.

24. *E tutte e sole*, 'all of them, and they alone.' Cf. *Mon.*, I, xii, 27–37; *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lix, Art. 3, and Qu. lxxxiii, Art. 2.

29–30. 'This treasure' — free will — 'precious as I describe it, becomes the offering, and it does so by its own act,' i. e., by an act of the will itself. — *Fassi* = *si fa*.

32–33. If thou thinkest to make amends by putting to a good use that which thou hast promised and then withdrawn, thou art like a thief who is trying to do good deeds with ill-gotten gain (*mal tolletto*).

35. *Dispensa*, 'does give dispensation,' or release from the fulfilment of vows.

39. *Dispensa*, 'digestion.' Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *Eruditio Didascalica*, VI, iv: 'Solidus est cibus iste, et nisi masticetur, transglutiri non potest.'

E fermalvi entro; chè non fa scïenza,
Senza lo ritenere, avere inteso.
Due cose si convengono all' essenza
Di questo sacrificio: l' una è quella
Di che si fa, l' altra è la convenenza. 45
Quest' ultima giammai non si cancella,
Se non servata; ed intorno di lei
Sì preciso di sopra si favella.
Però necessità fu agli Ebrei
Pur l' offerere, ancor che alcuna offerta 50
Si permutasse, come saper dei.
L' altra, che per matera t' è aperta,
Puote bene esser tal che non si falla
Se con altra matera si converta.
Ma non trasmuti carco alla sua spalla 55
Per suo arbitrio alcun, senza la volta
E della chiave bianca e della gialla;
Ed ogni permutanza creda stolta,
Se la cosa dimessa in la sorpresa,
Come il quattro nel sei, non è raccolta. 60

44–45. 'The thing of which the sacrifice is made' is the thing promised; 'the other' element in a vow 'is the act of agreement.'

47. *Se non servata*, 'except by observance.'

48. *Si favella:* I spoke.

49. *Necessità*, 'obligatory.'

50. *Pur*, 'still.' — The *offerere* (cf. XIII, 140) is the act of offering, the *offerta* is the thing offered.

51. *Si permutasse*, 'could be exchanged': cf. Levit. xxvii, 10–13, 28–33. — *Dei* = *devi*.

52. The other element, which has been described to thee as the subject-matter of the vow: l. 44.

53. *Puote* = *può*. — *Si falla* (from *fallare*), 'one errs.'

55. The subject of *trasmuti* is *alcun* in l. 56. — The 'burden' is the substance of the vow.

57. Cf. *Purg.* IX, 117–126. The 'turn' of the 'white key' of discrimination and the 'yellow key' of authority signifies ecclesiastical permission.

59–60. 'If the thing put aside is not contained, as easily as four in six, in the thing assumed.' Probably no exact proportion is intended, merely a manifest superiority of the new obligation to the old. It follows (ll. 61–63) that if the

Però qualunque cosa tanto pesa,
  Per suo valor, che tragga ogni bilancia,
  Satisfar non si può con altra spesa.
Non prendan li mortali il voto a ciancia!
  Siate fedeli, ed a ciò far non bieci, 65
  Come Jeptè alla sua prima mancia,
Cui più si convenia dicer: "Mal feci"
  Che servando far peggio; e così stolto
  Ritrovar puoi lo gran duca dei Greci,
Onde pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto, 70
  E fe' pianger di sè li folli e i savi,
  Ch' udir parlar di così fatto colto.
Siate, Cristiani, a movervi più gravi,
  Non siate come penna ad ogni vento,
  E non crediate ch' ogni acqua vi lavi. 75
Avete il vecchio e il nuovo Testamento,
  E il pastor della Chiesa che vi guida:
  Questo vi basti a vostro salvamento!
Se mala cupidigia altro vi grida,

old is the most precious of our possessions, nothing can be substituted for it. That is the case when, on entering a religious order, we promise entire abdication of the free will.

62. *Tragga*, 'bears down.'

64. *A ciancia*, 'lightly.'

65. *Bieci* (=*biecchi*), 'squint-eyed,' i. e., unreasonable.

66. *Prima mancia*, 'first gift': because Jephthah vowed (according to the Vulgate) to offer up to the Lord the *first* person that should come to meet him after his victory: Judges xi, 31.

67–68. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. lxxxviii, Art. 2, where St. Thomas quotes St. Jerome as saying of Jephthah: 'In vovendo fuit stultus, et in reddendo impius.' — *Servando*, 'by keeping' his vow.

70. To Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenīa reference is made by Virgil in *Æn.*, II, 116; by Ovid in *Met.*, XII, 24–38. Her bewailing her fair face (which made her an acceptable offering) is a trait transferred probably by Dante from the story of Jephthah's daughter, who, before her death, 'bewailed her virginity upon the mountains': Judges xi, 38.

72. *Colto* =*culto*, 'act of worship.'

76. See Eccles. v, 4 and 5; First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy vi, 12.

77. The Pope alone has power to absolve from the greater vows.

Uomini siate, e non pecore matte, 80
Sì che il Giudeo di voi tra voi non rida.
Non fate come agnel che lascia il latte
Della sua madre, e semplice e lascivo
Seco medesmo a suo piacer combatte.'
Così Beatrice a me, com' ïo scrivo; 85
Poi si rivolse tutta disïante
A quella parte ove il mondo è più vivo.
Lo suo tacere e il trasmutar sembiante
Poser silenzio al mio cupido ingegno,
Che già nuove questioni avea davante. 90
E sì come saëtta, che nel segno
Percote pria che sia la corda queta,
Così corremmo nel secondo regno.
Quivi la Donna mia vid' io sì lieta, —
Come nel lume di quel ciel si mise, — 95
Che più lucente se ne fe' il pianeta.
E se la stella si cambiò e rise,
Qual mi fec' io, che pur di mia natura
Trasmutabile son per tutte guise!
Come in peschiera ch' è tranquilla e pura 100
Traggonsi i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori
Per modo che lo stimin lor pastura,

80. Cf. Ephesians iv, 12: 'That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.'
81. Cf. Epistola VIII, iii, 33–36: 'Impietatis fautores, Judæi, Saraceni, et gentes sabbata nostra rident, et, ut fertur, conclamant: "Ubi est Deus eorum?"'
83. *Lascivo*, 'wanton.'
84. *Combatte*, 'frolics.'
87. The Empyrean.
88. As they rise from sphere to sphere, Beatrice becomes more and more beautiful.
93. *Secondo regno:* the heaven of Mercury, which symbolizes the degree of beatitude enjoyed by the souls of the ambitious.
95. *Come*, 'when.'
102. 'In such a way that they judge it to be their food.'

Sì vid' io ben più di mille splendori
Trarsi ver noi, ed in ciascun s' udia:
'Ecco chi crescerà li nostri amori.' 105
E sì come ciascuno a noi venia,
Vedeasi l' ombra piena di letizia
Nel fulgor chiaro che da lei uscia.
Pensa, lettor, se quel che qui s' inizia
Non procedesse, come tu avresti 110
Di più sapere angosciosa carizia,
E per te vederai come da questi
M' era in disio d' udir lor condizioni,
Sì come agli occhi mi fur manifesti.
'O bene nato, a cui veder li troni 115
Del trïonfo eternal concede grazia,
Prima che la milizia s' abbandoni, —
Del lume che per tutto il ciel si spazia
Noi semo accesi; e però, se disii
Da noi chiarirti, a tuo piacer ti sazia.' 120
Così da un di quegli spirti pii
Detto mi fu; e da Beatrice: 'Di' di'
Sicuramente, e credi come a Dii.'
'Io veggio ben sì come tu t' annidi

105. Cf. *Purg.* XV, 55-57.
107. Here, for the last time in the material universe, Dante sees the souls themselves; after this they are concealed by the light that emanates from them.
109. 'That which begins here' is the description of this heaven.
111. *Carizia,* 'want,' craving.
114. *Sì come,* 'as soon as.'
116. *Grazia* is the subject of *concede.*
117. *Milizia:* the 'warfare' of life.
118. *Si spazia,* 'extends': cf. *Purg.* XXVI, 63; *Par.* I, 1-2.
120. *Chiarirti,* 'be enlightened.'
122. Note the odd rhyme.
123. *Cons.,* III, Pr. x: 'Nam quoniam beatitudinis adeptione fiunt homines beati, beatitudo vero est ipsa divinitas, divinitatis adeptione fieri beatos manifestum est . . . Omnis igitur beatus, deus.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ,* Prima, Qu. xiii, Art. 9.

Nel proprio lume, e che dagli occhi il traggi, 125
Perch' ei corruscan sì, come tu ridi;
Ma non so chi tu sei, nè perchè aggi,
Anima degna, il grado della spera
Che si vela ai mortal con altrui raggi.'
Questo diss' io diritto alla lumiera 130
Che pria m' avea parlato, ond' ella fessi
Lucente più assai di quel ch' ell' era.
Sì come il sol, che si cela egli stessi
Per troppa luce, — come il caldo ha rose
Le temperanze dei vapori spessi, — 135
Per più letizia sì mi si nascose
Dentro al suo raggio la figura santa,
E così chiusa chiusa mi rispose
Nel modo che il seguente canto canta.

126. *Come*, 'when.'
127. *Aggi* = *abbi*.
129. In *Conv.*, II, xiv, 99–100, Dante says that Mercury 'più va velata de' raggi del sole che null' altra stella.'
131. *Fessi* = *si fece*.
133. *Stessi* = *stesso*.
134. *Come*, 'when.' — *Rose*, 'consumed.'
136. *Per più letizia*, 'by increase of happiness' at being able to satisfy Dante. Happiness manifests itself as light.

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

THE 'little star' of Mercury is 'adorned with good spirits' whose activity was due rather to a craving for earthly honor and fame than to direct love of God. When human desires rise toward celestial things by such a devious course, — that is, by fondness for worldly glory, — it follows that 'the rays of true affection mount heavenward less quick,' for the degree of spiritual vision and zeal possessed by such souls is not of the highest. Their reward in happiness is proportionate to their innate merit; but they yearn for nothing greater, the exact correspondence between desert and wage being an endless source of joy to them. The vast harmony of Heaven must be composed of various kinds of beatitude.

Among these spirits is a certain Romeo of Villeneuve, minister of Count Raymond Berenguier of Provence in the first half of the 13th century. Romeo served his master ably, and helped to bring about the marriage of the count's youngest daughter, Beatrice, to Charles of Anjou. The three elder daughters were also united to royal personages: Margaret to Louis IX of France; Eleanor to Henry III of England; Sancha to Henry's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, elected King of the Romans. These alliances likewise were later ascribed to Romeo's diplomacy. According to a legend followed by Dante, but not recorded before him, Romeo came to Raymond's court as a poor pilgrim, won his confidence, and increased his wealth and influence; then, being unjustly accused by jealous Provençal nobles, asked for his mule, his staff, and his scrip, and departed, never to be seen again. The character of pilgrim attributed to him may have been suggested by his name: see *Vita Nuova*, XL, 34–52. G. Villani, in his *Croniche*, VI, xcii, tells the story in a fashion similar to our poet's. The final touch — the mortification of the outcast 'begging his livelihood crust by crust' — is evidently drawn from Dante's own bitter experience, pictured in the *Convivio*, I, iii, 20–37. This part of Romeo's life, the most worthy, was hidden from the world, which knew and applauded his successful ambition.

This same celestial 'pearl,' Mercury, contains the soul of

Justinian, Emperor of the East in the 6th century, under whose direction was achieved the great compilation of Roman law known as the Justinian Code. In his day Byzantium was torn with religious strife; and, according to some, the Emperor himself, until converted to the true faith by Pope Agapētus I, shared in the Eutychian heresy to which his wife, Theodora, adhered. Eutўches, who lived in the century before, had taught that after the incarnation there was only one nature in Christ—the divine.

Justinian, who speaks throughout this canto, proceeds to unfold the marvelous course of Roman history in the form of a narrative of the vicissitudes of the Roman Eagle. This emblematic bird, having followed Æneas from East to West — from Troy to Italy — and having dwelt in Latium until the 4th century, was carried by Constantine, contrary to the revolution of the heavens, from West to East — from Rome to Byzantium — when the Eastern Empire was founded. There it remained, on the edge of Europe, near the mountains of its native Troad, until it came into the keeping of Justinian, some 200 years after its transfer to the Orient. Dante probably followed the chronology of Brunetto Latini, who put the conversion of Constantine in 333 and the accession of Justinian in 539 (Tor., 685). The exploits of the Eagle, symbol of Roman sovereignty, from the time of Æneas down, make it a sacred object, worthy of reverence by friend and foe — by the Ghibelline who wrongfully attempts to make it an emblem of his party alone, by the Guelf who would substitute for this 'public ensign' the golden lilies of the House of France. The poet derives his incidents mainly from Virgil, Livy, Paulus Orosius, and Lucan. We find a similar outline of Roman history in the *Convivio*, IV, iv and v (cf. *Mon.*, II, iii–v). The culminating event in the chronicle of the Eagle is the crucifixion of Christ under Tiberius, the third Emperor — a 'vengeance' for Adam's sin. This vengeance was in turn avenged by Titus, when he took Jerusalem. How a just punishment can itself be justly punished is a question that will demand an answer in the next canto.

'Poscia che Constantin l' aquila volse
Contra il corso del ciel, ch' ella seguìo
Dietro all' antico che Lavina tolse,

1. *Aquila* is the object of *volse*, 'turned.'
3. 'The man of old who wedded Lavinia' is Æneas, who brought the Eagle from Troy.

Cento e cent' anni e più l' uccel di Dio
  Nell' estremo d' Europa si ritenne, 5
  Vicino ai monti de' quai prima uscìo;
E sotto l' ombra delle sacre penne
  Governò il mondo lì di mano in mano,
  E sì cangiando in su la mia pervenne.
Cesare fui, e son Giustinïano, 10
  Che, per voler del primo amor ch' io sento,
  D' entro le leggi trassi il troppo e il vano.
E prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento,
  Una natura in Cristo esser, non piùe,
  Credeva, e di tal fede era contento; 15
Ma il benedetto Agapito, che fue
  Sommo pastore, alla fede sincera
  Mi dirizzò con le parole sue.
Io gli credetti, e ciò che in sua fede era
  Veggio ora chiaro, sì come tu vedi 20
  Ogni contraddizion e falsa e vera.
Tosto che con la Chiesa mossi i piedi,
  A Dio per grazia piacque di spirarmi
  L' alto lavoro, e tutto a lui mi diedi.
Ed al mio Bellisar commendai l' armi, 25

4. More than two hundred years, according to Dante's chronology, which is not quite exact.
7. Ps. xvii (Vulg. xvi), 8: 'Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.'
8. The Eagle, descending from Emperor to Emperor, 'there (in Byzantium) governed the world,' which was under the shadow of its wings.
9. *Mia*, sc., *mano*.
10. Earthly titles have no place in Heaven.
12. 'Removed from law what was superfluous and useless.'
13. *Opra:* the reformation and codification of law.
19–21. What he (and afterwards I) accepted on faith, without being able to comprehend it, I can now see as a fact, as clearly as thou seest an axiomatic truth — for instance, that if a proposition is false, its opposite must be true (cf. *Mon.*, II, xii, 28–29). — Of the dual nature of Christ, Dante beheld a symbolic presentment in the Griffin: *Purg.* XXXI, 121–126.
25. I gave up warfare, entrusting my armies to my great general, Belisarius.

Cui la destra del ciel fu sì congiunta
Che segno fu ch' io dovessi posarmi.
Or qui alla question prima s' appunta
La mia risposta; ma sua condizione
Mi stringe a seguitare alcuna giunta, 30
Perchè tu veggi con quanta ragione
Si move contra il sacrosanto segno
E chi 'l s' appropria e chi a lui s' oppone.
Vedi quanta virtù l' ha fatto degno
Di riverenza; e cominciò dall' ora 35
Che Pallante morì per dargli regno.
Tu sai ch' ei fece in Alba sua dimora
Per trecent' anni ed oltre, infino al fine
Che i tre ai tre pugnar per lui ancora.
Sai quel ch' ei fe' dal mal delle Sabine 40
Al dolor di Lucrezia, in sette regi,
Vincendo intorno le genti vicine.
Sai quel ch' ei fe', portato dagli egregi
Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro,

28. *Question prima:* V, 127. — *S' appunta*, 'comes to a stop.'
29. *Sua condizione*, 'its condition': the reply has necessitated mention of the Roman Eagle.
30. *Seguitare*, 'add.'
31. *Veggi = veda.* — *Quanta*, 'how little.'
33. *Chi* and *chi* (Ghibelline and Guelf) are subjects of *muove*.
35-36. It — the valor (*virtù*) of heroes — 'began from that hour when Pallas' — son of the Latin king Evander — 'died to give it (the *segno*) a kingdom.' Pallas, leading Latin troops to help Æneas, was killed by Turnus (*Æn.*, X, 479-489); to avenge his death, Æneas slew Turnus (*Æn.*, XII, 945-952), and gained possession of Latium.
37. *Che*, 'that.' — *Ei:* the *segno*, i. e., the Eagle. — Alba Longa was founded by Ascanius, son of Æneas.
39. When the three Curiatii, champions of Alba Longa, fought, for the Eagle's sake, against the three Horatii, champions of Rome. After this contest, the Eagle dwelt in Rome. — *Ancora*, 'again': after Pallas and Æneas.
40. *Che*, 'what.' — *Ei: segno.* — *Dal mal*, 'from the time of the wrong': the rape of the Sabine women.
41. 'Down to Lucretia's woe.' — *In sette regi:* thou knowest what the Eagle did, 'in the form of seven kings.'
44. Brennus, leader of the Gauls; Pyrrhus, king of Epirus.

E contra gli altri principi e collegi; 45
Onde Torquato, e Quinzio (che dal cirro
Negletto fu nomato), i Deci, e' Fabi
Ebber la fama che volontier mirro.
Esso atterrò l' orgoglio degli Arabi,
Che diretro ad Annibale passaro 50
L' alpestre rocce di che, Po, tu labi.
Sott' esso giovinetti trïonfaro
Scipïone e Pompeo, ed a quel colle
Sotto il qual tu nascesti parve amaro.
Poi, presso al tempo che tutto il ciel volle 55
Ridur lo mondo a suo modo sereno,
Cesare per voler di Roma il tolle;
E quel che fe' dal Varo infino al Reno,
Isara vide ed Era, e vide Senna,
Ed ogni valle onde Rodano è pieno. 60
Quel che fe', poi ch' egli uscì di Ravenna
E saltò Rubicon, fu di tal volo

45. *Collegi*, 'confederates.'
46. Titus Manlius Torquatus condemned his own son to death. — Quinctius, called Cincinnatus from his unkempt shock of hair (*cincinnus*, which is a synonym of *cirrus*), was called to the dictatorship from the plough.
47. The Decii and Fabii fought valiantly for Rome.
48. *Mirro*, 'I embalm,' preserve.
49. The 'Arabs' are the Carthaginians.
51. *Labi*, 'descendest.'
52. Scipio and Pompey won their first victories when they were mere boys.
54. The Eagle (*segno*) 'seemed bitter' to the hill of Fiesole, because the Romans destroyed that town and founded Florence below.
55. *Che tutto il ciel volle*, 'when the whole heaven strove' to bring the world to its own peaceful mood: all the heavens, in harmony, did their best to make the world equally harmonious. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 54–69.
57. 'Cæsar takes (*tolle = toglie*) it (the *segno*) at the bidding of Rome': in accordance with a popular mandate (*Phars.*, V, 389–394).
58. *Fe'*, 'it (the *segno*) did' in Transalpine Gaul, 'from the Var to the Rhine.'
59–60. 'The rivers Isère, Loire, and Seine beheld,' and all the tributaries of the Rhone. For *Era*, see *Giorn. dant.*, XIV, 47, and *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, Serie II, Vol. XLI, p. 1980.
62. *Volo*, 'swiftness': after the Eagle, with Cæsar, crossed the Rubicon, events came thick and fast.

Che nol seguiteria lingua nè penna.
In ver la Spagna rivolse lo stuolo,
Poi ver Durazzo; e Farsalia percosse 65
Sì ch' al Nil caldo si sentì del duolo.
Antandro e Simoenta, onde si mosse,
Rivide, e là dov' Ettore si cuba;
E mal per Tolommeo poi si riscosse.
Da indi scese folgorando a Juba; 70
Poscia si volse nel vostro occidente,
Dove sentia la Pompeiana tuba.
Di quel ch' ei fe' col baiulo seguente,
Bruto con Cassio nello inferno latra;
E Modena e Perugia fe' dolente. 75
Piangene ancor la trista Clëopatra,
Che, fuggendogli innanzi, dal colubro
La morte prese subitana ed atra.
Con costui corse infino al lito rubro;
Con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace 80

65. *Durazzo*, 'Dyrrachium' in Illyria.
66. The consequences of Cæsar's victory over Pompey at Pharsalia were felt in Egypt, where Pompey was murdered.
67. It was from the town of Antandros, near the river Simŏis, that the Eagle first set forth with Æneas: *Æn.*, III, 5-6. When Cæsar was pursuing Pompey, he stopped to visit the Troad: *Phars.*, IX, 961 ff.
68. *Si cuba*, 'lies.'
69. 'And then shook itself, ill for Ptolemy,' who was deprived by Cæsar of the kingdom of Egypt, and soon perished.
70. Juba, king of the Numidians, was an ally of Pompey.
71. *Occidente:* Spain, where the followers of Pompey were defeated in the battle of Munda.
73. Augustus was the 'next keeper' of the Eagle.
74. Brutus and Cassius, defeated by the Eagle, 'bark' of its victory in Hell (*Inf.* XXXIV, 64-67). For the use of *latra*, cf. Canzone XII, 59, and *Conv.*, IV, iii, 59.
75. Cf. *Phars.*, I, 41. Mark Antony was beaten at Modena, his brother Lucius at Perugia.
77. After the final defeat of Mark Antony at Actium, Cleopatra, fleeing before the Eagle, killed herself with an asp (*colubro*).
79. *Lito rubro* (*Æn.*, VIII, 686, 'litore rubro'): the shore of the Red Sea.

Che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro.
Ma ciò che il segno che parlar mi face
Fatto avea prima, e poi era fatturo
Per lo regno mortal ch' a lui soggiace,
Diventa in apparenza poco e scuro, 85
Se in mano al terzo Cesare si mira
Con occhio chiaro e con affetto puro;
Chè la viva giustizia che mi spira
Gli concedette, in mano a quel ch' io dico,
Gloria di far vendetta alla sua ira. 90
Or qui t' ammira in ciò ch' io ti replico:
Poscia con Tito a far vendetta corse
Della vendetta del peccato antico.
E quando il dente Longobardo morse
La santa Chiesa, sotto alle sue ali 95
Carlo Magno, vincendo, la soccorse.
Omai puoi giudicar di quei cotali
Ch' io accusai di sopra, e di lor falli,
Che son cagion di tutti vostri mali.
L' uno al pubblico segno i gigli gialli 100
Oppone, e l' altro appropria quello a parte,
Sì che forte a veder è chi più falli.

81. The temple (*delubro*) of Janus, which was closed only in time of peace, was locked three times under Augustus, whereas it had been shut only twice during the whole period of the Republic.

83. *Era fatturo*, 'was about to do': a Latinism.

86. 'If it (the *segno*) be contemplated in the hand of the third Cæsar,' i. e., Tiberius, under whom Christ was crucified.

89. *Gli*, 'to it.'

91. *Replico*, 'unfold.'

94–96. In 773 Pope Adrian I invoked the aid of Charlemagne against Desiderius, king of the Longobards or Lombards. Charlemagne, — who now, in Dante's mind, represented the Empire, although he was not crowned until 800, — came to the aid of the Church under the pinions of the Eagle.

98. Cf. ll. 31–33.

101. *Quello*: the *segno*. — *A parte*, 'to a party': the Ghibelline.

102. *Forte*, 'hard.'

Faccian li Ghibellin, faccian lor arte
  Sott' altro segno; chè mal segue quello
  Sempre chi la giustizia e lui diparte. 105
E non l' abbatta esto Carlo novello
  Coi Guelfi suoi, ma tema degli artigli
  Ch' a più alto lëon trasser lo vello.
Molte fïate già pianser li figli
  Per la colpa del padre; e non si creda 110
  Che Dio trasmuti l' armi per suoi gigli! —
Questa picciola stella si correda
  Dei buoni spirti che son stati attivi
  Perchè onore e fama li succeda;
E quando li disiri poggian quivi 115
  Sì disvïando, pur convien che i raggi
  Del vero amore in su poggin men vivi.
Ma nel commensurar dei nostri gaggi
  Col merto è parte di nostra letizia,
  Perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi. 120
Quindi addolcisce la viva giustizia
  In noi l' affetto sì che non si puote
  Torcer giammai ad alcuna nequizia.
Diverse voci fan giù dolci note;
  Così diversi scanni in nostra vita 125
  Rendon dolce armonia tra queste rote.

106. 'This younger Charles' is Charles II of Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou.
109–110. Charles is warned that the consequences of his folly may fall on his children.
111. *Arme:* God's ensign is the Eagle.
112. Justinian proceeds now to answer Dante's second question: V, 127–129.
119. *È*, 'there is,' consists.
120. *Maggi* =*maggiori*.
121. *Giustizia* is the subject of *addolcisce*.
123. *Nequizia*, 'iniquity': i. e., envy.
124. *Giù:* on earth.
125. *Sconni*, 'benches': orders of blessedness.

E dentro alla presente margarita
  Luce la luce di Romeo, di cui
  Fu l' opra bella e grande mal gradita.
Ma i Provenzali che fer contra lui 130
  Non hanno riso; e però mal cammina
  Qual si fa danno del ben fare altrui.
Quattro figlie ebbe, e ciascuna regina,
  Ramondo Beringhieri, e ciò gli fece
  Romeo, persona umile e peregrina; 135
E poi il mosser le parole biece
  A domandar ragione a questo giusto,
  Che gli assegnò sette e cinque per diece.
Indi partissi povero e vetusto;
  E se il mondo sapesse il cor ch' egli ebbe 140
  Mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto,
Assai lo loda, e più lo loderebbe.'

131. *E però mal cammina*, 'and that proves that he travels a bad road.'
136. *Il:* Raymond. — *Biece* = *bieche*, 'crooked.'
137. *Ragione*, 'an account.'
138. 'Who paid him back twelve for ten.'
139. *Vetusto*, 'old.'
142. The meaning is: 'Although it praise him much, it would praise him more.' For the construction, cf. VIII, 51.

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

In his overflowing love, which is incompatible with envy, God created the universe, that there might be others to share his happiness. Some things he shaped by his own act, others by means of his agent, Nature, which consists of the celestial bodies, with their angelic directors. The heavens and the angels are his own handiwork, and so is every human soul. So, too, is brute matter, out of which the stars fashioned the elements and their compounds. All products of Nature are perishable, but whatever comes directly from the hand of God can never die. Inasmuch as he formed human flesh by his creation of Adam, it follows that the bodies of men, as well as their souls, are indestructible. If mankind, in the exercise of its free will, had remained faithful, soul and body would never have been parted; we should all have dwelt in the Garden of Eden until taken up to Paradise, in the flesh, on the Last Day. Death is the fruit of original sin; but that sin, thanks to Christ's vicarious atonement, is not an eternal heritage of man, and therefore the separation of body and soul is not everlasting. On the Judgment Day our flesh is to be resurrected.

Men and angels, the immediate products of God's creative act, possess three advantages over the works of Nature: in addition to immortality, they have free will and likeness to their Maker. By transgression our race forfeited the last two privileges, but not the first. The lost gifts might conceivably have been restored to sinful man either by outright forgiveness or in return for due amends. 'All the paths of the Lord are *mercy* and *truth*,' says Psalm xxv (Vulg. xxiv), 10 — 'Universæ viæ Domini, *misericordia* et *veritas*'; and 'truth' is interpreted as *justice*. Now any action is more perfect and more beautiful the more fully it represents all the good powers of the doer. Therefore God, who is perfect, chose to proceed by all his paths — in other words, to exercise both mercy and justice, pardoning humanity while exacting satisfaction. But man's presumption in defying the Lord's command was infinite, whereas his capacity for penance is but finite; hence he is incapable of any act of humility sufficient to atone

for his first arrogance. And that is why God himself assumed human flesh, with all its burden of sin, and by his infinite self-abasement on the cross saved mankind from the consequences of its own proud disobedience.

For the doctrine of the atonement, see St. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo;* also St. Thomas, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, IV, liv. For the resurrection of the flesh, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxv; St. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, II, ii and iii.

'*Osanna sanctus Deus Sabaoth,*
Superillustrans claritate tua
Felices ignes horum malachoth!'
Così, volgendosi alla nota sua,
Fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza, 5
Sopra la qual doppio lume s' addua.
Ed essa e l' altre mossero a sua danza,
E, quasi velocissime faville,
Mi si velar di subita distanza.
Io dubitava, e dicea: 'Dille, dille,' 10
Fra me, 'dille,' diceva, 'alla mia donna
Che mi disseta con le dolci stille!'
Ma quella riverenza che s' indonna
Di tutto me, pur per BE e per ICE,

1-3. 'Hail, holy God of hosts, doubly illumining with thy brightness the happy fires of these kingdoms.' The blessed souls — 'happy fires' of the heavens — are illumined first by their own intelligence and secondly by God's grace. — Of the three Hebrew words mixed with the Latin, *osanna* and *sabaoth* are used in the Bible, and *malachoth* (a mistake for *mamlachoth*) occurs in St. Jerome's preface to the Vulgate called *Prologus Galeatus*, where it is said to be equivalent to *regnorum*, 'of kingdoms.'

5. 'This substance' is Justinian. Angels and souls are often called substances because they exist independently of matter.

6. The 'double light' of natural intelligence and of illuminating grace 'is twofold' upon this spirit.

8. Cf. Wisdom iii, 7. — The souls, like swift sparks flying upward, return to the Empyrean.

14. BE is the name of the letter *b*, ICE is the rest of the name BICE, the shortened form of Beatrice. Dante is filled with reverence at the thought of the mere earthly Beatrice, and the name by which she was called: how much more reverent must he be in the presence of the heavenly Beatrice, whose full name occurs two lines below!

Mi richinava come l' uom ch' assonna. 15
Poco sofferse me cotal Beatrice,
E cominciò, raggiandomi d' un riso
Tal che nel foco faria l' uom felice:
'Secondo mio infallibile avviso,
Come giusta vendetta giustamente 20
Vengiata fosse, t' ha in pensier miso.
Ma io ti solverò tosto la mente;
E tu ascolta, chè le mie parole
Di gran sentenza ti faran presente.
Per non soffrire alla virtù che vuole 25
Freno a suo prode, quell' uom che non nacque,
Dannando sè, dannò tutta sua prole;
Onde l' umana specie inferma giacque
Giù per secoli molti in grande errore,
Fin ch' al Verbo di Dio di scender piacque 30
U' la natura, che dal suo Fattore
S' era allungata, unìo a sè in persona
Con l' atto sol del suo eterno amore.
Or drizza il viso a quel ch' or si ragiona:
Questa natura al suo Fattore unita, 35
Qual fu creata, fu sincera e buona;
Ma per sè stessa pur fu ella sbandita
Di Paradiso, però che si torse
Da via di verità e da sua vita.

20. See VI, 88-92.
24. *Sentenza*, 'doctrine.' — *Presente*, 'gift.'
25. *Per non soffrire*, 'because he would not endure.' — *La virtù che vuole:* the will.
26. *A suo prode*, 'for his own profit.' — *Uom :* Adam.
30. *Verbo di Dio:* Christ. Cf. John i, 1.
31. *U'* =*ove*, 'where': i. e., to mankind. — *Natura* is the object of *unìo* (=*unì*), 'he united.'
36. Human nature was created pure and good, but by its own act became evil and forfeited Paradise.
39. Cf. John xiv, 6: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.'

La pena dunque che la croce porse, 40
S' alla natura assunta si misura,
Nulla giammai sì giustamente morse;
E così nulla fu di tanta ingiura,
Guardando alla persona che sofferse,
In che era contratta tal natura. 45
Però d' un atto uscir cose diverse;
Ch' a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte.
Per lei tremò la terra e il ciel s' aperse.
Non ti dee oramai parer più forte,
Quando si dice che giusta vendetta 50
Poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte.
Ma io veggi' or la tua mente ristretta,
Di pensier in pensier, dentro ad un nodo,
Del qual con gran disio solver s' aspetta.
Tu dici: "Ben discerno ciò ch' i' odo; 55
Ma perchè Dio volesse, m' è occulto,
A nostra redenzion pur questo modo."
Questo decreto, frate, sta sepulto
Agli occhi di ciascuno il cui ingegno
Nella fiamma d' amor non è adulto. 60
Veramente, però ch' a questo segno
Molto si mira, e poco si discerne,

41. 'If it be measured by the nature assumed,' i. e., by the sinful nature of man, which Christ took.
42. *Nulla* (sc., *pena*) is the subject of *morse*.
43. *Così*, 'on the other hand.' — *Ingiura* (=*ingiuria*), 'injustice.'
45. *Che*, 'whom.'
48. *Tremò*: cf. Mat. xxvii, 51. — Earth quaked with horror and Heaven opened with joy.
52. *Ristretta*, 'bound.'
60. *Adulto*, 'full-grown' in the flame of love. Only an infinitely loving mind can comprehend the boundless love which impelled God to sacrifice himself for man.
61. *Veramente*, 'however.' — *Segno*, 'target': this problem.
62. 'Men aim much, but distinguish little.'

Dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno.
La divina bontà, che da sè sperne
Ogni livore, ardendo in sè, sfavilla 65
Sì che dispiega le bellezze eterne.
Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla
Non ha poi fine; perchè non si move
La sua imprenta, quand' ella sigilla.
Ciò che da essa senza mezzo piove 70
Libero è tutto, perchè non soggiace
Alla virtute delle cose nuove.
Più l' è conforme, e però più le piace;
Chè l' ardor santo, ch' ogni cosa raggia,
Nella più simigliante è più vivace. 75
Di tutte queste cose s' avvantaggia
L' umana crëatura; e s' una manca,
Di sua nobilità convien che caggia.
Solo il peccato è quel che la disfranca
E falla dissimile al Sommo Bene, 80
Perchè del lume suo poco s' imbianca;
Ed in sua dignità mai non riviene,
Se non rïempie dove colpa vota,

64-66. Divine Goodness, in its exuberant love, brings forth men and angels, just as a blazing fire sends out sparks. Thus it 'reveals its eternal beauties,' by giving them a visible, objective form in the created world. — Cf. *Cons.*, III, Metr. ix, ll. 4-6 (Boethius is addressing the Creator):

'Quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere causæ
Materiæ fluitantis opus, verum insita summi
Forma boni, livore carens.'

67. *Senza mezzo*, 'immediately' — *Distilla*, 'derives.'
70. *Piove*, 'comes down.'
72. To the power of the heavens, which are 'recent things' compared to their Maker.
73. 'It (the created thing) is more like to it (the Goodness), and hence more pleasing to it.'
76. *S' avvantaggia*, 'has the advantage.'
78. *Di*, 'from.'
79. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. lxiv, Art. 2, end.
83. *Vota*, 'makes a void.'

Contra mal dilettar, con giuste pene.
Vostra natura, quando peccò *tota* 85
Nel seme suo, da queste dignitadi
(Come da Paradiso) fu remota;
Nè ricovrar poteasi, se tu badi
Ben sottilmente, per alcuna via,
Senza passar per l' un di questi guadi: 90
O che Dio solo per sua cortesia
Dimesso avesse, o che l' uom per sè isso
Avesse satisfatto a sua follia.
Ficca mo l' occhio per entro l' abisso
Dell' eterno consiglio, quanto puoi 95
Al mio parlar distrettamente fisso!
Non potea l' uomo, nei termini suoi,
Mai satisfar, per non poter ir giuso
Con umiltate, ubbidïendo poi,
Quanto disubbidiendo intese ir suso; 100
E questa è la cagion per che l' uom fue
Da poter satisfar per sè dischiuso.
Dunque a Dio convenia con le vie sue
Riparar l' uomo a sua intera vita —
Dico con l' una, ovver con ambedue. 105
Ma perchè l' opra è tanto più gradita
Dell' operante, quanto più appresenta

85. Cf. Romans v, 12. — *Tota* (Latin)=*tutta*.
86. *Seme:* Adam.
91. *O*, 'either.'
92. *Dimesso*, 'forgiven.' — *Per sè isso* (= Latin *per se ipsum*), 'by himself.'
97. *Ne' termini suoi*, 'within his limits,' with his limitations.
98. *Per non poter*, 'because of inability.'
99. *Ubbidiendo poi*, 'in subsequent obedience.'
103. *Vie sue:* Mercy and Justice.
104. *Riparar*, 'restore.'
105. *Una*, sc., *via*.
106–107. *L' opra . . . dell' operante*, 'the workman's work.' — *Appresenta* 'represents.'

Della bontà del core ond' è uscita, —
La divina bontà, che il mondo imprenta,
Di proceder per tutte le sue vie 110
A rilevarvi suso fu contenta;
Nè tra l' ultima notte e il primo die
Sì alto e sì magnifico processo,
O per l' una o per l' altra, fu o fie.
Chè più largo fu Dio a dar sè stesso, 115
A far l' uom sufficiente a rilevarsi,
Che s' egli avesse sol da sè dimesso.
E tutti gli altri modi erano scarsi
Alla giustizia, se il Figliuol di Dio
Non fosse umilïato ad incarnarsi. — 120
Or, per empierti bene ogni disio,
Ritorno a dichiarare in alcun loco,
Perchè tu veggi lì così com' io.
Tu dici: "Io veggio l' acqua, io veggio il foco,
L' aere e la terra e tutte lor misture 125
Venire a corruzione, e durar poco;
E queste cose pur fur crëature —"
Per che, se ciò ch' ho detto è stato vero,
Esser dovrien da corruzion sicure.
Gli Angeli, frate, e il paëse sincero 130
Nel qual tu sei, dir si posson crëati,

110. *Tutte le sue vie:* both Mercy and Justice. Cf. l. 103.
112. *Ultima notte:* Judgment. — *Primo die:* Creation. — Cf. Mat. xxiv, 21.
114. *Una . . . altra:* sc., *via.* — *Fie* = *sarà.*
120. Cf. Philippians, ii, 8: 'and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.'
122. *Ritorno,* 'I go back.' — *Dichiarare,* 'explain.' — *Alcun loco,* 'a certain place': i. e., ll. 67 ff.
123. *Veggi* = *veda.*
127. 'And yet these things were created.'
129. *Dovrien* = *dovrebbero.*
130. The 'perfect country' is heaven.

Sì come sono, in loro essere intero;
Ma gli elementi che tu hai nomati,
E quelle cose che di lor si fanno,
Da crëata virtù sono informati. 135
Crëata fu la matera ch' egli hanno,
Crëata fu la virtù informante
In queste stelle, che intorno a lor vanno.
L' anima d' ogni bruto e delle piante
Da complession potenzïata tira 140
Lo raggio e il moto delle luci sante.
Ma vostra vita senza mezzo spira
La somma beninanza, e la innamora
Di sè, sì che poi sempre la disira.
E quinci puoi argomentare ancora 145
Vostra resurrezion, se tu ripensi
Come l' umana carne fessi allora
Che li primi parenti intrambo fensi.'

132. *Essere intero*, 'complete being.'
135. The 'created power' is that of the stars.
136. The brute matter of which all these things consist was created directly by God. The question whether elemental matter was co-eternal with God or produced by him had been much discussed before it was authoritatively decided. It had puzzled even Dante, as he tells us in *Conv.*, IV, i, 60–66.
139–141. 'The light and motion of the holy stars draw from a potential complex (of elemental matter) the soul of every brute and plant.'
142. *Vostra vita* (human life) is the object of *spira*.
147. *Fessi* = *si fece*.
148. *Fensi* = *si fecero*.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

THE nearer we come to God, the more we appreciate the charm of his Revelation. Thus Beatrice grows in loveliness as she and Dante rise from sphere to sphere; and now a fresh increase of her beauty announces the arrival of the celestial travelers in the heaven of Venus. The spheres that bear the various stars are transparent hollow globes of light matter, turning all together from east to west, and, in addition, possessing each an independent revolution in another direction and at a different speed. Moreover, the heaven of Venus, — like those of the Moon, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, — has, attached to itself, a little revolving sphere carrying the planet. The circuit of this smaller ball is called an *epicycle*. Mathematically, an epicycle is defined as a circle whose centre is on the circumference of a greater one. By means of this device (and others) the Ptolemaic astronomers explained the varying distances of each planet from the earth. Every heavenly body, except the sun and the fixed stars, has three different revolutions: the general diurnal course, the periodic orbit of the individual sphere, and the accompanying turn of the epicycle. The sun and the fixed stars have the first two. In the heaven of Venus Dante and his guide find the third of the epicycles.

Here, as in the other spheres, they enter the planet itself, where the moving souls appear as lights flitting through the bright substance of the star, the rate of their speed being an indication of their joy and love, which depend on the distinctness of their eternal vision of God. They are perceived as sparks are seen shooting in a flame, or as, in song, a voice passing from note to note is distinguished from other voices holding one tone. Their apparent position in the universe is a symbol of the degree of beatitude enjoyed by those whose love was too much of the flesh. They are the best of the spirits whose excellence is marred by some taint of worldliness; it is therefore appropriate that their heaven should be the highest of those reached by the earth's conical shadow, as it is projected into space.

Among these souls is that of Charles Martel, son of Charles II

of Apulia and grandson of Charles of Anjou, heir to the thrones of Naples, Provence, and Hungary. In 1291 he married Clemence, daughter of Rudolph I. He died in 1295, and the Neapolitan succession was transferred to his brother Robert. His father lived until 1309. The contrast between Robert's niggardliness and his father's lavish expenditures suggests a discussion of heredity. Human dispositions are moulded by the stars. God has embodied his providence in these agents — has made it a 'power' in the skies. The stars (which constitute 'Nature') do their work unerringly: a defect in them would imply a fault in their Maker. But in their operation they are cognizant of no distinction of parentage or rank. Hence, in choosing a vocation for a youth, we should consider, not his family, but the character he has received from Nature. If we do otherwise, we trouble the organism of society by putting its members into the wrong places.

In the spring of 1294 Charles Martel visited Florence with a brilliant retinue, and was received with unprecedented magnificence, as G. Villani relates in his *Croniche*, VIII, xiii. We may infer from the present canto that our poet then made his personal acquaintance. Indeed, we are justified in conjecturing that Charles, on this occasion, heard and applauded Dante's *canzone* (the first in the *Convivio*), *Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete*, which was presumably the great literary novelty in Florence at the time of his visit; for he greets Dante in heaven with a reference to this poem. This episode affords, then, a clue to the date of composition of the *canzone* in question. The powers invoked in the opening line of the lyric — those who by their intelligence move the third heaven — are the Principalities, the angels who preside over the sphere of Venus.

For the theory of the epicycle, see *Conv.*, II, iv, 78–104; Ristoro d'Arezzo, *Della composizione del mondo*, I, xii. For Charles Martel's visit to Florence, Moore, III, 42.

Solea creder lo mondo, in suo periclo,
Che la bella Ciprigna il folle amore
Raggiasse, volta nel terzo epiciclo;

1. *Mondo* is the subject. — *In suo periclo*, 'to its peril': the belief that 'mad love' was sent down from a star by a goddess was a dangerous one.

2. *Ciprigna*, 'Cypriote': Venus, who was born near Cyprus and had a famous temple there.

3. *Volta*, 'revolving.'

Per che non pure a lei facean onore
  Di sacrificio e di votivo grido 5
  Le genti antiche nell' antico errore,
Ma Dïone onoravano e Cupido, —
  Questa per madre sua, questo per figlio, —
  E dicean ch' ei sedette in grembo a Dido;
E da costei, ond' io principio piglio, 10
  Pigliavano il vocabol della stella
  Che il sol vagheggia or da coppa or da ciglio.
Io non m' accorsi del salire in ella;
  Ma d' esservi entro mi fece assai fede
  La Donna mia, ch' io vidi far più bella. 15
E come in fiamma favilla si vede
  E come in voce voce si discerne,
  Quando una è ferma e l' altra va e riede,
Vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne
  Moversi in giro più e men correnti, 20
  Al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne.
Di fredda nube non disceser venti,
  O visibili o no, tanto festini
  Che non paressero impediti e lenti
A chi avesse quei lumi divini 25
  Veduti a noi venir, lasciando il giro

6. *Nell' antico errore:* cf. *Inf.* I, 72.
7. Diōne, daughter of Oceanus and Thetis, was the mother of Venus.
8. According to Virgil (*Æn.*, I, 657–660, 715–722), Cupid, disguised as Æneas's son Ascanius, sat in Dido's lap. The ancients foolishly ascribed Dido's 'mad love' to divine instigation.
10. *Principio*, 'beginning' of this canto.
11. Cf. IV, 61–63.
12. *Che* is the object of *vagheggia*, 'woos.' — *Da coppa*, 'at nape,' i. e., behind; *da ciglio*, 'at brow,' i. e., before: according as Venus is morning or evening star. For the odd expression *da coppa*, cf. *Æn.*, I, 402: [Venus] 'avertens rosea *cervice* refulsit.'
23. When winds become ignited, they are 'visible' in the form of lightning or meteors: cf. *Purg.* V, 37–39. See Moore, I, 132.
26. *Giro*, 'round,' dance.

Pria cominciato in gli alti Serafini.
E dentro a quei che più innanzi appariro
Sonava '*Osanna*' sì che unque poi
Di rïudir non fui senza disiro. 30
Indi si fece l' un più presso a noi,
E solo incominciò: 'Tutti sem presti
Al tuo piacer, perchè di noi ti gioi.
Noi ci volgiam coi Principi celesti
D' un giro e d' un girare e d' una sete, 35
Ai quali tu del mondo già dicesti:
"Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete."
E sem sì pien d' amor che, per piacerti,
Non fia men dolce un poco di quïete.'
Poscia che gli occhi miei si furo offerti 40
Alla mia Donna riverenti, ed essa
Fatti gli avea di sè contenti e certi,
Rivolsersi alla luce, che promessa
Tanto s' avea, e: 'Di' chi siete,' fue
La voce mia di grande affetto impressa. 45
E quanta e quale vid' io lei far piùe
Per allegrezza nuova che s' accrebbe,
Quand' io parlai, all' allegrezze sue!
Così fatta, mi disse: 'Il mondo m' ebbe
Giù poco tempo; e se più fosse stato, 50
Molto sarà di mal che non sarebbe.
La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,

27. *In*, 'among.' In the Empyrean, in company with the Seraphim, the highest of the angels.
33. *Gioi*, present subjunctive of *gioiare*, 'have joy.'
35. *Di*, 'with.'
43–44. *Promessa . . . s' avea*, 'had promised.'
46. *Far piùe*, 'increased.'
51. 'Much evil which shall be would not have befallen.' For the distorted construction, cf. VI, 142.

Che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde
Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.
Assai m' amasti, ed avesti bene onde; 55
Chè, s' io fossi giù stato, io ti mostrava
Di mio amor più oltre che le fronde.
Quella sinistra riva che si lava
Di Rodano, poi ch' è misto con Sorga,
Per suo signore a tempo m' aspettava, 60
E quel corno d' Ausonia che s' imborga
Di Bari, di Gaëta e di Catona,
Da ove Tronto e Verde in mare sgorga.
Fulgeami già in fronte la corona
Di quella terra che il Danubio riga 65
Poi che le ripe tedesche abbandona.
E la bella Trinacria, — che caliga
Tra Pachino e Peloro (sopra il golfo
Che riceve da Euro maggior briga)
Non per Tifeo, ma per nascente solfo, — 70

54. *Animal:* a silk-worm.
57. I should have shown thee the fruit of my love.
58-60. Provence, which lies on the left of the Rhone below its confluence with the Sorgue, was the dowry of Beatrice, wife of Charles of Anjou, Charles Martel's grandfather: cf. VI, 133-134; *Purg.* XX, 61-62.
61. *Ausonia:* a name for Italy used by the Latin poets. — *S' imborga,* 'is skirted': *borghi* means 'outskirts,' 'suburbs.' The towns of Bari, Gaeta, and Catona mark roughly the northeast, northwest, and southwest confines of the Kingdom of Naples, won by Charles of Anjou.
63. *Da ove,* 'from the point where.' The rivers Tronto, on the east side, and Verde, on the west, separate the Kingdom of Naples from the Papal States at the north.
65. In virtue of a claim on his mother's side, Charles was crowned titular King of Hungary.
67-69. Trinacria is Sicily, conquered by Charles of Anjou. Between the southeasterly and northeasterly capes of Pachȳnus and Pelōrus lies the Bay of Calabria, exposed to the 'vexation' of Eurus, the east wind.—*Caliga,* 'is darkened,' by clouds of smoke from Ætna.
70. The darkness from Ætna is not due, as Ovid sang (*Met.*, V, 346-356), to the struggles of the giant Typhœus, buried under the whole island of Sicily, but is caused by the effect of the sun's heat on 'sulphur in formation.' Cf. Ristoro d'Arezzo, *Della composizione del mondo,* VII, iv, 7.

Attesi avrebbe li suoi regi ancora,
Nati per me di Carlo e di Ridolfo,
Se mala signoria, che sempre accora
Li popoli suggetti, non avesse
Mosso Palermo a gridar: "Mora, mora!" 75
E se mio frate questo antivedesse,
L' avara povertà di Catalogna
Già fuggiria, perchè non gli offendesse;
Chè veramente provveder bisogna
Per lui, o per altrui, sì ch' a sua barca 80
Carcata più di carco non si pogna.
La sua natura, che di larga parca
Discese, avria mestier di tal milizia
Che non curasse di mettere in arca.'
'Però ch' io credo che l' alta letizia 85
Che il tuo parlar m' infonde, signor mio,
Là 've ogni ben si termina e s' inizia
Per te si veggia, come la vegg' io,
Grata m' è più; e anco questo ho caro,
Perchè il discerni rimirando in Dio. 90

72. Sicily would now be awaiting a line of kings descended from Charles of Anjou and Rudolph of Hapsburg (respectively the grandfather and the father-in-law of Charles Martel), if the revolution of 1282, known as the Sicilian Vespers, breaking out in Palermo with the cry 'Death to the French!', had not driven Charles's people from the island and given the crown to Peter III of Aragon.

76. Charles Martel's brother Robert succeeded his father, Charles II, in 1309; he had been chosen for the succession before 1300. Robert, who had spent some years as a hostage for his father in Spain, is represented as having adopted the traditional miserliness of Catalonia.

81. *Pogna = ponga*: cf. *Purg.* XIII, 64, XVI, 123.

82. The 'stingy' Robert descended from the 'lavish' Charles II. The latter, with all his faults, is said to have been liberal in his expenditures.

83. *Milizia*, 'knighthood.'

84. *Mettere in arca*, 'put (money) into his chest.'

87. In God, the beginning and end of all good.

90. 'That thou discernest it by looking into God': that thou art one of the blest, who see all things in God.

Fatto m' hai lieto, e così mi fa chiaro
(Poichè parlando a dubitar m' hai mosso)
Come uscir può di dolce seme amaro.'
Questo io a lui; ed egli a me: 'S' io posso
Mostrarti un vero, a quel che tu domandi 95
Terrai il viso come tieni il dosso.
Lo ben che tutto il regno che tu scandi
Volge e contenta, fa esser virtute
Sua provvidenza in questi corpi grandi;
E non pur le nature provvedute 100
Son nella mente ch' è da sè perfetta,
Ma esse insieme con la lor salute.
Per che quantunque questo arco saëtta
Disposto cade a provveduto fine,
Si come cosa in suo segno diretta. 105
Se ciò non fosse, il ciel che tu cammine
Producerebbe sì li suoi effetti,
Che non sarebbero arti, ma ruïne;
E ciò esser non può, se gl' intelletti
Che movon queste stelle non son manchi, 110
E manco il primo che non gli ha perfetti.
Vuoi tu che questo ver più ti s' imbianchi?'
Ed io: 'Non già, perchè impossibil veggio
Che la natura, in quel ch' è uopo, stanchi.'
Ond' egli ancora: 'Or di', sarebbe il peggio 115
Per l' uomo in terra se non fosse cive?'

97. *Scandi*, 'ascendest.'
98–99. The divine goodness 'makes its providence to be a power' in the revolving heavens.
100. *Non pur le nature*, 'not the characters alone.' — *Provvedute*, 'foreseen' by divine providence.
102. 'But their welfare with them.'
103. *Quest' arco:* providence.
105. *Suo segno*, 'its own target.'
111. *Primo:* sc., *intelletto.*
116. *Cive*, 'citizen,' a social being. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, iv, 1–10.

'Sì,' rispos' io, 'e qui ragion non cheggio.'
'E può egli esser, se giù non si vive
Diversamente per diversi offici?
No, se il maëstro vostro ben vi scrive.' 120
Sì venne deducendo infino a quici;
Poscia conchiuse: 'Dunque esser diverse
Convien dei vostri effetti le radici,
Per che un nasce Solone, ed altro Xerse,
Altro Melchisedech, ed altro quello 125
Che volando per l' aere il figlio perse.
La circular natura, ch' è suggello
Alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,
Ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello.
Quinci addivien ch' Esaù si diparte 130
Per seme da Jacob, e vien Quirino
Da sì vil padre che si rende a Marte.
Natura generata il suo cammino
Simil farebbe sempre ai generanti,
Se non vincesse il provveder divino. 135
Or quel che t' era retro t' è davanti;
Ma perchè sappi che di te mi giova,
Un corollario voglio che t' ammanti.

120. *Maestro:* Aristotle, whose *Politics* Dante cites in *Conv.*, IV, iv, 44-50
123. *Effetti,* 'works.' — The 'roots' are the dispositions of men.
124-126. One is born a legislator, or Solon; another a general, or Xerxes. another a priest, or Melchisedech (Gen. xiv, 18); another a mechanic, or Dædălus (who lost his son Icărus while they were flying through the air: cf. *Inf.* XVII, 109-111).
127. *Circular natura,* 'revolving nature': the spheres, which stamp human character.
129. *Ostello,* 'inn': the individual who receives the stellar influence.
130-132. Esau and Jacob, though brothers, were radically different from the start: Gen. xxv, 21-27. Quirinus, or Romulus, was the son of such a poor father that his paternity was ascribed to the god Mars.
133. *Natura generata:* heredity.
135. *Provveder* is the subject.
137. *Di te mi giova,* 'I delight in thee.'
138. 'I will have thee cloak thyself in a corollary.' The corollary is added

Sempre natura, se fortuna trova
  Discorde a sè, (come ogni altra semente 140
  Fuor di sua regïon) fa mala prova.
E se il mondo laggiù ponesse mente
  Al fondamento che natura pone,
  Seguendo lui, avria buona la gente.
Ma voi torcete alla religïone 145
  Tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada,
  E fate re di tal ch' è da sermone;
Onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada.'

to the demonstration, as a cloak to a suit of clothes. Cf. *Purg.* XXVIII, 136. See *Cons.*, III, Pr. x: 'veluti geometræ solent demonstratis propositis aliquid inferre, . . . ita ego quoque tibi veluti corollarium dabo.'

147. King Robert was addicted to writing sermons.

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

THERE is no repining among the blest. Each spirit is aware that the stellar influences which shaped its mortal life are directed by the same providence that determined its eternal capacity for happiness, so that there is an exact correspondence between earthly conduct and heavenly reward. All are so full of joy, of love for their Maker, of admiration for his work, and of eagerness to conform to his will, that there is no room for dissatisfaction.

Among those in whom love — the motive power of all good — was abundant, but was ill employed, we find Cunizza da Romano from the March of Treviso in northeastern Italy, the troubadour Foulques, or Folquet, from Marseilles, and the Biblical Rahab of Jericho.

Cunizza, youngest of the six sisters of the cruel tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, is said to have had three husbands and at least one lover. At the instigation of her brothers, she forsook her first spouse, Rizzardo di San Bonifazio, being aided in her escape by Sordello (*Purg.* VI), who was a minstrel at her court. In 1265, the year of Dante's birth, she was in Florence — an elderly lady — at the house of the Cavalcanti, and there granted freedom to her father's and brothers' slaves. She made her will in 1279, leaving her property to the sons of Alessandro da Mangona (*Inf.* XXXII, 55–60), who were related to her through her mother.

Folquet de Marselha, the son of a wealthy Genoese merchant, became a noted amatory poet in southern France, and addressed impassioned verse to the wives of two of his protectors, — as well as to his first patron's sister, whom he used as a screen. He was imitated by several Italian rhymesters, and is mentioned with praise in *Vulg. El.*, II, vi, 58–59. Subsequently, repenting of his worldly life, he entered the Cistercian order, was made head of a rich abbey, became in 1205 Bishop of Toulouse, and later took a mercilessly active part in the suppression of the Albigensian heresy and the extermination of its adherents. Marvelous tales were told of his sanctity.

The story of Rahab is related in Joshua ii. When Joshua was trying to take Jericho, he sent to the city two spies, who lodged in

the house of 'an harlot named Rahab.' Their presence becoming known to the enemy, their hostess saved them by sending the pursuers on a false clue, hiding her guests on the roof of the house, and, when the coast was clear, letting them 'down by a cord through the window, for her house was upon the town wall.' In return, they promised safety for her and her relatives when Jericho should fall; as a token, she was to 'bind' a 'line of scarlet thread in the window.' Her service resulted in the victory of the Children of Israel; and when the city was cursed, Joshua proclaimed (vi, 17): 'Only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent.' Thus, too, she won salvation, and, according to Dante, was the first soul 'assumed' by the heaven of Venus, when the Hebrew spirits were liberated from Limbus. 'Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works,' says James ii, 25, 'when she had received the messengers and had sent them out another way?' And in Hebrews xi, 31, we read: 'By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not.' In the allegorical exposition of the Scriptures, Joshua often figures as a symbol of Christ, while Rahab is sometimes interpreted as the Church, which he saved by the 'scarlet thread' of his blood.

For the influence of the stars on character, see St. Thomas, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, III, xciii. For Folquet, N. Zingarelli, *La personalità storica di Folchetto di Marsiglia nella Commedia di Dante*, 2d ed. 1899.

Da poi che Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza,
M' ebbe chiarito, mi narrò gl' inganni
Che ricever dovea la sua semenza;
Ma disse: 'Taci, e lascia volger gli anni!'
Sì ch' io non posso dir se non che pianto 5
Giusto verrà diretro ai vostri danni.
E già la vita di quel lume santo
Rivolta s' era al sol che la rïempie,

1. The Clemence addressed is probably Charles's daughter, who in 1315 married Louis X of France. Charles's wife, also named Clemence, died in 1295.
3. Shortly after Charles's death, his son, Charles Robert, was deprived, by his uncle Robert, of the right of succession to the throne of Naples.
4-6. Here, as in all cases where Dante forecasts events subsequent to the time of writing, the prophecy is vague.
7. *Vita:* soul. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 292.

Come quel ben ch' ad ogni cosa è tanto.
Ahi, anime ingannate, e fatture empie, 10
Che da sì fatto ben torcete i cori,
Drizzando in vanità le vostre tempie!
Ed ecco un altro di quelli splendori
Ver me si fece, e il suo voler piacermi
Significava nel chiarir di fuori. 15
Gli occhi di Bëatrice, ch' eran fermi
Sopra me come pria, di caro assenso
Al mio disio certificato fermi.
'Deh metti al mio voler tosto compenso,
Bëato spirto,' dissi, 'e fammi prova 20
Ch' io possa in te rifletter quel ch' io penso.'
Onde la luce, che m' era ancor nuova,
Del suo profondo, ond' ella pria cantava,
Seguette, come a cui di ben far giova:
'In quella parte della terra prava 25
Italica, che siede tra Rïalto
E le fontane di Brenta e di Piava,
Si leva un colle, e non surge molt' alto,
Là onde scese già una facella
Che fece alla contrada un grande assalto. 30
D' una radice nacqui ed io ed ella;

9. *Tanto*, 'sufficient.'
12. *Tempie*, 'temples,' i. e., faces.
14. *Il suo voler piacermi* is the object of *significava*.
18. *Fermi* = *mi fecero*.
19–21. Dante begs the unknown soul to answer without waiting to be questioned.
25–27. The March of Treviso, in the northeast corner of Italy, lies between the Alps, where the rivers Brenta and Piave have their source, and Venice, the most important of whose islands is called Rialto.
28–30. The 'torch,' or scourge of mankind, is Ezzelino (or Azzolino) III da Romano, the most infamous and bloodthirsty of the petty tyrants of mediæval Italy: cf. *Inf.* XII, 110. He was born in 1194, in the little hill town of Romano, and died in 1259. Cunizza was his sister.

Cunizza fui chiamata, e qui rifulgo,
Perchè mi vinse il lume d' esta stella.
Ma lietamente a me medesma indulgo
La cagion di mia sorte, e non mi noia; 35
Che parria forse forte al vostro vulgo.
Di questa luculenta e cara gioia
Del nostro cielo, che più m' è propinqua,
Grande fama rimase, e pria che moia,
Questo centesim' anno ancor s' incinqua. 40
Vedi se far si dee l' uomo eccellente,
Sì ch' altra vita la prima relinqua!
E ciò non pensa la turba presente
Che Tagliamento ed Adice richiude,
Nè per esser battuta ancor si pente. 45
Ma tosto fia che Padova al palude
Cangerà l' acqua che Vicenza bagna,
Per esser al dover le genti crude.
E dove Sile e Cagnan s' accompagna,

34. *A me medesma indulgo*, 'I grant myself,' i. e., 'I accept.'

35. *Cagion:* the influence of Venus, which, in accordance with divine providence, shaped her character.

36. *Forte*, 'strange'

37. *Gioia*, 'gem': Folquet de Marselha, who reappears in l. 67.

39. *Moia*, 'it fades.'

40. 'This centennial year shall yet be fived' — shall return five times: five centuries shall pass. Dante probably thought the world would come to an end at about that time: cf. *Bull.*, X, 52. In the *Conv.*, II, xv, 115–118, he says: 'Noi siamo già nell' ultima etade del secolo, e attendemo veracemente la consumazione del celestiale movimento.'

42. *Altra vita* (a life of fame on earth) is the object of *relinqua*, 'shall leave.' Cf. XVII, 98, 119–120.

44. The rivers Tagliamento and Adige, on the east and west, bound the March of Treviso.

46–47. 'But soon it shall come to pass that the Paduans, at the swamp, shall alter (i. e., stain with their blood) the water (the river Bacchiglione) which bathes Vicenza.' In 1314 the Paduans, who were attacking Vicenza, were suddenly set upon, and defeated with great loss, by a small force under Can Grande of Verona.

48. 'Because the people are stubborn against duty' to the Imperial authority.

49. The clear river Sile and the turbid Cagnano unite at Treviso, but for some distance beyond the confluence their waters can be distinguished.

Tal signoreggia e va con la testa alta, 50
Che già per lui carpir si fa la ragna.
Piangerà Feltro ancora la diffalta
Dell' empio suo pastor, che sarà sconcia
Sì che per simil non s' entrò in Malta.
Troppo sarebbe larga la bigoncia 55
Che ricevesse il sangue Ferrarese —
E stanco chi il pesasse ad oncia ad oncia —
Che donerà questo prete cortese
Per mostrarsi di parte; e cotai doni
Conformi fieno al viver del paëse. 60
Su sono specchi (voi dicete Troni)
Onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,
Sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni.'
Qui si tacette, e fecemi sembiante
Che fosse ad altro volta, per la rota 65
In che si mise, com' era davante.
L' altra letizia, che m' era già nota
Preclara cosa, mi si fece in vista

50. *Tal*, 'a certain man': Rizzardo da Camino, a powerful lord, son of the 'good Gherardo' of *Purg.* XVI, 124.

51. *Carpir*, 'catch.' — *Ragna*, 'bird-net': cf. Canzone XV, 23. — In 1312 Rizzardo was murdered by a hired assassin while playing chess.

53. *Pastor:* Alessandro Novello of Treviso, bishop of Feltre. In 1314 four gentlemen of Ferrara took refuge with him, to escape the wrath of Pino della Tosa, who governed Ferrara in behalf of King Robert, Vicar of the Church. Alessandro, yielding to pressure from Treviso, surrendered them to Pino, who put them to death.

54. Malta is the name of several different prisons.

55. *Bigoncia*, 'vat.'

59. *Parte*, 'party': Guelf.

61. The Thrones are the angels that direct the seventh sphere, the heaven of Saturn.

62. These angels are executors of God's judgments. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cviii, Art. 6: 'Throni dicuntur, secundum Gregorium, per quos Deus sua judicia exercet.'

63. We see mirrored in the Thrones the punishment that God has in store for the sinners, and therefore we can speak with satisfaction of their misdeeds.

65. *Rota:* the round dance of bright souls.

67. *Letizia:* the happy spirit mentioned in l. 37.

Qual fin balascio in che lo sol percota.
Per letiziar lassù fulgor s' acquista, 70
Sì come riso qui; ma giù s' abbuia
L' ombra di fuor, come la mente è trista.
'Dio vede tutto, e tuo veder s' inluia,'
Diss' io, 'bëato spirto, sì che nulla
Voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia. 75
Dunque la voce tua, che il ciel trastulla
Sempre col canto di quei fochi pii
Che di sei ali fannosi cuculla,
Perchè non satisface ai miei disii?
Già non attenderei io tua domanda, 80
S' io m' intüassi, come tu t' immii.'
'La maggior valle in che l' acqua si spanda,'
Incominciaro allor le sue parole,
'Fuor di quel mar che la terra inghirlanda,
Tra i discordanti liti, contra il sole 85
Tanto sen va che fa meridïano
Là dove l' orizzonte pria far suole.

69. *Balascio*, 'ruby.'
71. *Qui:* on earth. — *Giù:* in Hell.
73. *S' inluia* (a word made up by Dante from the pronoun *lui*), '*hims* itself,' i. e., identifies itself with him.
75. *Di sè a te puote esser fuia*, 'can be a thief of itself (can steal or secrete itself) from thee.' Thou canst see my wish in God.
77. *Col canto*, 'together with the song.' — *Fuochi:* the Seraphim, ministers of divine love.
78. *Cuculla*, 'cowl.' Cf. Isaiah vi, 2: 'Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings.'
81. 'If I could *thou* me, as thou *meest* thee': the verbs are constructed, in the same fashion as that in l. 73, from *tu* and *mi*.
82. *Valle:* the Mediterranean, which was thought to extend from west to east 90°, or a quarter of the earth's circumference.
84. *Mar:* the great Ocean, which surrounds all the land.
85. *Discordanti*, 'inharmonious,' varied. — *Contra il sole:* as the opening of the sea is at the west end, it is thought of as stretching from west to east.
86–87. The meridian of any place is a great circle passing through its zenith and nadir and the two celestial poles. The horizon of a place is a great heavenly circle midway between its zenith and its nadir, the plane of the circle being at

Di quella valle fu' io littorano,
Tra Ebro e Macra, che per cammin corto
Lo Genovese parte dal Toscano. 90
Ad un occaso quasi e ad un orto
Buggëa siede e la terra ond' io fui,
Che fe' del sangue suo già caldo il porto.
Folco mi disse quella gente a cui
Fu noto il nome mio, e questo cielo 95
Di me s' imprenta, com' io fei di lui.
Chè più non arse la figlia di Belo —
Noiando ed a Sicheo ed a Crëusa —
Di me, infin che si convenne al pelo;
Nè quella Rodopeia, che delusa 100
Fu da Demofoonte; nè Alcide
Quando Iöle nel cor ebbe richiusa.
Non però qui si pente, ma si ride —

right angles to that of the meridian. The two circles are, then, 90° apart. When the water enters the Mediterranean, at the Strait, its zenith is that of Gibraltar and its horizon traverses the zenith of Jerusalem; but when it reaches the eastern end of the sea, its meridian is that of Jerusalem and its horizon passes through the zenith of Gibraltar.

88. *Littorano*, 'shore-dweller.'

89. Between the Spanish river Ebro and the Italian Magra or Macra.

92. Buggea, or Bougie, on the north coast of Africa, was an important town in the Middle Ages. — *Terra*, 'city': Marseilles, which is almost under the same meridian as Bougie.

93. In 49 B. C. there was a fierce naval battle, in the harbor of Marseilles, between Cæsar's fleet and the local supporters of Pompey: cf. *Purg.* XVIII, 101–102. See *Phars.*, III, 572–73:

'Cruor altus in undis
Spumat; et obducti concrescunt sanguine fluctus.

96. *Com' io fei di lui*, 'as I did (i. e., was stamped) with it.'

98. Belus's daughter, Dido, by her passion for Æneas, wronged her dead husband, Sichæus, and Æneas's dead wife, Creusa.

99. 'Than I did, as long as it befitted my hair': until I turned gray.

100. The Thracian princess Phyllis, thinking herself forsaken by her lover Demophoön, son of Theseus, hanged herself. Cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, II. Rhodŏpe is the name of a mountain range on the edge of Thrace.

101. Alcīdes, or Hercules, lost his life in consequence of his infatuation with the Thessalian princess Iŏle. Cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, IX.

Non della colpa, ch' a mente non torna,
Ma del valore ch' ordinò e provvide. 105
Qui si rimira nell' arte che adorna
Cotanto affetto, e discernesi il bene
Per che il mondo di su quel di giù torna.
Ma perchè le tue voglie tutte piene
Ten porti, che son nate in questa spera, 110
Procedere ancor oltre mi conviene.
Tu vuoi saper chi è in questa lumiera,
Che qui appresso me così scintilla
Come raggio di sole in acqua mera.
Or sappi che là entro si tranquilla 115
Raab, ed, a nostr' ordine congiunta,
Di lei nel sommo grado si sigilla.
Da questo cielo in cui l' ombra s' appunta
Che il vostro mondo face, pria ch' altr' alma
Del trïonfo di Cristo fu assunta. 120
Ben si convenne lei lasciar per palma
In alcun cielo dell' alta vittoria
Che s' acquistò con l' una e l' altra palma;

104. The memory of sin is removed by Lethe, although the souls, seeing all things in God, have an objective knowledge of their past wickedness, and recognize the eternal fitness of the dispositions originally given them by the stars. See *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxxvii.

105. *Valore:* divine power.

107. *Bene*, 'goodness.'

108. 'By reason of which the world below (mankind) again becomes the world above.' A difficult and very obscure line.

116. 'And, she being united to our order.'

117. 'It (the order) is sealed with her in the highest degree.' Rahab is the supreme representative of our order of beatitude.

118. The earth's conical shadow reaches the sphere of Venus, and touches the planet when Venus is at its least, but not when it is at its greatest, distance from our globe: cf. *Conv.*, II, vii, 104–108. The shadow, according to Ptolemy and Alfraganus, is 871,000 miles long. See Toynbee, 76; Moore, III, 30.

121–122. 'It was indeed fitting to leave her, in some heaven, as a palm (token) of the mighty victory.'

123. 'Which was won by lifting up both hands': 'in tollendo manus suas,' Ecclus. xlvi, 3. As Joshua (whose name in Ecclus. is *Jesus*) is a symbol of Christ, his attitude presages that of the Saviour on the cross.

Perch' ella favorò la prima gloria
Di Josuè in sulla Terra Santa 125
(Che poco tocca al papa la memoria).
La tua città, — che di colui è pianta
Che pria volse le spalle al suo fattore,
E di cui è la invidia tanto pianta, —
Produce e spande il maledetto fiore 130
Ch' ha disvïate le pecore e gli agni,
Però che fatto ha lupo del pastore.
Per questo l' Evangelio e i Dottor magni
Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni. 135
A questo intende il papa e i cardinali;
Non vanno i lor pensieri a Nazzarette,
Là dove Gabrïello aperse l' ali.
Ma Vaticano e l' altre parti elette
Di Roma, che son state cimiterio 140
Alla milizia che Pietro seguette,
Tosto libere fien dell' adulterio.'

127. Florence is a 'plant' of the devil. Cf. Mat. xv, 13: 'Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.'

129. Wisdom ii, 24: 'Through envy of the devil came death into the world.' Cf. *Inf.* I, 111.

130. *Fiore:* the florin, bearing the figure of the lily.

134. The Decretals (Canon Law) are studied for financial profit. Cf. Epistola VIII, vii, 114–121; *Mon.*, III, iii, 53–59.

135. *Ai lor vivagni*, 'from their margins.'

142. *Adulterio:* the unholy union of a corrupt Papacy and the Church. Cf. the prophecy in *Purg.* XXXIII, 37–45.

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

LEAVING behind us the spheres reached by the earth's shadow, we enter upon a new realm of the celestial world and a second division of the *Paradiso*, which is introduced by a prelude comprising the first twenty-seven lines of this canto. Here we are bidden, fixing our minds on the intersection of the equator and the ecliptic and the angle at which they meet, to reflect upon the marvelous Providence that shaped the courses of the stars exactly to meet the needs of man. Contemplating the system of the universe, we cannot fail to form some conception of its triune Maker. Divine Power (the Father, 'lo primo valore'), moved by Love (the Holy Ghost), and guided by Wisdom (the Son), created the world of spirit and of matter. 'Looking upon his Son with the Love which both of them endlessly breathe forth, the primal and ineffable Power produced — with a plan such that one who considers it cannot be without a taste of Him — all that revolves through mind or through space.'

In Dante's allegory the number and the sequence of the orders of beatitude necessarily depend in some measure on the Ptolemaic arrangement of the heavenly bodies and their fitness to symbolize various kinds of goodness. The 'essential reward' (to use St. Thomas's phrase) depends on the intensity of love, which is a result of Grace; but the 'accidental reward' is determined by the nature of the service done by the individual soul, and this is largely a matter of planetary influence. From the confused mass of stellar powers formulated by astrologers, the poet selected those which were obviously appropriate and harmonious with his ethical scheme. The cold and remote Saturn evidently must represent the monastic type, the life of contemplation; and it is proper that this order should be the highest. Jupiter must stand for Empire, and to its sphere are assigned those who maintained justice. Mars, emblem of war, harbors the Crusaders, who were willing to give their lives for the Faith. And the Sun, the image of enlightenment, eminently suits the theologians. Their souls are conspicuous for exceeding brightness. It may be noted that several of those now sainted had not been canonized in the poet's

time, and consequently their station below the warriors was then less striking than it is to-day.

The one who speaks in our canto is Dante's great master in theology, the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas. Born in 1226 of the princely family of Aquino, he early entered the Dominican order. After studying at Cologne under Albertus Magnus, he taught at the University of Naples. When he died in 1274, on his way to a council at Lyons, it was reported that he had been poisoned to please Charles of Anjou, whom his kinsmen opposed: cf. *Purg.* XX, 69; also G. Villani, *Croniche*, IX, ccxviii. His huge *Summa Theologiæ*, a precise and formal discussion, in scholastic style, of questions of Christian doctrine, has remained the principal Catholic authority on dogmatic theology. Very important also are his commentary on Aristotle and his treatise *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, sometimes called *Summa contra Gentiles* or *Contra Gentes*. His mode of thought was strongly influenced by his teacher, Albertus Magnus, and, through him, by Aristotle. The final amalgamation of Christian and Aristotelian philosophy was achieved by him.

In the interpretation of stellar influence, Dante, while far simpler and clearer, is partially in accord with St. Thomas. The latter, in his Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, XII, ix, ascribes to the various planets certain dominant effects, which to some extent correspond to the attributes selected by Dante. Stability, for instance, is characteristic of Saturn; mutability, of the moon. — For the double influence of Grace and the stars, see *Purg.* XXX, 109–117. — Attempts to connect Dante's heavens with the moral virtues enumerated by St. Thomas, and with the gifts of the Holy Spirit (correlated by St. Thomas with the virtues), have not resulted very satisfactorily.

Guardando nel suo Figlio con l' Amore
Che l' uno e l' altro eternalmente spira,
Lo primo ed ineffabile Valore,
Quanto per mente o per loco si gira
Con tanto ordine fe', ch' esser non puote 5
Senza gustar di lui chi ciò rimira.

2. *L' uno e l' altro* is the subject, and *che* is the object, of *spira*. According to orthodox Catholic faith, the Holy Ghost (or Divine Love) emanates from both Father and Son, and consists in their eternal love for each other. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xxxvi and xxxvii.

4. This phrase is the object of *fe'* in l. 5.

6. *Chi ciò rimira* is the subject of *puote* in l. 5.

Leva dunque, lettor, all' alte rote
 Meco la vista dritto a quella parte
 Dove l' un moto e l' altro si percote;
E lì comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte 10
 Di quel maëstro che dentro a sè l' ama
 Tanto che mai da lei l' occhio non parte.
Vedi come da indi si dirama
 L' obbliquo cerchio che i pianeti porta,
 Per satisfare al mondo che li chiama. 15
E se la strada lor non fosse torta,
 Molta virtù nel ciel sarebbe in vano,
 E quasi ogni potenza quaggiù morta.
E se dal dritto più o men lontano
 Fosse il partire, assai sarebbe manco 20
 E giù e su dell' ordine mondano.
Or ti riman, lettor, sopra il tuo banco,
 Dietro pensando a ciò che si preliba,
 S' esser vuoi lieto assai prima che stanco.
Messo t' ho innanzi: omai per te ti ciba! 25
 Chè a sè torce tutta la mia cura

9. The 'two motions' are the diurnal and the annual revolutions of the represented by the celestial equator and the celestial ecliptic. They 'strike,' or cross, each other at Aries, in which constellation the sun is at the time of Dante's journey.

10. *Comincia* is imperative. — *Vagheggiar*, 'gaze rapturously.'

11. *L'*, like the *lei* in the next line, stands for the *arte* of l. 10.

13. *Si dirama*, 'branches.' At Aries the ecliptic slants across the equator.

14. *Pianeti:* the seven planets move through the signs of the zodiac, and thus their influence is properly distributed and modified.

15. *Chiama*, 'invokes,' i. e., needs.

16. If the ecliptic, or zodiac, were not thus slanting, the solar and stellar influence could not operate as it does: cf *Conv.*, III, v, 126–142, 196–209. There would be no seasons, and hence no generation.

19. If the obliquity of the ecliptic were greater or less, the succession of the seasons would not be so effective on the part of the globe where there is land. Cf. Ristoro d'Arezzo, *Della composizione del mondo*, II, iii.

21. *Giù e su:* on either side of the equator. Cf. *Purg.* IV, 63.

22. *Riman* is imperative.

23. *Si preliba*, 'is touched upon,' suggested.

Quella matera ond' io son fatto scriba.
Lo ministro maggior della natura, —
Che del valor del cielo il mondo imprenta,
E col suo lume il tempo ne misura, — 30
Con quella parte che su si rammenta
Congiunto, si girava per le spire
In che più tosto ognora s' appresenta;
Ed io era con lui — ma del salire
Non m' accors' io, se non com' uom s' accorge, 35
Anzi il primo pensier, del suo venire.
È Bëatrice quella che sì scorge
Di bene in meglio sì subitamente
Che l' atto suo per tempo non si sporge.
Quant' esser convenia da sè lucente 40
Quel ch' era dentro al sol, dov' io entra' mi,
Non per color ma per lume parvente!
Perch' io lo ingegno, l' arte e l' uso chiami,
Sì nol direi che mai s' imaginasse;
Ma creder puossi, e di veder si brami! 45
E se le fantasie nostre son basse
A tanta altezza, non è maraviglia,

28. *Lo ministro maggior:* the sun.
31. *Quella parte:* Aries. — *Su:* ll. 8–9. — *Si rammenta,* 'is mentioned.'
32–33. The sun's apparent course around the earth, from day to day, is spiral. In the spring season it rises every day further north and earlier than the day before. Cf. Ristoro d'Arezzo, I, xxiii.
35–36. *Se non,* etc., 'any more than one perceives the coming of a thought before it begins.' *Del suo venire* depends on *s' accorge. Suo,* 'its,' the thought's.
37. *Scorge,* 'conducts.'
39. *Si sporge,* 'extends.' Revelation enlightens us instantaneously.
41–42. *Era . . . parvente,* 'was manifest.' The souls of the great theologians are brighter than the sun. Daniel xii, 3: 'And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.' Mat. xiii, 43: 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.'
43. *Perchè,* 'though.'
45. *Di veder si brami,* 'let men long to see it!' Let them make themselves fit for Heaven.

Chè sopra il sol non fu occhio ch' andasse.
Tal era quivi la quarta famiglia
Dell' alto padre che sempre la sazia, 50
Mostrando come spira e come figlia.
E Bëatrice incominciò: 'Ringrazia,
Ringrazia il Sol degli Angeli, ch' a questo
Sensibil t' ha levato per sua grazia!'
Cor di mortal non fu mai sì digesto 55
A devozione, ed a rendersi a Dio
Con tutto il suo gradir cotanto presto,
Com' a quelle parole mi fec' io;
E sì tutto il mio amore in lui si mise
Che Bëatrice eclissò nell' obblio. 60
Non le dispiacque; ma sì se ne rise
Che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti
Mia mente unita in più cose divise.
Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti
Far di noi centro e di sè far corona, 65
Più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti.
Così cinger la figlia di Latona
Vedem tal volta, quando l' aere è pregno

48. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxxv, Art. 2: 'Oculus non gloriosus non potest inspicere solem, propter magnitudinem claritatis.'
49. The 'fourth family' is the fourth order of the blest, the theologians.
50. Cf. Ps. xvii (Vulg. xvi), 15: 'I shall be satisfied (*satiabor*), when I awake, with thy likeness.'
51. God 'satisfies' the blest by revealing to them the mystery of the Trinity: they see how the Holy Ghost and the Son exist in him.
54. *Sensibil*, 'visible': sc., sun.
55. *Digesto*, 'disposed.'
57. *Gradir*, 'assent.'
60. *Eclissò*, 'it eclipsed.' For the moment, Revelation disappears in the direct contemplation of God.
63. 'Divided among many things my mind, which was concentrated on one.' The blessed souls are revealed again.
67. Latona's daughter is Diana, the moon. Sometimes, in moist weather, we see the moon 'girdled' with a shining halo. Cf. *Purg.* XXIX, 78.

Sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona.
Nella corte del ciel, ond' io rivegno, 70
Si trovan molte gioie care e belle
Tanto che non si posson trar del regno;
E il canto di quei lumi era di quelle.
Chi non s' impenna sì che lassù voli,
Dal muto aspetti quindi le novelle. 75
Poi sì cantando quegli ardenti soli
Si fur girati intorno a noi tre volte,
Come stelle vicine ai fermi poli,
Donne mi parver — non da ballo sciolte,
Ma che s' arrestin tacite, ascoltando 80
Fin che le nuove note hanno ricolte.
E dentro all' un senti' cominciar: 'Quando
Lo raggio della grazia, onde s' accende
Verace amore, e che poi cresce amando
Multiplicato, in te tanto risplende 85
Che ti conduce su per quella scala
U' senza risalir nessun discende,
Qual ti negasse il vin della sua fiala
Per la tua sete, in libertà non fora,

69. Moisture is 'the thread of which the belt is made.'

71. *Gioie*, 'jewels.' — Tor. cites from Marco Polo a couple of passages describing eastern countries whose rulers will not allow the rubies and pearls, which abound there, to be 'taken out of the kingdom.'

74. *Non s' impenna*, 'does not grow wings.' Cf. Isaiah xl, 31: 'But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.'

75. To expect, on earth, to conceive of that song is as hopeless as expecting news from the dumb.

76. *Poi* = *poi che*, 'when.'

79. For the movements of the *ballate*, which were danced and sung by ladies holding one another by the hand, see *Bull.*, IV, 180.

82. *Quando*, 'since.'

83. Since the original sin, man has needed grace to kindle his natural love of God: *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cix, Art. 3.

87. *U'* = *ove*. — Here is a distinct promise of Dante's ultimate salvation. Cf. *Purg.* II, 91–92.

Se non com' acqua ch' al mar non si cala. 90
Tu vuoi saper di quai piante s' infiora
Questa ghirlanda, che intorno vagheggia
La bella donna ch' al ciel t' avvalora.
Io fui degli agni della santa greggia
Che Domenico mena per cammino 95
U' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia.
Questi che m' è a destra più vicino,
Frate e maëstro fummi, ed esso Alberto
È di Cologna, ed io Thomas d' Aquino.
Se sì di tutti gli altri esser vuoi certo, 100
Diretro al mio parlar ten vien col viso
Girando su per lo bëato serto:
Quell' altro fiammeggiare esce del riso
Di Grazïan, che l' uno e l' altro foro
Aiutò sì che piace in Paradiso. 105
L' altro, ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro,
Quel Pietro fu che con la poverella

90. *Se non come*, 'any more than.' It would be as unnatural for one of these souls to refuse to satisfy Dante, who is so evidently one of the elect, as it would be for water not to run down hill.

92. The 'garland' is the ring of shining spirits: l. 65. — *Vagheggia*, 'gazes rapturously upon.'

93. *Avvalora*, 'strengthens.'

96. The speaker, St. Thomas Aquinas, who belonged to the Dominican order, declares that St. Dominic led his flock over a road where the sheep 'fatten well, if they do not stray,' i. e., they have abundance of spiritual food, as long as they adhere to his rule. This expression calls for an explanation in the next canto. Cf. Pr. xi, 25: 'The liberal soul shall be made fat (*impinguabitur*).'

99. The Swabian known as Albertus Magnus, Albert of Cologne, and 'Doctor Universalis,' who lived from 1193 to 1280, and taught for some time at Cologne, was the most erudite man of the Middle Ages and one of the greatest scholars of all time. His most important work was the reconciliation of Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology. St. Thomas was his principal follower.

102. *Serto*, 'wreath': cf. l. 92.

104. Gratian, in the first half of the 12th century, composed the *Decretum*, a collection of sacred and ecclesiastical utterances, which became the leading text-book of Canon Law. This work did much to establish an agreement between religious and civil law, and thus 'helped the one and the other court.'

107. Peter Lombard, the 'Magister Sententiarum,' professor in Bologna and Paris, and Bishop of Paris, made four volumes of doctrinal excerpts from the

Offerse a Santa Chiesa suo tesoro.
La quinta luce, ch' è tra noi più bella,
Spira di tale amor che tutto il mondo 110
Laggiù ne gola di saper novella.
Entro v' è l' alta mente u' sì profondo
Saper fu messo che, se il vero è vero,
A veder tanto non surse il secondo.
Appresso vedi il lume di quel cero 115
Che giuso in carne più addentro vide
L' angelica natura e il ministero.
Nell' altra piccioletta luce ride
Quell' avvocato dei tempi cristiani,
Del cui latino Augustin si provvide. 120
Or se tu l' occhio della mente trani
Di luce in luce, dietro alle mie lode,
Già dell' ottava con sete rimani.

Church Fathers, called the *Sententiæ*, which were used in the schools as a manual of theology. In his preface he compares his work to the widow's mite (Luke xxi, 2). He lived in the 12th century.

109–110. The 'fifth light,' that of Solomon, is the 'most beautiful' of all the circle, because it emanates from the ardent love which phrased the Song of Songs, the epithalamium of Christ and Church.

111. *Gola*, 'is greedy.' —*Novella*, 'news,' concerning its fate. Some theologians (as St. Jerome) maintained that Solomon was saved, others (as St. Augustine) that he was damned. See 1 Kings xi, 4–12.

112–114. See 1 Kings iii, 12: 'Lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart; so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee.' The phrase 'no second ever rose,' in l. 114, raises in Dante's mind a question which is answered in Canto XIII.

115. The 'candle' is Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's convert in Athens (Acts xvii, 34), to whom was ascribed a Neo-Platonic work of the 5th or 6th century, called *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, the great authority on the orders of the angels, their nature, their functions, and their relation to the heavens. Cf. XXVIII, 130–139; also Letter to Can Grande, xxi, 404–406.

118–120. At the beginning of the 5th century Paulus Orosius, a Lusitanian priest, composed the first compendium of universal history, entitled *Historiæ adversus Paganos*, showing the hand of God in the direction of human affairs, and refuting the pagan attribution of present troubles to the baleful influence of Christianity. This work, which was widely read, was one of Dante's chief sources of information. It was undertaken at the suggestion of St. Augustine, whose *De Civitate Dei* it supplements.

121. *Trani*, 'drawest.'

Per vedere ogni ben, dentro vi gode
L' anima santa che il mondo fallace 125
Fa manifesto a chi di lei ben ode.
Lo corpo ond' ella fu cacciata giace
Giuso in Cieldauro, ed essa da martiro
E da esilio venne a questa pace.
Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l' ardente spiro 130
D' Isidoro, di Beda, e di Riccardo,
Che a considerar fu più che viro.
Questi, onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo,
È il lume d' uno spirto che, in pensieri
Gravi, a morir gli parve venir tardo. 135
Essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri,

124. *Per vedere*, 'through seeing.'

125. 'The blessed soul that exposes the deceptive world' is Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, author of *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, a beautiful treatise in prose interspersed with poetry, much admired in the Middle Ages. It was one of the two books with which Dante began the serious study of philosophy: *Conv.*, II, xiii, 14–16; xvi, 4–8.

127–129. Boethius, who was an important statesman as well as an author, was imprisoned, under false charges, and finally put to death by Theodoric in 525. He is known in the Church as St. Severinus, being regarded as a martyr to Christianity: cf. G. Villani, *Croniche*, II, v. After the 'exile' of earthly life, his body was buried in the church of S. Pietro in Cielo d' Oro (St. Peter's of the Golden Ceiling) in Pavia.

131. St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, who died in 636, wrote a huge and very useful encyclopædia, called *Origines* or *Etymologiæ*. — The Venerable Bede, an English Monk who died in 735, was the author of an important historical work, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. — Richard, prior of the Monastery of St. Victor in Paris, composed, among other things, a treatise *De Contemplatione*: cf. Letter to Can Grande, xxviii, 554. He died in 1173.

132. *A considerar*, 'in contemplation.' — *Viro*, 'man.' — Richard of St. Victor was called the 'Great Contemplator.'

134–135. *In pensieri gravi*, 'immersed in deep problems.' — *A morir*, etc., 'thought that he was moving too slowly toward death.' — He was eager to reach Heaven, where his questions might be answered.

136. Siger of Brabant, a brilliant and daring philosopher, was a professor at the University of Paris in the third quarter of the 13th century. After two condemnations for heresy, he went to Orvieto, and was there (it would seem) murdered by a half-crazy cleric. We may infer that Dante knew nothing of his heresy nor of his tragic end. See P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme latin au XIII[e] siècle*, 1899; F. Tocco, *Le correnti del pensiero filosofico nel secolo XIII*, 1901; Toynbee, 314; *Rom.*, XXIX, 107.

Che, leggendo nel Vico degli Strami,
Sillogizzò invidïosi veri.'
Indi come orologio, che ne chiami
Nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge 140
A mattinar lo sposo perchè l' ami, —
Che l' una parte l' altra tira ed urge,
'Tin tin' sonando con sì dolce nota
Che il ben disposto spirto d' amor turge, —
Così vid' io la glorïosa rota 145
Moversi e render voce a voce in tempra
Ed in dolcezza ch' esser non può nota,
Se non colà dove gioir s' insempra.

137. Siger lectured in the Latin Quarter, in the *rue du Fouarre* (Straw St.), which in Latin is *Vicus Straminis* or *Straminum*.
138. 'Demonstrated enviable truths'. For the use of *invidiosi*, cf. Epistola V, ii, 24.
140. *La sposa di Dio:* the Church.
141. *Mattinar lo sposo,* 'sing matins to her Bridegroom,' Christ.
142. *Che* =*in cui.*
144. *Turge,* 'swells.'
146. *Tempra,* 'modulation.'
148. *Insempra:* a word coined by Dante from *sempre.*

CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

The learned St. Dominic and the loving St. Francis were sent into the world by God to enable his worshipers to follow Christ more fearlessly, guided by Dominican wisdom, and more steadfastly, moved by the seraphic ardor of the Franciscans. The two great brotherhoods established by these holy men were to be the two wheels of the chariot of the Church. Unhappily the members of both orders soon fell away from the example of their teachers, and strife and degeneracy prevailed. The sheep, straying from the fold and seeking strange pastures, ceased to fatten on the word of God.

The lives of the two founders are briefly summarized in this canto and the next — that of St. Francis being told by St. Thomas, a Dominican, that of St. Dominic by a Franciscan, St. Bonaventure. In Heaven we find the harmony and courtesy that should have existed on earth. In his portrayal of the sweet, Christlike figure of St. Francis, Dante follows in the main the *Legenda Beati Francisci* of St. Bonaventure (or Bonaventura) a 13th century mystic, who, after having been a professor in Paris, became general of the Franciscans, bishop, and cardinal. Of the many miracles attributed to St. Francis, our poet mentions only that of the Stigmata, the divine attestation of his conformity to Jesus; and of the rules of his order, Dante singles out the one most important, in his eyes, for the reformation of both clergy and laymen — the rule of poverty. St. Francis was born in 1182 in the Umbrian town of Assisi, the son of a well-to-do merchant. Alert and merry, he was a leader among the gay youth of his city until a series of mishaps, — imprisonment in Perugia, a severe illness, disappointment over a projected military adventure in Apulia, — followed by two startling religious experiences, turned his mind to sacred things. Forswearing ownership of property, he devoted the rest of his days to the propagation of his doctrine of pure and simple living and universal love. Neither asceticism nor care ever quite subdued his natural cheerfulness, his playful fancy, his keen interest in the doings of his fellow-men. He died in 1226, and two years later was canonized by Gregory IX.

The sight of celestial spirits and eternal joys brings home to Dante the pettiness of all that is deemed most important on earth. Compared with the pursuit of heavenly gladness, even the gravest of worldly occupations are but empty trifling. 'The child's play of grown people,' says St. Augustine (*Confessiones*, I, ix), 'is called business' — 'Majorum nugæ negotia vocantur, puerorum autem talia cum sint, puniuntur a majoribus.'

For St. Francis: P. Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, 1894 (new editions every year); Théodore de la Rive, *St. François d'Assise*, 1901; H. G. Rosedale, *St. Francis of Assisi according to Brother Thomas of Celano*, 1904; N. Tamassia, *S. Francesco d'Assisi e la sua leggenda*, 1906; M. Barbi in *Bull.*, VII, 73; Father Cuthbert, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, 1913.

O insensata cura dei mortali,
  Quanto son difettivi sillogismi
  Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali!
Chi dietro a *iura*, e chi ad aforismi
  Sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio, 5
  E chi regnar per forza o per sofismi,
E chi rubare, e chi civil negozio;
  Chi nel diletto della carne involto
  S' affaticava, e chi si dava all' ozio;
Quando, da tutte queste cose sciolto, 10
  Con Bëatrice m' era suso in cielo
  Cotanto glorïosamente accolto.
Poi che ciascuno fu tornato ne lo
  Punto del cerchio in che avanti s' era,
  Fermossi come a candellier candelo. 15
Ed io senti', dentro a quella lumiera
  Che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo
  Incominciar, facendosi più mera:

4. *Iura*, 'law.' — *Aforismi:* the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates served as a text-book of medicine.

6–7. *Regnar* and *rubare* may be loosely construed as objects of *seguendo* in l. 5. — *Per forza o per sofismi:* cf. *Inf.* XI, 24.

13. *Ciascuno:* each of the shining spirits that surround Dante. For the rhyme, cf. *Purg.* XVII, 55, and *Inf.* VIII, 17.

16. *Lumiera:* the 'light' emanating from the soul of St. Thomas.

18. *Mera*, 'clear': cf. IX, 114.

'Così com' io del suo raggio risplendo,
Sì, riguardando nella luce eterna, 20
Li tuoi pensieri, onde cagioni, apprendo.
Tu dubbi, ed hai voler che si ricerna,
In sì aperta e in sì distesa lingua,
Lo dicer mio, ch' al tuo sentir si sterna,
Ove dinanzi dissi: "U' ben s' impingua," 25
E là u' dissi: "Non nacque il secondo;"
E qui è uopo che ben si distingua.
La provvidenza che governa il mondo
Con quel consiglio nel quale ogni aspetto
Crëato è vinto pria che vada al fondo, — 30
Però che andasse ver lo suo diletto
La sposa di colui ch' ad alte grida
Disposò lei col sangue benedetto,
In sè sicura ed anco a lui più fida, —
Due Principi ordinò in suo favore, 35
Che quinci e quindi le fosser per guida.
L' un fu tutto serafico in ardore,
L' altro per sapïenza in terra fue

21. 'I apprehend whence thou derivest thy thoughts,' i. e., what is the occasion of them.

22. *Si ricerna,* 'be re-explained.' The subject is *lo dicer mio* in l. 24.

24. *Che,* 'that,' connecting with the *sì* of l. 23. — *Si sterna,* 'it (*lingua*) shall be leveled.'

25–26. See X, 96, 114.

29. *Aspetto,* 'sight.'

31. *Però che,* 'in order that.' — The subject of *andasse* is *sposa* in l. 32. — The 'Beloved' is Christ.

32. *Colui:* Christ. — *Alte grida:* 'And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, . . . My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Mat. xxvii, 46).

33. *Disposò:* Christ 'wedded' the Church with his blood on the cross.

35. *In suo favore,* 'in her behalf.'

37. *L' un:* St. Francis. The Seraphim, the highest order of angels, represent heavenly love.

38. *L' altro:* St. Dominic. The Cherubim, the next order, represent celestial wisdom.

Di cherubica luce uno splendore.
Dell' un dirò, però che d' ambedue 40
Si dice l' un pregiando, qual ch' uom prende,
Perchè ad un fine fur l' opere sue.
Intra Tupino e l' acqua che discende
Del colle eletto del bëato Ubaldo,
Fertile costa d' alto monte pende, 45
Onde Perugia sente freddo e caldo
Da Porta Sole; e diretro le piange
Per grave giogo Nocera con Gualdo.
Di questa costa, là dov' ella frange
Più sua rattezza, nacque al mondo un sole, 50
Come fa questo talvolta di Gange.
Però chi d' esso loco fa parole
Non dica 'Ascesi,' che direbbe corto,
Ma 'Orïente,' se proprio dir vuole.

40. *Un:* St. Francis.

41. We describe both by praising one, whichever one we choose.

42. *Ad un fine,* 'to one end.' — *Sue,* 'their.'

43. Assisi is situated between the river Topino and the Chiascio, which runs into it below. The Topino empties into the Tiber.

44. On the hill, near Gubbio, from which the Chiascio flows, St. Ubald had his hermitage, before he became bishop of Gubbio. He died in 1160.

45. The west slope of Mt. Subasio, facing Perugia, is less steep than the other side.

46–48. The gate called Porta Sole is on the side of Perugia nearest to Subasio. The town feels the effect of the summer sun and the winter snow on the mountain. East of the range to which Subasio belongs are the little towns of Nocera and Gualdo, which 'weep because of the heavy mountain chain' of the Apennines on their east.

50. *Rattezza,* 'steepness' (cf. *Purg.* XII, 103): Assisi lies on a spur of the mountain. — *Sole:* even before Dante, St. Francis had been called a Sun.

51. *Questo:* this real sun, where Dante now is. — *Talvolta:* the sun rises from the Ganges, due east, at the vernal equinox.

52–54. The spot from which this new Sun rose should be called Orient or Dayspring. Luke i, 78: 'the dayspring from on high hath visited us.' Cf. Zechariah iii, 8, 'adducam servum meum Orientem,' and vi, 12, 'ecce vir Oriens nomen ejus' (the English Bible has a different rendering of both passages). The usual form of the name Assisi, in the Tuscan of Dante's day, was *Ascesi,* which may be interpreted as meaning 'I have risen.' While this is suggestive of dayspring, it is inadequate (*corto*): 'Orient' is the only fit word.

Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto, 55
 Ch' ei cominciò a far sentir la terra
 Della sua gran virtute alcun conforto.
Chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra
 Del padre corse, a cui (com' alla morte)
 La porta del piacer nessun disserra; 60
Ed innanzi alla sua spirital corte,
 Et coram patre, le si fece unito;
 Poscia di dì in dì l' amò più forte.
Questa, privata del primo marito,
 Mille cent' anni e più dispetta e scura 65
 Fino a costui si stette senza invito;
Nè valse udir che la trovò sicura
 Con Amiclate, al suon della sua voce,
 Colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe' paura;
Nè valse esser costante, nè feroce, 70
 Sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,
 Ella con Cristo salse in su la croce.
Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso,

58–59. While still a youth, he espoused Lady Poverty, against his father's will. The marriage of St. Francis and Poverty has repeatedly been depicted in art, notably by Giotto in a fresco in the church of S. Francesco in Assisi.

61–62. Summoned by his father before the episcopal court of Assisi, St. Francis stripped off his clothes and gave them to him, keeping nothing he had received from his family. Thús did he wed Poverty. — *Coram patre* is a Biblical phrase: Mat. x, 33, 'before my Father.'

64. *Questa:* Poverty. — *Primo marito:* Christ.

65–66. From Christ to St. Francis (who was born in 1182), no one had cared for Poverty.

67–69. 'And it availed not that men heard how he who terrified the whole world (Cæsar) found her, with Amȳclas (a poor fisherman), fearless at the sound of his voice.' See *Phars.*, V, 515–531. Amyclas, who had nothing to lose, was not afraid when Cæsar knocked at his door; he was 'securus belli' — fearless of war. But even this example of the advantages of indigence — upon which Lucan moralizes (cf. *Conv.*, IV, xiii, 110–121) — did not make Poverty seem desirable.

70. *Feroce*, 'untamed,' unsubdued.

71–72. When even Mary had to remain at the foot of the cross, Poverty accompanied her Spouse: Christ's raiment was taken from him, and 'they parted his garments, casting lots upon them' (Mark, xv, 24).

Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti
Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso. 75
La lor concordia e i lor lieti sembianti,
Amore e maraviglia e dolce sguardo
Facean esser cagion di pensier santi;
Tanto che il venerabile Bernardo
Si scalzò prima, e dietro a tanta pace 80
Corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.
O ignota ricchezza, o ben ferace!
Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro,
Dietro allo sposo; sì la sposa piace!
Indi sen va quel padre e quel maëstro 85
Con la sua donna, e con quella famiglia
Che già legava l' umile capestro;
Nè gli gravò viltà di cor le ciglia,
Per esser fi' di Pietro Bernardone,
Nè per parer dispetto a maraviglia. 90
Ma regalmente sua dura intenzione
Ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe
Primo sigillo a sua religïone.
Poi che la gente poverella crebbe

74. *Francesco e Povertà* is the object of the imperative *prendi* in l. 75.
76–78. 'Love, wonder, and sweet gaze made their concord and their glad looks to be a source of holy thoughts' in the beholders.
79. His first disciple was a rich citizen of Assisi named Bernard.
80. St. Francis and his followers went barefoot.
82. *Ferace*, 'fruitful.'
83–4. Egidius, a simple-minded mystic, and Sylvester, a priest, followed the Bridegroom for love of the Bride.
87. St. Francis substituted a rope for the usual belt.
89. His father, Pietro Bernardone, was a tradesman of Assisi. Before his conversion, Francis had associated with youths of higher station.
90. *Dispetto a maraviglia*, 'wondrously despicable.' When he first visited the Papal court, his appearance excited derision.
93. *Sigillo*, 'seal,' approval. — *Religione*, 'order.' — In 1210, Innocent III verbally, and with some reluctance, sanctioned St. Francis's Rule, which seemed to him harsh and dangerous.

Dietro a costui, — la cui mirabil vita 95
Meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe, —
Di seconda corona redimita
Fu per Onorio dall' eterno spiro
La santa voglia d' esto archimandrita.
E poi che, per la sete del martiro, 100
Nella presenza del Soldan superba
Predicò Cristo e gli altri che il seguiro;
E per trovare a conversione acerba
Troppo la gente, per non stare indarno,
Reddissi al frutto dell' italica erba; 105
Nel crudo sasso intra Tevero ed Arno
Da Cristo prese l' ultimo sigillo,
Che le sue membra due anni portarno.
Quando a colui ch' a tanto ben sortillo
Piacque di trarlo suso alla mercede 110
Ch' ei meritò nel suo farsi pusillo,

96. 'Would more fitly be sung (by the Seraphim) in praise of Heaven' than thus related by me.

97-99. 'The holy purpose of this Arch-shepherd was rounded with a second crown by the Eternal Breath (the Holy Ghost) through Honorius.' — In 1223 St. Francis obtained a definite, official sanction of his Rule from Honorius III. — *Archimandrita*, 'head of the fold,' a term of the Greek Church, is one of the words that Dante got from the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa.

100-102. In 1219 St. Francis and some of his disciples accompanied the crusaders to Egypt, where he preached before the Sultan. — *Gli altri:* the Apostles.

103. *Per trovare*, 'finding.' — *Acerba*, 'unripe.'

105. *Reddissi*, 'he returned.'

106. St. Francis retired to a shelter built by his followers on the wild and rugged Mt. Alvernia (called 'la Vernia' and 'la Verna'), between the upper Arno and the source of the Tiber.

107. There, in 1224, Christ appeared to him and imprinted on his hands, feet, and side the Stigmata, or marks of his five wounds. This miracle, attested by contemporary evidence, was confirmed by three Papal bulls.

108. These marks he bore until his death in 1226. He died in Porziuncola, where is now the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, in the plain below Assisi.

109. *Colui:* God. — *Sortillo*, 'chose him.'

111. *Pusillo*, 'little,' lowly. The word *pusillus* occurs several times in the Bible.

Ai frati suoi, sì com' a giuste erede,
  Raccomandò la sua donna più cara,
  E comandò che l' amassero a fede;
E del suo grembo l' anima preclara 115
  Mover si volle, tornando al suo regno,
  Ed al suo corpo non volle altra bara.
Pensa oramai qual fu colui che degno
  Collega fu a mantener la barca
  Di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno! 120
E questi fu il nostro patrïarca;
  Per che qual segue lui com' ei comanda,
  Discerner puoi che buone merce carca.
Ma il suo peculio di nuova vivanda
  È fatto ghiotto sì ch' esser non puote 125
  Che per diversi salti non si spanda;
E quanto le sue pecore remote
  E vagabonde più da esso vanno,
  Più tornano all' ovil di latte vote.
Ben son di quelle che temono il danno, 130
  E stringonsi al pastor; ma son sì poche
  Che le cappe fornisce poco panno.
Or se le mie parole non son fioche,
  Se la tua audïenza è stata attenta,
  Se ciò ch' ho detto alla mente rivoche, 135
In parte fia la tua voglia contenta,

113. *Donna:* Poverty.

115–117. St. Francis, desiring to rise to Heaven 'from the lap' of Poverty, commanded his followers to strip his body, after his death, and let it lie for some time on the bare ground.

118. *Colui:* St. Dominic. Cf. ll. 40–42.

124. *Peculio*, 'flock': the Dominicans. — *Nuova vivanda:* worldly gain.

126. *Salti* (Latin *saltus*), 'wild pastures.'

134. *Audienza*, 'hearing.'

135. *Rivoche* (=*rivochi*), 'recallest.'

136. *In parte:* only one of Dante's two questions (ll. 25–26) has been answered.

Perchè vedrai la pianta onde si scheggia,
E vedrai il coregger, che argomenta,
"U' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia."'

137–139. 'For thou shalt see from what source (the Rule of St. Dominic) the shoot (the degenerate mass of Dominicans) is torn, and thou shalt see what my correction means.' The *corregger* (spelled in most of the texts, after the old style, *correggier*) is the restrictive clause 'se non si vaneggia.' This obscure passage is often interpreted differently.

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

St. Dominic, whose eulogy is pronounced by the Franciscan St. Bonaventure, was born in Calahorra in Old Castile in 1170. He studied at the University of Palencia, became a canon in the cathedral of Osma in 1194, and in 1204 went to Languedoc, to combat the Albigensian heresy, which was widespread and firmly entrenched in southern France. There he was associated with Folquet (IX, 94), Bishop of Marseilles. In 1216 the order of preachers which he had founded obtained Papal sanction. He died in Bologna in 1221, renowned for his learning, his austere and holy life, and his vigor in defending the orthodox faith. He had received the office of *magister sacri palatii*, or Papal theologian, which has ever since been held by a Dominican. Dante's biographical data agree with the incidents recorded in the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. T. Graesse, Ch. CXIII), a 13th century compilation by Jacobus de Varagine, or Jacopo da Varaggio. There are told the two prophetic dreams and the anecdote of the nurse finding the child seated on the bare ground.

As St. Thomas had deplored the decline of the Dominicans, so St. Bonaventure denounces the quarrels of the Franciscans and their distortion of their master's simple code. Two hostile factions divided the order: the Conventuales, who favored a lax interpretation of the Rule, and the Spirituales, who declared that it should be observed to the letter, and tended to exaggerate its severity. The leader of the former party was Matteo Bentivenga of Acquasparta, near Todi, general of the Franciscans, cardinal, and on several occasions Papal legate. In 1300 and 1301 he was sent to Florence by Boniface VIII to restore peace; after his second unsuccessful attempt he excommunicated the city. The Spirituales had for their champion the fervid preacher Ubertino da Casale, from Monferrato, who, incurring the disapproval of his superiors, retired to Mt. Alvernia (XI, 106), and there composed the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ*. He finally joined the Benedictines. He died in 1338.

For Matteo Bentivenga's mission in Florence, see Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, I, xxi; G. Villani, *Croniche*, VIII, xxxix. For Ubertino, see J. C. Huck, *Ubertin von Casale und dessen Ideenkreis*, 1903; cf. *Bull.*, XI, 241.

Sì tosto come l' ultima parola
La benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,
A rotar cominciò la santa mola;
E nel suo giro tutta non si volse
Prima ch' un' altra di cerchio la chiuse, 5
E moto a moto e canto a canto colse —
Canto che tanto vince nostre Muse,
Nostre Sirene, in quelle dolci tube,
Quanto primo splendor quel ch' ei refuse.
Come si volgon per tenera nube 10
Due archi paralleli e concolori,
Quando Junone a sua ancella iube,
Nascendo di quel d' entro quel di fuori
(A guisa del parlar di quella vaga
Ch' amor consunse, come sol vapori), 15
E fanno qui la gente esser presaga
Per lo patto che Dio con Noè pose
Del mondo, che giammai più non si allaga, —
Così di quelle sempiterne rose
Volgeansi circa noi le due ghirlande, 20
E sì l' estrema all' intima rispose.
Poi che il tripudio e l' alta festa grande

2. *Per dir tolse*, 'removed by utterance,' i. e., 'finished uttering.'
3. *Mola*, 'mill-stone': the ring of spirits.
5. *Di cerchio la chiuse*, 'encircled it.'
6. *Colse*, 'matched.'
8. *Tube*, 'pipes': the singing souls.
9. 'As a direct ray surpasses its reflection' — 'the one it has reflected.'
12. *Ancella:* Iris, the rainbow. — *Iube* (Latin *jubet*), 'commands.'
13. The outer arc of a double rainbow is called the reflection, or echo, of the inner one.
14. *Vaga*, 'wanderer': the nymph Echo, who for love of Narcissus wasted away to a voice. Cf. *Met.*, III, 395–401.
16. *Presaga*, 'weather-wise.'
17. *Per*, 'because of.' — *Patto*, 'covenant': Gen. ix, 8–17.
18. *Si allaga*, 'shall be flooded.'
21. *Intima:* many texts have *ultima*.

(Sì del cantare e sì del fiammeggiarsi,
Luce con luce gaudïose e blande)
Insieme a punto ed a voler quetarsi, — 25
Pur come gli occhi ch' al piacer che i move
Conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi, —
Del cor dell' una delle luci nuove
Si mosse voce, che l' ago alla stella
Parer mi fece in volgermi al suo dove; 30
E cominciò: 'L' amor che mi fa bella
Mi tragge a ragionar dell' altro duca,
Per cui del mio sì ben ci si favella.
Degno è che dove l' un, l' altro s' induca,
Sì che com' elli ad una militaro, 35
Così la gloria loro insieme luca.
L' esercito di Cristo, che sì caro
Costò a rïarmar, dietro all' insegna
Si movea tardo, suspiccioso e raro,
Quando lo imperador che sempre regna 40
Provvide alla milizia, ch' era in forse,
Per sola grazia, non per esser degna;
E, com' è detto, a sua sposa soccorse
Con due campioni, al cui fare, al cui dire
Lo popol disvïato si raccorse. 45

23. *Sì . . . sì*, 'both . . . and.'
25. *A punto ed a voler*, 'at one instant and of one accord.'
26. *Piacer*, 'will.' — *I = li.*
27. 'Must be closed and lifted together.' The two circles operate simultaneously, like a pair of eyes. Dante seems here to confuse the *turning* of the eyes, which must affect both at once, with shutting and opening, which may affect one without the other.
29 *Ago:* the 'needle' of a compass. — *Stella:* the North Star, or north.
33. 'For whose sake there is such fair speech here concerning mine.' St. Thomas, for love of his own leader, St. Dominic, has been praising St. Francis.
34. *S' induca*, 'be mentioned.'
37–38. 'The Christian army,' made helpless by sin, had been 're-armed' by Christ's atonement. — *Insegna:* the cross.
43. Cf. XI, 38–46. 45. *Si raccorse*, 'rallied.'

In quella parte ove surge ad aprire
  Zeffiro dolce le novelle fronde,
  Di che si vede Europa rivestire, —
Non molto lungi al percoter dell' onde
  Dietro alle quali, per la lunga foga, 50
  Lo sol talvolta ad ogni uom si nasconde, —
Siede la fortunata Calaroga,
  Sotto la protezion del grande scudo,
  In che soggiace il lëone e soggioga.
Dentro vi nacque l' amoroso drudo 55
  Della fede cristiana, il santo atleta,
  Benigno ai suoi, ed ai nemici crudo;
E come fu crëata, fu repleta
  Sì la sua mente di viva virtute
  Che nella madre lei fece profeta. 60
Poi che le sponsalizie fur compiute
  Al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede,

47. Spain is the country nearest the source of Zephyr, the west wind. Cf. *Met.*, I, 63–64:

> 'Vesper et occiduo quæ litora sole tepescunt
> Proxima sunt zephyro.'

49–51. Compared with Italy, Calahorra (in Old Castile, near the Ebro) is 'not very far' from the Atlantic. Spain lying due west of the Italian peninsula, the sun sets behind its Atlantic shore at the time of the vernal equinox: cf. XI, 51. Note that the *talvolta* occurs in l. 51 in both XI and XII: the *onde* of this canto are evidently contrasted with the *Gange* of XI. When the sun sinks over the Atlantic, it 'hides itself from every man,' because there is no land beyond. — *Foga*, 'flight.' — Cf. *Æn.*, XI, 913–914:

> 'Ni roseus fessos jam gurgite Phœbus Ibero
> Tingat equos, noctemque die labente reducat.'

54. The shield of Castile has two lions and two castles quartered, one lion above the castle and one below.

58–60. Before his birth, his mother dreamed that she brought forth a black and white dog with a burning torch in its mouth. Black and white are the Dominican colors; the torch signifies zeal; the word *Dominicani* suggests *Domini canes*, 'dogs of the Lord.'

61–63. His baptism is conceived as a wedding. He espoused Faith, as Francis (in ll. 61–63 of XI) espoused Poverty. Dominic and Faith 'dowered each other with mutual health.'

U' si dotar di mutüa salute,
La donna che per lui l' assenso diede
Vide nel sonno il mirabile frutto 65
Ch' uscir dovea di lui e delle erede;
E perchè fosse, quale era, in costrutto,
Quinci si mosse spirito a nomarlo
Del possessivo di cui era tutto.
Dominico fu detto; ed io ne parlo 70
Sì come dell' agricola che Cristo
Elesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.
Ben parve messo e famigliar di Cristo;
Chè il primo amor che in lui fu manifesto
Fu al primo consiglio che diè Cristo. 75
Spesse fïate fu tacito e desto
Trovato in terra dalla sua nutrice,
Come dicesse: "Io son venuto a questo."
O padre suo veramente Felice!
O madre sua veramente Giovanna, 80
Se interpretata val come si dice!
Non per lo mondo (per cui mo s' affanna

64–66. His godmother dreamed that he bore on his forehead a star which illumined the world.

67. 'And that he might be in syntax what he was in reality.'

68. *Quinci*, 'hence': from Heaven.

69. 'With the possessive of him to whom he wholly belonged.' ***Dominicus***, 'the Lord's,' is a possessive of *Dominus*. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. xvi, Art. 3.

71. Among the interpretations of the name *Dominicus* in the *Legenda Aurea* is 'keeper of the vineyard of the Lord.' — *Agricola*, 'husbandman.' — Note that in ll. 71, 73, 75 *Cristo* is in rhyme with itself. The same thing occurs in XIV, 104, XIX, 104, XXXII, 83. In the *Commedia* Dante will not allow *Cristo* to rhyme with any other word.

75. The 'counsels' of Christ are poverty, continence, and obedience, and the first of these is poverty: 'Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor' (Mat. xix, 21). Dante insists that St. Dominic, as well as St. Francis, was a lover of Poverty. Their love is declared in ll. 73–75 of XI and XII.

79–81. His father's name was Felix, which means 'happy.' His mother's name, Joan, signifies in Hebrew 'the grace of the Lord,' an interpretation cited by several of Dante's authorities.

Diretro ad Ostïense ed a Taddeo),
Ma per amor della verace manna,
In picciol tempo gran dottor si feo, 85
Tal che si mise a circuïr la vigna
Che tosto imbianca, se il vignaio è reo;
Ed alla sedia che già fu benigna
Più ai poveri giusti (non per lei,
Ma per colui che siede, che traligna), 90
Non dispensare o due o tre per sei,
Non la fortuna di prima vacante,
Non *decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei*,
Addomandò; ma contro al mondo errante
Licenza di combatter per lo seme 95
Del qual ti fascian ventiquattro piante.
Poi con dottrina e con volere insieme
Con l' offizio apostolico si mosse,
Quasi torrente ch' alta vena preme,
E negli sterpi eretici percosse 100

83. Enrico da Susa, professor in Bologna and Paris, bishop of *Ostia* and cardinal, was a great authority on canon law. *Taddeo* di Alderotto of Florence, also a professor in Bologna, was a famous medical authority. Both lived in the 13th century.

84. The 'true manna' is true knowledge, the 'bread of the angels' (II, 11).

85. *Feo* = *fece.*

86. *Circuir*, 'go about.'

88. *Sedia:* the Papal chair, 'which once was kinder' than it is now. — *Alla sedia*, 'of the chair,' depends on *addomandò* in l. 94.

89. *Non per lei:* the difference in its disposition is 'not because of itself' (the Papal office has not changed), but because of the degeneracy of its latterday occupants.

91–93. These phrases are the object of *addomandò* in l. 94: permission to dole out in charity only a third or a half of the money on hand, 'the income of the first vacancy,' 'the tithes which belong to God's poor' — he asked for none of these things.

95. *Seme:* the Faith, the seed from which sprang the bright souls which 'enfold' Dante.

98. *Offizio*, 'authorization.' St. Dominic went to Rome with Folquet of Marseilles (IX, 94), and asked permission to found a new order; official sanction was given in 1216.

99. *Ch' alta vena preme*, 'pushed forth by a high spring.'

L' impeto suo, più vivamente quivi
Dove le resistenze eran più grosse.
Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi,
Onde l' orto cattolico si riga,
Sì che i suoi arbuscelli stan più vivi. 105
Se tal fu l' una rota della biga
In che la Santa Chiesa si difese
E vinse in campo la sua civil briga,
Ben ti dovrebbe assai esser palese
L' eccellenza dell' altra, di cui Tomma 110
Dinanzi al mio venir fu sì cortese.
Ma l' orbita che fe' la parte somma
Di sua circonferenza è derelitta,
Sì ch' è la muffa dov' era la gromma.
La sua famiglia, che si mosse dritta 115
Coi piedi alle sue orme, è tanto volta
Che quel dinanzi a quel diretro gitta;
E tosto si vedrà della ricolta
Della mala cultura, quando il loglio
Si lagnerà che l' arca gli sia tolta. 120

103. *Rivi:* religious orders.

106. *Biga:* the two-wheeled 'chariot' of the Church. Cf. *Purg.* XXIX, 107.

110. *Di cui*, 'concerning whom.'

112–113. 'But the rut which the outside of its circumference made is forsaken.' The wheel is St. Francis. His track is deserted by the Franciscans. — For *orbita*, cf. *Purg.* XXXII, 30.

114. 'So that there is mould where the crust was.' Good wine makes a crust, bad wine makes mould. — There is an abrupt change of metaphor from ll. 112–113 to l. 114.

117. This line is very puzzling. It may mean: 'That the one in front throws at the one behind'; those who set out to follow in St. Francis's footsteps are now facing in opposite directions. Cf. A. Boselli in *Giorn. stor.*, L, 341. The order is split into two hostile factions.

120. The tare 'shall complain that the bin is taken from it.' Cf. Mat. xiii, 30: 'Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn.' — There may be here a reference to the condemnation of a group of the Spirituales by the Pope in 1318. Cf. *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 177.

Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio
Nostro volume, ancor troveria carta
U' leggerebbe: "Io mi son quel ch' io soglio."
Ma non fia da Casal, nè d' Acquasparta,
Là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura 125
Che l' un la fugge e l' altro la cöarta.
Io son la vita di Bonaventura
Da Bagnoregio, che nei grandi offici
Sempre posposi la sinistra cura.
Illuminato ed Augustin son quici, 130
Che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli
Che nel capestro a Dio si fero amici.
Ugo da San Vittore è qui con elli,
E Pietro Mangiadore, e Pietro Ispano,
Lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli; 135
Natan profeta, e il metropolitano
Crisostomo, ed Anselmo, e quel Donato

124. The faithful follower of St. Francis, — if one is to be found, — shall come neither from Casale nor from Acquasparta, the homes of the two factions.
125. *Scrittura:* the Rule of St. Francis.
126. *Fugge,* 'evades.' — *Coarta,* 'restricts.'
127. For St. Bonaventure, the 'Seraphic Doctor,' see the Argument to Canto XI.
129. 'Always sacrificed the left hand care,' i. e., temporal interests. Cf. Pr. iii, 16: 'in her (Wisdom's) left hand riches and honour' — 'in *sinistra* illius divitiæ et gloria.'
130. Illuminato and Augustino were two of the early followers of St. Francis.
133. Hugo (or Hugh) of St. Victor, a famous theologian who died in 1141, was the teacher of Richard (X, 131) and Peter Lombard (X, 107).
134. Petrus Comestor, or Peter the Devourer (of books), also of the abbey of St. Victor, was the author of an allegorical commentary on the Bible. He died in 1179. — Peter of Spain, a great logician, became Pope John XXI, and was killed soon after, in 1277, by the fall of a ceiling. He is the only contemporary Pope met by Dante in Paradise.
135. *Giù:* on earth. — 'Twelve books': his *Summæ Logicales.*
136. Nathan: see 2 Samuel vii and xii; 1 Kings i, 34.
137. St. John Chrysostom ('Golden-Mouth'), Metropolitan or Patriarch of Constantinople, a vigorous and eloquent defender of Christianity, died in 407. — St. Anselm of Piedmont, Archbishop of Canterbury, a keen theologian, the author of *Cur Deus Homo,* died in 1109. — Among the prophets and ecclesiastics is a grammarian, Donatus, who taught in Rome in the 4th century, and wrote a work which long remained the standard text-book of Latin grammar.

Ch' alla prim' arte degnò por la mano;
Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato
Il calabrese abate Gioacchino, 140
Di spirito profetico dotato.
Ad inveggiar cotanto paladino
Mi mosse la infiammata cortesia
Di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino;
E mosse meco questa compagnia.' 145

138. Grammar is the first of the seven liberal arts of the Trivium and Quadrivium. Cf. *Conv.*, II, xiv, 55-89.

139. Rabānus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, an encyclopædic writer and Biblical commentator of the 8th and 9th centuries.

140. Joachim, Abbot of Flora in Calabria, founder of a new branch of the Cistercians, died in 1202. Freely interpreting the Apocalypse, he proclaimed the impending age of the Holy Ghost, to follow the dispensations of the Father and the Son, contained in the Old and the New Testament. His prophecies — and many others falsely ascribed to him — had a great vogue in the 13th century. P. Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines*, 1909.

142-145. 'Brother Thomas's ardent courtesy and respectful style moved me to envy that great paladin (St. Dominic), and moved this company with me': I was constrained to admire and covet the excellence of St. Dominic, which had produced such a disciple as St. Thomas, and therefore I was impelled to praise him. *Palatini* was a title given to counts of the royal palace; St. Dominic was *magister sacri palatii* in Rome. — The interpretation of these lines is still far from certain.

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

Once again Dante touches on the puzzling question of the imperfection of our earth. The real and complete universe exists only in the mind of God. What we call the world is only a shadow of the divine Idea. It is the product of the skies working upon matter. Now, as we have been told before, matter, for some unexplained reason, is faulty; and the skies are continually changing. If matter were perfect, and if the heavens were always in their most effective conjunction, the physical universe would exactly represent the Lord's conception. This divine plan is transmitted as a pattern and a creative force to the nine orders of angels, and by them is embodied in the numberless formative powers of sky and earth, from the highest to those whose work lasts but a moment; yet at all stages the result is inferior, in greater or less degree, to the ideal model.

If, however, the triune God creates directly, with his absolute Power, Wisdom, and Love, the product is without flaw. Thus Adam and Christ (in his human aspect) came into the world as perfect examples of mankind, endowed with all the wisdom that men may possess. For wisdom is inborn, a gift of Grace. Experience and knowledge grow with years, but not wisdom. When, therefore, it was said that Solomon never had an equal in understanding, it is evident that Adam and Christ must be excluded from the comparison. In fact, as it turns out, the only competitors are kings; for the gift which Solomon craved and obtained was not general intelligence, but 'kingly prudence.' The story is told in 1 Kings iii, 5–12: 'In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: and God said, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said . . . , Give . . . thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad. . . . And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon had asked this thing. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing . . . Behold, I have done according to thy words: lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart; so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee.'

All this is explained to Dante while he stands in the midst of the twenty-four doctors, who, like blazing orbs, surround him in two concentric rings. The better to visualize the scene, the reader is asked to pick out twenty-four of the brightest fixed stars and imagine them arranged in the shape of a double Ariadne's Crown. Fifteen miscellaneous ones are selected first, there being, according to Ptolemaic astronomy, fifteen stars of the first magnitude in the whole sky. Next are added the seven conspicuous members of the Wain (the Great Bear or Dipper), a constellation which in our climate never sinks below the horizon: cf. Canzone XV, 28–29. The remaining two of the twenty-four are from the horn-like Little Bear (or Little Dipper) whose peak is the North Star; the two chosen — those which, at the other extremity, form the mouth of the horn — are, according to Alfraganus, of the second magnitude.

Imagini chi bene intender cupe
  Quel ch' io or vidi (e ritenga l' image,
  Mentre ch' io dico, come ferma rupe)
Quindici stelle che in diverse plage
  Lo cielo avvivan di tanto sereno 5
  Che soperchia dell' aere ogni compage;
Imagini quel Carro a cui il seno
  Basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno,
  Sì ch' al volger del temo non vien meno;
Imagini la bocca di quel corno 10
  Che si comincia in punta dello stelo
  A cui la prima rota va dintorno —
Aver fatto di sè due segni in cielo

1. *Cupe* (Latin *cupit*), 'wishes.'
4. *Plage* (Latin *plagæ*), 'quarters.'
5. *Sereno*, 'brightness.'
6. *Compage* (Latin *compages: Vulg. El.*, ix, 20, 39), 'composition.'
9. *Temo* = *timone*, 'cart-pole.' — *Vien meno*, 'disappears.'
11. *Punta:* the North Star. — *Stelo*, 'axis.'
12. *Prima rota:* the daily rotation of the heavens.
13. *Aver fatto* depends on *imagini*. — *Sè*, 'themselves.' — *Segni*, 'constellations.'

(Qual fece la figliuola di Minoi
Allora che sentì di morte il gelo), 15
E l' un nell' altro aver li raggi suoi,
Ed ambedue girarsi per maniera
Che l' uno andasse al 'prima' e l' altro al 'poi,' —
Ed avrà quasi l' ombra della vera
Costellazion e della doppia danza 20
Che circulava il punto dov' io era;
Poi ch' è tanto di là da nostra usanza
Quanto di là dal mover della Chiana
Si move il ciel che tutti gli altri avanza.
Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana, 25
Ma tre Persone in divina natura,
Ed in una persona essa e l' umana.
Compiè il cantare e il volger sua misura,
Ed attesersi a noi quei santi lumi,
Felicitando sè di cura in cura. 30
Ruppe il silenzio nei concordi numi
Poscia la luce in che mirabil vita

14. The daughter of King Minos (*Inf.* V, 4) was Ariadne. — The form *Minoi* was taken from the oblique cases of *Minos* (*Minōis*, etc.). — Ariadne was carried to heaven by Bacchus, and her crown was turned into a constellation: *Met.*, VIII, 174–182.

16. *Nell' altro*, 'within the other.'

18. That one should start at the word 'First!' and the other at the word 'Next!'

22. *Di là da*, 'beyond.'

23. The Chiana is a sluggish stream in Tuscany.

24. *Il ciel:* the Primum Mobile, swiftest of the heavens.

25. *Pœan* (accusative *Pœana*) is a name given to Apollo, and also a hymn in his honor. As celebrants of old sang hymns to heathen deities, so the Heavenly chorus sings of the threefold God and the twofold Christ, perhaps in the words of the Anastasian Creed.

27. *Essa:* i. e., *divina natura.*

28. *Cantare* and *volger* are subjects of *compiè.* — *Sua*, 'their.'

30. 'Rejoicing in one occupation (converse with us) after another (their dance).'

31. *Numi*, 'divinities': the blessed spirits. Cf. V, 123.

32. *Luce:* the 'light' of St. Thomas. — *In che*, 'within which' the 'wondrous life' of St. Francis was related.

Del poverel di Dio narrata fumi,
E disse: 'Quando l' una paglia è trita,
Quando la sua semenza è già riposta, 35
A batter l' altra dolce amor m' invita.
Tu credi che nel petto onde la costa
Si trasse per formar la bella guancia
Il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa,
Ed in quel che, forato dalla lancia, 40
E poscia e prima tanto satisfece
Che d' ogni colpa vince la bilancia,
Quantunque alla natura umana lece
Aver di lume, tutto fosse infuso
Da quel Valor che l' uno e l' altro fece; 45
E però ammiri ciò ch' io dissi suso,
Quando narrai che non ebbe il secondo
Lo ben che nella quinta luce è chiuso.
Ora apri gli occhi a quel ch' io ti rispondo,
E vedrai il tüo credere e il mio dire 50
Nel vero farsi come centro in tondo.
Ciò che non more, e ciò che può morire,
Non è se non splendor di quella idea
Che partorisce, amando, il nostro Sire;

33. *Fumi* = *fummi* = *mi fu.* For the rhyme see *Inf.* VIII, 17.
34. *Quando,* 'since.' — *Una paglia:* the question suggested by 'U' ben s' impingua.' Cf. XI, 25 and X, 96. — *Trita,* 'threshed.'
36. *L' altra,* sc. *paglia:* the question raised by 'Non surse il secondo.' Cf. XI, 26 and X, 114.
37. *Petto:* the 'breast' of Adam, whence was taken the 'rib' to form Eve.
40. *Quel,* sc. *petto:* the breast of Christ.
41. Christ's death 'atoned' for original sin in past and future generations.
45. *Valor,* 'Power.'
48. *Ben,* 'goodness.' — *Quinta luce:* the light that envelops the soul of Solomon.
51. A circle has but one point as its centre. The truth is as a mathematical point, in which the two opinions coincide.
52–54. 'In the beginning was the Word' (John i, 1). The Word, or *idea,* is the conception of the universe which the Lord brings forth by his love. The whole immortal and mortal world is only the manifestation of this *idea,* which in its reality exists in God.

Chè quella viva Luce che sì mea 55
Dal suo Lucente che non si disuna
Da lui, nè dall' Amor che a lor s' intrea,
Per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna,
Quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze,
Eternalmente rimanendosi una. 60
Quindi discende all' ultime potenze,
Giù d' atto in atto tanto divenendo
Che più non fa che brevi contingenze;
E queste contingenze essere intendo
Le cose generate, che produce 65
(Con seme e senza seme) il ciel movendo.
La cera di costoro, e chi la duce,
Non sta d' un modo, e però sotto il segno
Idëale poi più e men traluce;
Ond' egli avvien ch' un medesimo legno, 70
Secondo specie, meglio e peggio frutta,
E voi nascete con diverso ingegno.
Se fosse a punto la cera dedutta,

55-57. 'For that living Light (the Son, Wisdom) which so streams from its Lamp (the Father, Power) that it is never divided therefrom, nor from the Love (the Holy Ghost) which is their third part.'

58. 'In its goodness, gathers its radiance together.'

59. The 'nine subsistences' are the nine orders of angels, reflecting the Divine Wisdom which contains the plan of the universe.

60. 'And the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (John i, 1).

61. 'Thence (from the angels) it descends to the ultimate potentialities,' i. e., to the elements, from which all other mortal things may be made.

62-63. 'Coming, step by step, so far down that it finally produces only brief contingencies,' i. e., perishable things of short and dependent existence.

66. *Con seme e senza seme:* animals and vegetables 'with seed,' minerals 'without seed.' — *Il ciel movendo:* Nature.

67. 'Their wax' is matter; 'that which directs it' is Nature, 'the revolving sky.' For *duce*, cf. *Conv.*, Canzone II, 32.

68-69. 'Are not always the same; and therefore it (the light of the divine idea) afterwards shines through (sc. through Nature's work) more or less beneath the ideal pattern.' The material world is inferior to God's conception, and manifests it with more or less imperfection.

71. *Secondo specie*, 'in respect to species.'

73. *A punto*, 'exactly.' — *Dedutta*, 'worked,' prepared.

E fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,
La luce del suggel parrebbe tutta; 75
Ma la natura la dà sempre scema,
Similemente operando all' artista
Ch' ha l' abito dell' arte, e man che trema.
Però se il caldo Amor la chiara Vista
Della prima Virtù dispone e segna, 80
Tutta la perfezion quivi s' acquista.
Così fu fatta già la terra degna
Di tutta l' animal perfezïone;
Così fu fatta la Vergine pregna.
Sì ch' io commendo tua opinïone: 85
Che l' umana natura mai non fue,
Nè fia, qual fu in quelle due persone.
Or s' io non procedessi avanti piùe,
"Dunque come costui fu senza pare?"
Comincerebber le parole tue. 90
Ma perchè paia ben ciò che non pare,
Pensa chi era, e la cagion che il mosse —
Quando fu detto, "Chiedi!" — a domandare.
Non ho parlato sì che tu non posse
Ben veder ch' ei fu re, che chiese senno 95
Acciò che re sufficïente fosse;
Non per saper lo numero in che enno
Li motor di quassù, o se *necesse*

76. *La:* the light. — *Scema*, 'diminished.'
79–80. 'However, if the hot Love prepares and stamps the clear Sight of the primal Power' — if Divine Love directs Divine Wisdom in its creative Power: i. e., if the three Persons of the Trinity collaborate in direct creation. Cf. X, 1–3.
82–84. This happened when 'God formed man of the dust of the ground' (Gen. ii, 7), and when Christ was conceived.
88. *Piùe = più:* cf. I, 19.
94. *Posse = possa.*
97–98. *Enno = sono.* — The question of the number of the heavenly motors, or angels, had been treated by Plato and Aristotle, and is discussed by Dante in *Conv.* II, v and vi. The angels are almost countless.

Con contingente mai *necesse* fenno;
Non *si est dare primum motum esse*, 100
O se del mezzo cerchio far si puote
Triangol sì ch' un retto non avesse.
Onde, se ciò ch' io dissi e questo note,
Regal prudenza è quel vedere impari
In che lo stral di mia intenzion percote. 105
E, se al "surse" drizzi gli occhi chiari,
Vedrai aver solamente rispetto
Ai regi (che son molti, e i buon son rari).
Con questa distinzion prendi il mio detto,
E così puote star con quel che credi 110
Del primo padre e del nostro Diletto.
E questo ti sia sempre piombo ai piedi,
Per farti mover lento, com' uom lasso,
Ed al "sì" ed al "no" che tu non vedi.
Chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso 115
Che senza distinzion afferma o nega,
Nell' un così come nell' altro passo;
Perch' egl' incontra che più volte piega
L' opinïon corrente in falsa parte,
E poi l' affetto lo intelletto lega. 120

98–99. 'Or whether an absolute premise with a conditional premise have ever produced an absolute conclusion': a scholastic problem in logic, also touched upon by Plato and Aristotle. The answer is 'no.'

100. 'Not, whether a prime motion is to be admitted,' i. e., a motion independent of any cause: see Aristotle, *Physics*, VIII, i, ii. All motion is dependent on God: *Mon.*, I, ix, 10–15.

102. *Retto*, 'right angle': Euclid, III, 31. Here again the answer is 'no.'

103–105. 'Wherefore, — if thou notest what I said, and this, — that peerless vision which the arrow of my intention hits is kingly prudence.'

106. *Al "surse"*: to my phrase, '*Non surse il secondo*.'

117. 'In the one case as well as in the other': whether he affirms or denies.

118. *Egl' incontra*, 'it happens.'

119. *Corrente*, 'hasty.' — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xv, 151–167.

120. *Affetto*, 'fondness' for one's own opinion.

Vie più che indarno da riva si parte
(Perchè non torna tal qual ei si move)
Chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l' arte.
E di ciò sono al mondo aperte prove
Parmenide, Melisso, Brisso e molti 125
I quali andavano, e non sapean dove.
Sì fe' Sabellio ed Arrio, e quegli stolti
Che furon come spade alle scritture
In render torti li diritti volti.
Non sien le genti ancor troppo sicure 130
A giudicar, sì come quei che stima
Le biade in campo pria che sien mature.
Ch' io ho veduto tutto il verno prima
Il prun mostrarsi rigido e feroce,
Poscia portar la rosa in sulla cima; 135
E legno vidi già dritto e veloce
Correr lo mar per tutto suo cammino,
Perire al fine all' entrar della foce.
Non creda donna Berta o ser Martino,

121. *Vie più*, 'far worse.' — The subject of *si parte* is *chi* in l. 123.
125. Parmenides, Melissus, and Bryson are Greek philosophers criticized by Aristotle. Cf. *Mon.*, III, iv, 30–33.
127. Sabellius and Arius are heretical theologians. The first denied the Trinity; the second, founder of the Arians, denied the Consubstantiality of Father and Son.
128–129. Instead of reflecting the Scriptures accurately, like a glass, they gave a distorted image of them, similar to faces mirrored in sword-blades.
130–131. 1 Cor. iv, 5: 'Therefore judge nothing before the time.' Cf. *Cons.*, IV, Pr. vi.
134. *Prun*, 'briar.' — *Feroce*, 'wild.' — Cf. William of Poitiers, *Ab la dolchor del temps novel*, 13–18:

'La nostr' amor va enaissi
Com la branca del albespi,
Qu' esta sobre l' arbr' en treman
La nuoit, ab la ploia ez al gel,
Tro l'endeman, qu' el sol s' espan
Per la fueilla verz el ramel.'

136. *Legno*, 'boat.'
139. *Berta* and *Martino* were equivalent to our 'Tom, Dick, and Harry.' Cf. *Conv.*, I, viii, 94; *Vulg. El.*, II, vi, 34.

Per vedere un furare, altro offerere, 140
Vedergli dentro al consiglio divino;
Chè quel può surgere, e quel può cadere.'

140. *Per vedere,* 'seeing.'—*Furare,* 'steal.'—Cf. James iv, 13–14.

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

THE nearer we are to God, the more beatitude we are capable of receiving. Now, inasmuch as man was made to consist of both spirit and matter, it follows that the blest will be more perfect after the resurrection than before, and therefore more like to God, who is absolute perfection. As St. Thomas says (*Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xciii, Art. 1): 'Anima conjuncta corpori glorioso est magis Deo similis quam ab eo separata, inquantum conjuncta habet esse perfectius: quanto enim est aliquid perfectius, tanto est Deo similius.' The bodiless soul in Heaven has full spiritual happiness; but when clad again in the flesh it will possess bodily happiness as well: its joy will be increased 'extensively.' Therefore the blest, while feeling no sorrow, look forward with pleasure to the Judgment Day, when, as they know, they will be complete, more akin to their Maker, and endowed with an additional capacity for blessedness. 'Omne autem imperfectum,' says St. Thomas (*loc. cit.*), 'appetit suam perfectionem et ideo anima separata naturaliter appetit corporis conjunctionem.'

The effulgence that clothes the soul will remain after the restoration of the flesh, but it will not dazzle the bodily eyes; for the glorified body can suffer nothing except through the spirit. This 'claritas' is discussed by St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxxv, Art. 1-3. In Article 1 he says: 'Sicut corpus gloriosum non potest pati aliquid passione naturæ, sed solum passione animæ; ita ex proprietate gloriæ non agit nisi actione animæ. Claritas autem intensa non offendit visum, inquantum agit actione animæ, sed secundum hoc magis delectat; offendit autem, inquantum agit actione naturæ. . . . Et ideo claritas corporis gloriosi, quamvis excedat claritatem solis, tamen de sua natura non offendit visum, sed demulcet.'

This doctrine is appropriately imparted to Dante in the solar sphere. Thence he is uplifted to Mars, and is made aware of his rise by a difference in the light that surrounds him, the white sheen of the sun being changed suddenly to the glow of the ruddy planet. Here a grand spectacle confronts him, more startling than the rings of bright spirits he has just seen. The star is traversed

by two immense shining bands, — each like a milky way, — which, intersecting, form a huge Cross, composed of the souls of warriors of the Faith. Through the glittering mass sparklike figures continually dart to and fro. We shall see presently that the two remaining planets are adorned by the poet's fancy with similar majestic images: in Jupiter we shall find the vast Imperial Eagle, also made up of gleaming spirits; in Saturn, Jacob's Ladder, the token of contemplation. In these three emblems — Cross, Eagle, Ladder — is summed up all that the Middle Ages held dearest. With such glorious symbols our author — using no materials but light, motion, and music — contrives to enrich and diversify his portrayal of the upper heavens.

Dal centro al cerchio, e sì dal cerchio al centro,
Movesi l' acqua in un ritondo vaso,
Secondo ch' è percossa fuori o dentro.
Nella mia mente fe' subito caso
Questo ch' io dico, sì come si tacque 5
La gloriosa vita di Tommaso,
Per la similitudine che nacque
Del suo parlare e di quel di Beatrice,
A cui sì cominciar, dopo lui, piacque:
'A costui fa mestieri, — e nol vi dice 10
Nè con la voce, nè pensando ancora, —
D' un altro vero andare alla radice.
Ditegli se la luce, onde s' infiora
Vostra sustanzia, rimarrà con voi
Eternalmente sì com' ella è ora; 15
E se rimane, dite come, poi

1. *Cerchio*, 'rim.'
4. *Fe' subito caso*, 'suddenly occurred.' The subject of *fe'* is *questo ch' io dico* in l. 5.
7–9. The sound-waves proceeding from St. Thomas, in the ring of bright spirits, and from Beatrice, in the centre, remind Dante of the circular ripples in a round vessel, when the water is stirred at the edge or in the middle. A similar comparison is to be found in Boethius, *Institutio Musicæ*, I, xiv: cf. R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, 228.

Che sarete visibili rifatti,
Esser potrà ch' al veder non vi noi.'
Come da più letizia pinti e tratti
Alla fïata quei che vanno a rota 20
Levan la voce, e rallegrano gli atti,
Così all' orazion pronta e devota
Li santi cerchi mostrar nuova gioia
Nel tornëar e nella mira nota.
Qual si lamenta perchè qui si moia, 25
Per viver colassù, non vide quive
Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia.
Quell' Uno e Due e Tre che sempre vive,
E regna sempre in Tre e Due ed Uno,
Non circonscritto, e tutto circonscrive, 30
Tre volte era cantato da ciascuno
Di quegli spirti con tal melodia
Ch' ad ogni merto saria giusto muno.
Ed io udi' nella luce più dia
Del minor cerchio una voce modesta, 35
Forse qual fu dall' angelo a Maria,
Risponder: 'Quanto fia lunga la festa
Di Paradiso, tanto il nostro amore
Si raggerà dintorno cotal vesta.

17. *Visibili*, 'seeing' with bodily eyes. Cf. *risible*, 'laughing,' 'capable of laughter,' in *V. N.*, XXV, 20.
18. 'It can be that it will not harm your sight.' — *Noi* is from *noiare*.
20. *Alla fiata*, 'from time to time.' Cf. *Bull.*, X, 6. — *Rota*, 'round,' dance.
24. *Mira nota*, 'wondrous tune.'
25. *Qual*, 'whosoever.' — *Qui:* on earth.
26. *Non vide quive*, 'has never seen here' (on earth).
27. *Refrigerio*, 'refreshment.' Cf. Manzoni, *Adelchi*, chorus on the death of Ermengarda, 69. — *Ploia:* the 'rain' of Grace.
28–30. Once more the souls celebrate the mystery of the Trinity. Cf. XIII, 26.
33. *Muno* (Latin *munus*), 'reward.'
34. *Dia* =*diva*. — The 'light' is that of Solomon: X, 109.
36. *Angelo:* Gabriel. Cf. Luke i, 28.

La sua chiarezza seguirà l' ardore, 40
L' ardor la visïone, e quella è tanta
Quanta ha di grazia sopra il suo valore.
Come la carne gloriösa e santa
Fia rivestita, la nostra persona
Più grata fia per esser tutta quanta. 45
Per che s' accrescerà ciò che ne dona
Di gratuïto lume il Sommo Bene —
Lume ch' a lui veder ne condiziona;
Onde la visïon crescer conviene,
Crescer l' ardor che di quella s' accende, 50
Crescer lo raggio che da esso viene.
Ma sì come carbon che fiamma rende,
E per vivo candor quella soperchia
Sì che la sua parvenza si difende,
Così questo fulgor, che già ne cerchia, 55
Fia vinto in apparenza dalla carne
Che tutto dì la terra ricoperchia;
Nè potrà tanta luce affaticarne,
Chè gli organi del corpo saran forti
A tutto ciò che potrà dilettarne.' 60
Tanto mi parver subiti ed accorti
E l' uno e l' altro coro a dicer 'Amme'

40–42. The brightness of the 'garment' of light shall be proportionate to the fervency of love in each soul, the love shall be proportionate to the distinctness of its vision of God, and that vision is a gift of Grace, or predestination, not dependent on merit. —*Sopra suo valore*, 'beyond its desert.'

43. *Come*, 'when': on the Judgment Day.

45. *Per esser tutta quanta*, 'through being entire.' Man is composed of both flesh and spirit, and is incomplete if either element is lacking.

48. *Condiziona*, 'fits.'

53. *Quella soperchia*, 'outshines it' (the flame). The coal glows through the flame that envelops it.

54. 'So that its visibility is maintained.'

56. *Apparenza*, 'distinctness.'

57. *Tutto dì*, 'still,' 'as yet.'

60. *Dilettarne*, 'delight us.'

62. *Amme*, 'amen.'

Che ben mostrar disio dei corpi morti;
Forse non pur per lor, ma per le mamme,
Per li padri, e per gli altri che fur cari 65
Anzi che fosser sempiterne fiamme.
Ed ecco intorno, di chiarezza pari,
Nascere un lustro sopra quel che v' era,
Per guisa d' orizzonte che rischiari.
E sì come al salir di prima sera 70
Comincian per lo ciel nuove parvenze,
Sì che la vista pare e non par vera;
Parvemi lì novelle sussistenze
Cominciar a vedere, e fare un giro
Di fuor dall' altre due circonferenze. 75
O vero isfavillar del Santo Spiro!
Come si fece subito e candente
Agli occhi miei, che vinti non soffriro!
Ma Bëatrice sì bella e ridente
Mi si mostrò che tra quelle vedute 80
Si vuol lasciar che non seguir la mente.
Quindi ripreser gli occhi miei virtute
A rilevarsi, e vidimi translato
Sol con mia Donna in più alta salute.
Ben m' accors' io ch' io era più levato, 85

64. *Non pur per lor*, 'not for themselves alone.'
67. *Di chiarezza pari*, 'of even brightness.'
68. *Sopra*, 'beyond.' Cf. Acts xxvi, 13: 'I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and those which journeyed with me.' — Just as Dante is about to leave this sphere, a new host of loving spirits begins to appear, like a gleaming horizon, around the two rings of shining souls. Why this army of the Holy Ghost — the throng of those who were wise in the things of the Spirit — thus momentarily and mysteriously reveals itself, we are not told.
71. *Parvenze*, 'appearances': stars, faint in the twilight.
78. *Non soffriro*, 'endured it not.'
81. *Si vuol lasciar*, 'must be left.' — *Che non seguir la mente*, 'which followed not my memory.'

Per l' affocato riso della stella,
Che mi parea più roggio che l' usato.
Con tutto il core, e con quella favella
Ch' è una in tutti, a Dio feci olocausto,
Qual conveniasi alla grazia novella; 90
E non er' anco del mio petto esausto
L' ardor del sacrificio, ch' io conobbi
Esso litare stato accetto e fausto;
Chè con tanto lucore e tanto robbi
M' apparvero splendor dentro a due raggi 95
Ch' io dissi: 'O Elïos che sì gli addobbi!'
Come, distinta da minori e maggi
Lumi, biancheggia tra i poli del mondo
Galassia sì che fa dubbiar ben saggi,
Sì costellati facean nel profondo 100
Marte quei rai il venerabil segno
Che fan giunture di quadranti in tondo.
Qui vince la memoria mia lo ingegno;
Chè quella croce lampeggiava Cristo,
Sì ch' io non so trovare esemplo degno. 105
Ma chi prende sua croce e segue Cristo,
Ancor mi scuserà di quel ch' io lasso,

88. *Quella favella:* unspoken prayer.
89. *Olocausto*, 'holocaust,' offering.
93. *Litare* (a Latin infinitive, used here as a noun), 'offering.'
94. *Tanto robbi*, 'so ruddy.'
96. *Elios*, 'Sun': God, the source of light. According to the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, ἥλιος, the Greek word for 'sun,' comes from the Hebrew *Eli*, 'God.' — *Gli addobbi*, 'adornest them.'
99. The Galaxy, or Milky Way, was differently explained by different authorities. Cf. *Conv.*, II, xv, 46–86.
102. 'Which joinings of quadrants make in a circle.' Two diameters of a circle, intersecting at right angles, form a cross, and divide the circle into four quadrants.
103. *Memoria* is the subject of *vince*.
104. *Croce* is the subject of *lampeggiava*, 'flashed forth.' — Once more *Cristo* occurs in the rhyme: cf. XII, 71.
106. Cf. Mat. x, 38; xvi, 24.

Vedendo in quell' albor balenar Cristo.
Di corno in corno, e tra la cima e il basso,
Si movean lumi, scintillando forte 110
Nel congiungersi insieme e nel trapasso.
Così si veggion qui diritte e torte,
Veloci e tarde, rinnovando vista,
Le minuzie dei corpi lunghe e corte
Moversi per lo raggio, onde si lista 115
Tal volta l' ombra che per sua difesa
La gente con ingegno ed arte acquista.
E come giga ed arpa, in tempra tesa
Di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno
A tal da cui la nota non è intesa, 120
Così dai lumi che lì m' apparinno
S' accogliea per la croce una melode,
Che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno.
Ben m' accors' io ch' ell' era d' alte lode,
Perocchè a me venia: 'Risurgi e vinci,' 125
Com' a colui che non intende ed ode.
Io m' innamorava tanto quinci
Che infino a lì non fu alcuna cosa
Che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci.

109. *Corno*, 'horn': arm of the cross.
112. The moving lights in the cross are compared to bits of dust dancing in a ray of sunshine in a dark room. Cf. Lucretius, II, 116–119. — *Qui:* on earth. — *Torte*, 'aslant.'
113. *Rinnovando vista*, 'changing aspect.'
114. *Minuzie*, 'particles.'
115. *Onde si lista*, 'with which is streaked.'
116. *Per sua difesa*, 'for self-protection' from the sun.
117. *La gente . . . acquista*, 'people obtain,' by building houses. In warm countries the house is regarded primarily as a shelter from the heat.
118. *Giga*, 'viol.' — *Tesa*, 'strung.'
125. The song which Dante cannot entirely catch is evidently a triumphal hymn to Christ, sung by the knights of the Cross. In the missal for Thursday of Easter week there is a sequence: 'Resumpta carne resurgit victor die in tertia.'
127. *Io* here has two syllables. — *Quinci*, 'with it.' 129. *Vinci*, 'ties.'

Forse la mia parola par tropp' osa, 130
 Posponendo il piacer degli occhi belli
 Ne' quai mirando mio disio ha posa.
Ma chi s' avvede che i vivi suggelli
 D' ogni bellezza più fanno più suso,
 E ch' io non m' era lì rivolto a quelli, 135
Escusar puommi di quel ch' io m' accuso
 Per escusarmi, e vedermi dir vero;
 Chè il piacer santo non è qui dischiuso,
Perchè si fa, montando, più sincero.

130. *Osa*, 'bold': cf. *Purg.* XI, 126.

131. *Posponendo*, 'subordinating,' giving a secondary place to the eyes of Beatrice. Dante seems to be rating the song above those 'beauteous eyes'; but, as he presently explains, he is not really doing so, since he has not yet looked upon them in this sphere.

133. 'The living stamps of all beauty' are Beatrice's eyes, which become more potent from sphere to sphere, as she approaches God. In *Conv.*, II, xv, 27–37, Dante calls the eyes of Philosophy her *demonstrations*, 'le quali dritte negli occhi dello intelletto innamorano l' anima.'

135. *Quelli:* the eyes.

136–137. 'May excuse me for that (i. e., l. 131) of which I accuse myself in order to excuse myself' — i. e., for the accusation which I bring against myself merely in order to have an opportunity to deny it — 'and may see that I am telling the truth.'

138. 'For that holy delight (the eyes) is not cast out (set aside, as of less account than the song) here.'

139. *Più sincero*, 'purer.'

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

'Isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Ænean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
Effusæ genis lacrimæ, et vox excidit ore:
"Venisti tandem, tuaque expectata parenti
Vicit iter durum pietas!"'

Thus Virgil, in the sixth book of the *Æneid* (ll. 684–688) describes the meeting of Æneas and the shade of his father, Anchises, in the Elysian Fields. Dante, too, in the realm of the blest, finds the spirit of an ancestor who has long been awaiting him — his great-great-grandfather, Cacciaguida, a crusader, knighted by the Emperor. A person of that name appears in a document of 1131. Aside from what is told us in the *Paradiso*, we know nothing of Cacciaguida, nor of his wife, Alagheria, who came from somewhere in the Po valley, nor of his two brothers, Moronto and Eliseo. There was in Florence an Elisei family from Rome, but there is no evidence of a connection between them and the Alighieri. Cacciaguida had a son Alighiero, father of Bellincione, who likewise had a son Alighiero, father of Dante.

In the first rapture of fatherly welcome, the old warrior forgets to adapt his speech to mortal comprehension, and pours forth his love in words 'so deep' that Dante cannot fathom his meaning. When the fire of his affection has subsided to a steady glow, and his language no longer passes earthly understanding, he proceeds to tell his descendant of the good old Florence of the first half of the 12th century. A strikingly similar picture is to be found in G. Villani's *Croniche*, VI, lxxi. Those were the days of plain living and domestic peace. Women were sure they would not have to end their days in exile, nor were they left alone while their husbands went to France on business. In one of those sweet scenes of home life which our poet sketches from time to time, we see a woman watching over the cradle, soothing her child with the baby talk 'which first amuses fathers and mothers'; another matron, while she 'draws the tresses from her distaff,' retails to her little ones the folk-lore of her day, the legends of the founding of Fiesole,

Troy, and Rome — stories happily preserved for us in the first book of Villani and in other chronicles.

See M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, 1896; N. Zingarelli, *Dante*, 1900.

Benigna volontade, — in cui si liqua
Sempre l' amor che drittamente spira,
Come cupidità fa nell' iniqua, —
Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,
E fece quïetar le sante corde 5
Che la destra del cielo allenta e tira.
Come saranno ai giusti preghi sorde
Quelle sustanzie, che, per darmi voglia
Ch' io le pregassi, a tacer fur concorde?
Ben è che senza termine si doglia 10
Chi, per amor di cosa che non duri,
Eternalmente quell' amor si spoglia.
Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri
Discorre ad ora ad or subito foco,
Movendo gli occhi che stavan sicuri, 15
E pare stella che tramuti loco,
Se non che dalla parte ond' ei s' accende
Nulla sen perde, ed esso dura poco;
Tale, dal corno che in destro si stende,
Al piè di quella croce corse un astro 20
Della costellazion che lì risplende;

1. *Liqua* (Latin *liquet*), 'is manifest.'
3. *Iniqua:* sc., *volontade*.
4. *Lira:* the spirits in the Cross.
10. *Ben è*, 'it is right.'
13. *Seren*, 'clear skies.'
14. *Subito foco:* a meteor. Meteors were explained as dry vapors which had risen so high as to take fire, and then plunged back towards the earth.
15. *Movendo*, 'startling.' — *Sicuri*, 'calm.'

Nè si partì la gemma dal suo nastro,
  Ma per la lista radïal trascorse,
  Che parve foco retro ad alabastro.
Sì pïa l' ombra d' Anchise si porse 25
  (Se fede mertà nostra maggior Musa),
  Quando in Elisio del figlio s' accorse.
'*O sanguis mëus, o superinfusa*
  Gratïa Deï! sicut tibi, cui
  Bis unquam cœli ianüa reclusa?' 30
Così quel lume; ond' io m' attesi a lui.
  Poscia rivolsi alla mia Donna il viso,
  E quinci e quindi stupefatto fui;
Chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso
  Tal ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo 35
  Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso.
Indi, ad udire ed a veder giocondo,
  Giunse lo spirto al suo principio cose
  Ch' io non intesi, sì parlò profondo.
Nè per elezïon mi si nascose, 40
  Ma per necessità, chè il suo concetto
  Al segno dei mortal si soprappose.

22. 'The gem did not leave its ribbon': the bright spirit did not go outside the Cross. Silk ribbons studded with pearls were common in Dante's time.

23. *Radial lista*, 'radiant strip.'

24. *Che parve*, 'resembling.' — *Alabastro:* a translucent screen.

26. Cf. the 'tu dici' of *Inf.* II, 13. Cf. also *Conv.*, IV, xxvi, 60: 'Virgilio, lo maggior nostro Poeta.'

28–30. 'O blood of mine, O lavish grace of God! To whom was Heaven's gate ever twice opened, as to thee?' Heaven receives Dante now, and will receive him again after his death; such a thing has never happened since the days of St. Paul. — The use of Latin — the language of Church and school — adds dignity to this celestial greeting. It is made more appropriate by the reminiscence of Anchises, to whom, indeed, the phrase 'sanguis meus' (meaning 'my child') belongs: 'Proice tela manu, sanguis meus,' in *Æn.*, VI, 835, where Anchises is addressing Julius Cæsar.

34–36. Until now, Dante has not looked into the eyes of Beatrice in this sphere.

37. 'Then, joyous to hear and see.'

42. *Si soprappose*, 'shot above.'

E quando l' arco dell' ardente affetto
Fu sì sfocato che il parlar discese
Inver lo segno del nostro intelletto, 45
La prima cosa che per me s' intese,
'Benedetto sie tu,' fu, 'Trino ed Uno,
Che nel mio seme sei tanto cortese.'
E seguitò: 'Grato e lontan digiuno,
Tratto leggendo nel magno volume 50
U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno,
Soluto hai, figlio, dentro a questo lume
In ch' io ti parlo, mercè di colei
Ch' all' alto volo ti vestì le piume.
Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei 55
Da quel ch' è primo, così come raia
Dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei.
E però chi io mi sia, e perch' io paia
Più gaudïoso a te, non mi domandi,
Che alcun altro in questa turba gaia. 60
Tu credi il vero; chè minori e grandi
Di questa vita miran nello speglio
In che, prima che pensi, il pensier pandi.
Ma perchè il sacro amore in che io veglio
Con perpetüa vista, e che m' asseta 65
Di dolce disïar, s' adempia meglio,
La voce tua sicura, balda e lieta

49. The 'welcome and long-felt hunger' is the object of 'thou hast relieved' in l. 52.

50. *Tratto*, 'derived' from reading of Dante's visit in the Book of Fate, 'where white and black are never altered.'

55. *Mei*, 'flows.'

56. *Raia*, 'radiates.' Unity is the beginning of number, as God is the beginning of thought; from the conception of unity is derived the conception of all numbers, and in the divine mind all thought is contained.

60. *Che*, 'than,' connecting with *più gaudioso* in l. 59.

63. *Pandi*, 'revealest.'

Suoni la volontà, suoni il disio,
A che la mia risposta è già decreta.'
Io mi volsi a Beatrice, e quella udìo 70
Pria ch' io parlassi, ed arrosemi un cenno
Che fece crescer l' ali al voler mio.
Poi cominciai così: 'L' affetto e il senno,
Come la prima Equalità v' apparse,
D' un peso per ciascun di voi si fenno; 75
Però che il Sol, che v' allumò ed arse
Col caldo e con la luce, è sì iguali
Che tutte simiglianze sono scarse.
Ma voglia ed argomento nei mortali,
Per la cagion ch' a voi è manifesta, 80
Diversamente son pennuti in ali.
Ond' io, che son mortal, mi sento in questa
Disagguaglianza, e però non ringrazio,
Se non col core, alla paterna festa.
Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio, 85
Che questa gioia preziosa ingemmi,
Perchè mi facci del tuo nome sazio.'
'O fronda mia, in che io compiacemmi
Pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice.'
Cotal principio, rispondendo, femmi. 90
Poscia mi disse: 'Quel da cui si dice

71. *Arrose* (from *arrogere*), 'added.' Other texts have *arrise.*
73–75. 'As soon as the primal Equality (God, in whom all powers are perfect and therefore equal) revealed himself to you, desire and faculty in each one of you became equal in weight': the blest have no wish which they have not intelligence to fulfil.
77. *Caldo:* desire. — *Luce:* intelligence.— *Sì iguali*, 'so perfectly balanced.' *Iguali* is singular.
78. *Simiglianze*, 'comparisons.'
79. *Argomento*, 'means': wit to execute the *voglia.*
86. *Gioia*, 'jewel': the Cross.
88. Cf. Mat. iii, 17: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'

Tua cognazion, e che cent' anni e piùe
Girato ha il monte in la prima cornice,
Mio figlio fu, e tuo bisavo fue.
Ben si convien che la lunga fatica 95
Tu gli raccorci con l' opere tue.
Fiorenza dentro dalla cerchia antica
(Ond' ella toglie ancora e terza e nona)
Si stava in pace, sobria e pudica.
Non avea catenella, non corona, 100
Non donne contigiate, non cintura
Che fosse a veder più che la persona.
Non faceva nascendo ancor paura
La figlia al padre, chè il tempo e la dote
Non fuggìan quinci e quindi la misura. 105
Non avea case di famiglia vote;
Non v' era giunto ancor Sardanapalo
A mostrar ciò che in camera si puote.

92. *Cognazion*, 'surname': Alighieri. Alighiero (or Allagherius), son of Cacciaguida, was the first male member of the family to bear this name, which, as we learn presently, he derived from his mother. His name occurs in documents of 1189 (where it is joined with that of his brother Preitenitto) and 1201. The *cent' anni e piùe* would seem, therefore, to indicate ignorance of the exact date of his death.

93. *Prima cornice:* the circle of Pride, in Purgatory. Dante apparently regarded pride as a family failing.

96. *Opere:* prayers.

97. *Cerchia antica:* the old city walls.

98. Beside these walls stood the ancient Abbey, whose bell continued, in Dante's day, to mark the hours for the Florentines. 'Tierce' is the period from 6 to 9 A. M.; 'nones,' that from noon to 3 P. M.

100. *Catenella*, 'bracelet.'

101. *Contigiate*, 'fine shod.'

102. *La persona:* the wearer.

104–105. The marriageable age had not yet become absurdly low, nor the dowry ruinously high.

106. There were no houses built on too large a scale for their occupants.

107–108. Sardanapālus, king of Assyria, was notorious in antiquity for his luxury and effeminacy. He is mentioned by Paulus Orosius and Egidio Colonna. Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, X, 362:

'Et Venere et cœnis et pluma Sardanapali.'

Non era vinto ancora Montemalo
  Dal vostro Uccellatoio, che, com' è vinto 110
  Nel montar su, così sarà nel calo.
Bellincion Berti vid' io andar cinto
  Di cuoio e d' osso, e venir dallo specchio
  La donna sua senza il viso dipinto;
E vidi quel de' Nerli e quel del Vecchio 115
  Esser contenti alla pelle scoperta,
  E le sue donne al fuso ed al pennecchio.
O fortunate! Ciascuna era certa
  Della sua sepoltura, ed ancor nulla
  Era per Francia nel letto deserta. 120
L' una vegghiava a studio della culla,
  E consolando usava l' idïoma
  Che prima i padri e le madri trastulla;
L' altra, traëndo alla rocca la chioma,
  Favoleggiava con la sua famiglia 125
  De' Troiani, di Fiesole, e di Roma.
Saria tenuta allor tal maraviglia
  Una Cianghella, un Lapo Salterello,

109–111. Rome was not yet surpassed in splendor by Florence, which has been swifter in its rise and will be swifter in its fall. Montemalo (or Montemallo), now Montemario, is a hill that affords the approaching traveler a view of Rome; similarly the height called Uccellatoio offers the stranger, as he draws near, an outlook on Florence. In *Uccellatoio* the *-toio* counts as one syllable: cf. *Purg.* XIII, 22; XIV, 66; XX, 52. — *Che* in l. 110 refers to *Montemalo*. — *Calo*, 'decline.'

112. Bellincion Berti, father of the 'good Gualdrada' of *Inf.* XVI, 37, was a worthy and distinguished Florentine citizen of the second half of the 12th century. Cf. G. Villani, *Croniche*, IV, ii.

115. Of the Nerli and del Vecchio families virtually nothing is known.

116. *Pelle scoperta*, 'bare leather.'

117. Cf. Pr. xxxi, 19: 'She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff.'

128. Cianghella, of the della Tosa family, a contemporary of Dante, seems to have been notorious for her immodesty. Boccaccio speaks of her in the *Corbaccio*, 228–230. — Lapo Salterello, also of Dante's time and one of his fellow-exiles, a jurist and versifier, was in general a man of good renown; but Dino

Qual or saria Cincinnato e Corniglia.
A così riposato, a così bello 130
Viver di cittadini, a così fida
Cittadinanza, a così dolce ostello,
Maria mi die', chiamata in alte grida,
E nell' antico vostro Batisteo
Insieme fui cristiano e Cacciaguida. 135
Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo;
Mia donna venne a me di val di Pado,
E quindi il soprannome tuo si feo.
Poi seguitai lo imperador Currado,
Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia, 140
Tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
Dietro gli andai incontro alla nequizia
Di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa,
Per colpa dei pastor, vostra giustizia.
Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa 145
Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
Il cui amor molte anime deturpa;
E venni dal martiro a questa pace.'

Compagni, in his *Cronica*, II, xxii, enumerates him among the 'malvagi cittadini,' and accuses him of corrupt practices.

129. For Cincinnatus, the ploughman dictator, cf. VI, 46; for Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, *Inf.* IV, 128.

133. *Chiamata:* invoked in the pains of childbirth.

134. *Batisteo* = *Battistero*. Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 17.

139. Conrad III, of Swabia, leader of the crusade of 1147.

140. *Milizia*, 'knighthood.'

143. *Legge*, 'faith:' Mohammedanism.

144. *Pastor:* the Popes, who are no longer interested in the reconquest of the Holy Land.

145. *Turpa* = *turpe*, 'base.'

146. *Disviluppato*, 'released.'

147. *Deturpa*, 'debases.'

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

'Jam vero quam sit inane, quam futile nobilitatis nomen, quis non videat?' says Boethius, in *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, III, Pr. vi. Other authors known to our poet, in Latin, Provençal, and Italian, disparage the glory of birth, and exalt the true nobility of character. Dante himself devotes the third Canzone of the *Convivio* to the development of this theme, and touches upon it in *De Monarchia*, II, iii, 15–20. Yet in the presence of his belted ancestor he cannot check a feeling of family pride, which betrays itself by the use of the respectful 'voi.' Amid the mortifications of exile, he must have taken real satisfaction in the thought of the knighthood won by old Cacciaguida; and in the *Paradiso* he makes the most of this distinguished forbear. To him he assigns a minute description of ancient Florence, and into his mouth he puts — in the next canto — a touching account of Dante's own banishment. In answer to the poet's questions concerning his people, the time of his boyhood, the size of Florence in his day, and the prominent men of the city, Cacciaguida furnishes us with a few precious biographical facts and an abundance of antiquarian information. In the long list of families illustrious two centuries before, but for the most part insignificant in 1300, we note a great many Germanic names, representing the old feudal aristocracy. Others, such as Caponsacco and Infangato, were evidently, at the start, humorous nicknames, handed down to descendants.

O poca nostra nobiltà di sangue!
  Se gloriar di te la gente fai
  Quaggiù, dove l' affetto nostro langue,
Mirabil cosa non mi sarà mai;
  Chè là, dove appetito non si torce, — 5
  Dico nel cielo, — io me ne gloriai.
Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,

7. *Raccorce* = *raccorci*, 'shrinkest.'

Sì che, se non s' appon di dìe in dìe,
Lo tempo va dintorno con le force.
Dal 'voi,' che prima Roma sofferìe, — 10
In che la sua famiglia men persevra, —
Ricominciaron le parole mie.
Onde Beatrice, ch' era un poco scevra,
Ridendo, parve quella che tossìo
Al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra. 15
Io cominciai: 'Voi siete il padre mio,
Voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza,
Voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io.
Per tanti rivi s' empie d' allegrezza
La mente mia che di sè fa letizia, 20
Perchè può sostener che non si spezza.
Ditemi dunque, cara mia primizia,
Quai fur li vostri antichi, e quai fur gli anni
Che si segnaro in vostra puërizia.
Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni 25
Quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti
Tra esso degne di più alti scanni.'
Come s' avviva allo spirar dei venti
Carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella

8. *Se non s' appon*, 'unless we patch thee out.'

10. According to tradition, the plural *vos* was first used, in addressing one person, when Julius Cæsar made himself Emperor. Cf. *Phars.*, V, 381–386. — *Dal*, 'with the.'

11. Rome, the seat of the Papacy, is now the place where the Emperor is least honored. And in the environs of Rome *tu* is employed much more freely than in the more northerly parts of Italy.

12. Cf. l. 16.

13–15. Beatrice, 'who stood a little apart,' smiled indulgently at Dante's weakness, just as, in the Old French romance of *Lancelot du Lac* (cf. *Inf.* V, 127–138), the Dame de Malehaut, watching the first clandestine interview of Guenever and Lancelot, coughed on hearing the impassioned speech of the Queen. — *Fallo scritto*, 'recorded fault.'

20. *Che di sè fa letizia*, 'that it congratulates itself.'

21. 'On being able to endure without bursting.'

25. John the Baptist is the patron saint of Florence.

28–29. Cf. *Met.*, VII, 79–81.

Luce risplendere a' miei blandimenti; 30
E come agli occhi miei si fe' più bella,
Così con voce più dolce e soave,
Ma non con questa moderna favella,
Dissemi: 'Da quel dì che fu detto "*Ave*,"
Al parto in che mia madre, — ch' è or santa, — 35
S' alleviò di me ond' era grave,
Al suo Lëon cinquecento cinquanta
E trenta fiate venne questo foco
A rinfiammarsi sotto la sua pianta.
Gli antichi miei ed io nacqui nel loco 40
Dove si trova pria l' ultimo sesto
Da quel che corre il vostro annüal gioco.
Basti de' miei maggiori udirne questo;
Chi ei si furo, ed onde venner quivi,
Più è tacer che ragionare onesto. 45
Tutti color ch' a quel tempo eran ivi
Da poter arme, tra Marte e il Batista,

33. Dante cannot reproduce the old-fashioned speech of Cacciaguida, but he suggests it with this line. He was aware that the vulgar tongue changes from generation to generation. Cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, ix, 50–93; *Conv.*, I, v, 55–66.

34. *Da quel dì*, etc.: from the Annunciation (Luke i, 28). The Florentine year began with the Conception, March 25.

37–39. 'This fire (Mars) came 580 times to its Lion, to be rekindled under its paw.' Between the Conception — the beginning of the year 1 — and the birth of Cacciaguida, Mars returned 580 times to the constellation of Leo, which, being of like disposition to Mars, reinforces the influence of that planet. As Mars completes its revolution in 687 days, we shall get the year of Cacciaguida's birth by multiplying 687 by 580 and dividing by 365: 1091. He was therefore 56 when he followed the crusade. Cf. Moore, III, 59–60.

41–42. 'Where the last ward (the part of the city called Porta S. Piero) is first reached by the runner in your annual sports.' The races were run on June 24 (St. John's day) along the Corso, which enters the 'last ward' near the Mercato Vecchio.

43–45. With this sentence, presumably, Dante veils his lack of further information. — *Onesto*, 'modest.'

47. 'Fit for arms, between Mars and the Baptist' — between the old statue of Mars, on the river, and the Baptistery, on the north side (cf. *Inf.* XIII, 146–147; *Par.* XV, 134): the ancient city lay between these two monuments.

Erano il quinto di quei che son vivi.
Ma la cittadinanza, ch' è or mista
Di Campi, di Certaldo e di Figghine, 50
Pura vedeasi nell' ultimo artista.
O quanto fora meglio esser vicine
Quelle genti ch' io dico, ed al Galluzzo
Ed a Trespiano aver vostro confine,
Che averle dentro, e sostener lo puzzo 55
Del villan d' Aguglion, di quel da Signa,
Che già per barattar ha l' occhio aguzzo!
Se la gente ch' al mondo più traligna
Non fosse stata a Cesare noverca,
Ma come madre a suo figliuol benigna, 60
Tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia e merca,
Che si sarebbe volto a Simifonti,
Là dove andava l' avolo alla cerca.
Sariasi Montemurlo ancor dei Conti;

48. According to G. Villani, *Croniche*, VIII, xxxviii, Florence had in 1300 'più di trenta mila cittadini da arme'; in 1100, then, the number was about 6000.

50. Towns near and belonging to Florence, which received many immigrants from them.

51. *Nell' ultimo artista*, 'even to the meanest artisan.'

53-54. Galluzzo and Trespiano are towns a few miles south and north of Florence.

56. Aguglione was in Val di Pesa; Signa is on the Arno, west of Florence. The 'farmers' from these country towns, who in Florence have become prominent lawyers and politicians, are probably Baldo d'Aguglione and Fazio Morubaldini.

58. *Gente:* the clergy. — *Traligna*, 'degenerates.'

61. The *tal* is perhaps Lippo Velluti, a man of importance in Florence in the second half of the 13th century. Cf. *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 569; *Nuova Antologia*, CXXXVI, 357 (Aug. 1, 1908).

62. Semifonte, a stronghold in Val d' Elsa, was reduced by Florence in 1202. The acquisition of this and other places was facilitated by the position of Florence as head of a Tuscan league organized, under the patronage of the Church, to resist the encroachments of the Emperors, after the death of Henry VI.

63. *Andava . . . alla cerca*, 'mounted guard': Lippo's father and grandfather were soldiers. If the reference in these lines is not to him, the phrase may have its commoner sense of 'went begging.'

64. Montemurlo, a fortified place beyond Prato, was ceded by the Counts Guidi to Florence.

Sariansi i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone, 65
E forse in Valdigreve i Buondelmonti.
Sempre la confusion delle persone
Principio fu del mal della cittade,
Come del corpo il cibo che s' appone.
E cieco toro più avaccio cade 70
Che 'l cieco agnello, e molte volte taglia
Più e meglio una che le cinque spade.
Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia
Come son ite, e come se ne vanno
Diretro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia, 75
Udir come le schiatte si disfanno
Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno.
Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte
Sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna 80
Che dura molto, e le vite son corte.
E come il volger del ciel della luna
Copre e discopre i liti senza posa,
Così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna;
Per che non dee parer mirabil cosa 85

65. The Cerchi, from 'the parish of Acone' in Val di Sieve, became leaders of the White party in Florence.

66. Montebuono, a strong castle of the Buondelmonti in Val di Greve, was taken by Florence in 1135.

67–68. Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII, iii.

69. *S' appone*, 'is added.' The human body is born pure and wholesome, but begins to lose its purity as soon as food is taken.

73. Luni, in Tuscany, and Urbisaglia, in the March of Ancona, were fallen cities.

75. Chiusi, in Val di Chiana, and Sinigaglia, in the March of Ancona, were in decay, the first wasted by malaria, the second by bloodshed.

78. *Termine*, 'an end.'

80. *Celasi in*, 'it is not apparent in the case of.'

81. *Le vite:* human lives. — Cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, ix, 73–85.

82–83. St. Thomas and Brunetto Latini, following the common opinion, attribute tides to the influence of the moon.

84. *Fortuna* is the subject of *fa*, 'does.'

Ciò ch' io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,
Onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.
Io vidi gli Ughi, e vidi i Catellini,
Filippi, Greci, Ormanni ed Alberichi,
Già nel calare, illustri cittadini; 90
E vidi così grandi come antichi,
Con quel della Sannella, quel dell' Arca,
E Soldanieri, ed Ardinghi, e Bostichi.
Sopra la porta che al presente è carca
Di nuova fellonia di tanto peso 95
Che tosto fia jattura della barca,
Erano i Ravignani, ond' è disceso
Il conte Guido, e qualunque del nome
Dell' alto Bellincion ha poscia preso.
Quel della Pressa sapeva già come 100
Regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio
Dorata in casa sua già l' elsa e il pome.
Grande era già la colonna del vaio,
Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti e Barucci,

88–93. Old families that have declined or disappeared. Cf. G. Villani, *Croniche*, IV, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. — *Quel*, 'the.'

94. In 1280 the Cerchi bought the palace of the Counts Guidi, near the Porta S. Piero. Cf. Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, I, xx.

95. The Cerchi became leaders in party strife.

96. *Jattura*, 'jettison,' throwing overboard: the exile of the Whites, including many of the Cerchi, in 1302.

97. Ravignani: a great family of Porta S. Piero, from whom the Counts Guidi descended.

98–99. For Bellincione Berti, cf. XV, 112. A branch of his family took the name Bellincioni.

101. *Regger si vuole*, 'to rule.' It would seem that the della Pressa family held public offices.

102. The Galigai, a Ghibelline family, 'had hilt and pummel gilded,' a sign of nobility.

103. A 'stripe of vair' (a kind of fur) traversed the scutcheon of the Pigli family.

104. The Sacchetti were an old Guelf clan. The other three had sunk into poverty in the 14th century.

E Galli, e quei che arrossan per lo staio. 105
Lo ceppo di che nacquero i Calfucci
Era già grande, e già erano tratti
Alle curule Sizii ed Arrigucci.
O quali io vidi quei che son disfatti
Per lor superbia! E le palle dell' oro 110
Fiorian Fiorenza in tutti suoi gran fatti.
Così facean li padri di coloro
Che, sempre che la vostra chiesa vaca,
Si fanno grassi stando a consistoro.
L' oltracotata schiatta che s' indraca 115
Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente
Ovver la borsa com' agnel si placa,
Già venia su, ma di picciola gente,
Sì che non piacque ad Ubertin Donato
Che poi il suocero il fe' lor parente. 120
Già era il Caponsacco nel mercato
Disceso giù da Fiesole, e già era

105. The Galli had lost everything. — 'Those who blush for the bushel' are the Chiarmontesi, disgraced by one of their kin, who, when salt commissioner, used a false measure. Cf. *Purg.* XII, 105.

106. The 'stock' is that of the Donati. The Calfucci died out.

108. *Curule*, 'supreme offices.' — These families had almost vanished in the 14th century.

109. *Quali:* in what glory! — *Quei:* the Uberti, who in the latter part of the 12th century rebelled against the Florentine government and for a while gained control of the city. For Farinata degli Uberti, see *Inf.* X.

110–111. The Lamberti had golden balls on their shield. Both they and the Uberti were of German origin.

112–114. The Visdomini and the Tosinghi, 'keepers and defenders' of the Bishopric of Florence, administered the episcopal revenues, whenever the see was vacant, until a successor was chosen.

115. The 'arrogant race' is probably the Adimari family. For a different view, see *Bull.*, XVII, 128. — *S' indraca*, 'is fierce as a dragon.' Filippo Argenti (*Inf.* VIII, 61) belonged to this clan.

119–120. Ubertino Donati, who had married one daughter of Bellincione Berti, was displeased when another daughter was given in marriage to one of the Adimari.

121–122. The Caponsacchi, a great family of Fiesole, settled in Florence near the Mercato Vecchio.

Buon cittadino Giuda ed Infangato.
Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera:
Nel picciol cerchio s' entrava per porta 125
Che si nomava da quei della Pera.
Ciascun che della bella insegna porta
Del gran barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio
La festa di Tommaso riconforta,
Da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio; 130
Avvenga che col popol si raduni
Oggi colui che la fascia col fregio.
Già eran Gualterotti ed Importuni;
Ed ancor saria Borgo più quïeto,
Se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni. 135
La casa di che nacque il vostro fleto,
Per lo giusto disdegno che v' ha morti,

123. The Giudi and Infangati declined in wealth and numbers.

125. *Picciol cerchio:* the old city walls. — *Porta:* the Porta Peruzza, named after the Peruzzi family, who lived near by.

126. In Dante's time the Peruzzi, or della Pera, had apparently become insignificant.

127–130. Those who now wear any of the insignia of the Imperial Vicar, Hugh of Brandenburg, received their knighthood from him. Hugh the Great took up his abode in Florence, where he founded seven abbeys and created many knights. He died in 1001, on St. Thomas's day; and therefore the festival of the apostle renews every year the memory of the 'great baron.'

131–132. One, however, of the knights whose nobility goes back to Hugh, is now 'siding with the people.' This is Giano della Bella, who introduced, in 1293, severe reform measures directed against the nobles, and was banished in 1295. His family has somewhat changed the scutcheon of the 'great baron,' 'bordering' it with a 'fringe.'

133. These families also fell from their high estate.

134. *Borgo:* the quarter called Borgo Santo Apostolo, where the Gualterotti and Importuni lived.

135. 'If they had gone on fasting for new neighbors,' i. e., if they had never had any: for this use of *digiuno*, cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 42 and XXVIII, 87. The undesirable new neighbors are the Buondelmonti (cf. l. 66), who, after the destruction of their castle of Montebuono in 1135, returned to live in Florence.

136. *Casa:* the Amidei. — *Fleto* (Latin *fletus*), 'weeping.' — The bloody feud between the Amidei and the Buondelmonti divided all Florence for a long time. Cf. G. Villani, *Croniche*, V, xxxvii.

137. *Disdegno*, 'resentment': the indignation of the Amidei against Buondelmonte dei Buondelmonti, who, on his wedding day, in 1215, forsook his betrothed — one of the Amidei — for a daughter of the Donati. To avenge this

E pose fine al vostro viver lieto,
Era onorata, ed essa e suoi consorti.
O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti 140
Le nozze süe per gli altrui conforti!
Molti sarebbon lieti che son tristi,
Se Dio t' avesse conceduto ad Ema
La prima volta che a città venisti.
Ma conveniasi, a quella pietra scema 145
Che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse
Vittima nella sua pace postrema.
Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,
Vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo
Che non avea cagion onde piangesse. 150
Con queste genti vid' io gloriïoso
E giusto il popol suo tanto che il giglio
Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
Nè per divisïon fatto vermiglio.'

insult, the Amidei murdered him; and this was the beginning of the feud. Cf. *Inf.* XXVIII, 103–111.

141. *Conforti,* 'instigation': cf. *Inf.* XXVIII, 135. The suggestion came from a certain Gualdrada Donati.

143. The Ema is a little stream that has to be crossed on the way from Montebuono to Florence.

145–147. 'But it was fitting that Florence, in her last peace, should offer a victim to that mutilated stone which guards the bridge' — the old, broken statue of Mars (the first patron of Florence) at the end of the Ponte Vecchio. Cf. *Inf.* XIII, 143–150. The victim was Buondelmonte, who was killed on Easter morning at the foot of the statue.

153. The Florentine banner was, in those days, never 'turned upside down,' in derision, by victorious enemies.

154. In 1251, after the expulsion of the Ghibellines, the Guelfs altered the Florentine standard from a white lily in a red field to a red lily in a white field. The Ghibellines kept the old colors. Cf. G. Villani, *Croniche,* VI, xliii.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

The younger Scipio, in the sixth book of Cicero's *De Republica*, is lifted to the skies in a dream, and there meets his great ancestor, who predicts to him the future course of his life. So it fares with Dante, who learns what is in store for him, not from the lips of Beatrice, as Virgil had led him to expect (*Inf.* X, 130–132), but from Cacciaguida. The picture of Dante's exile, as drawn here and in the *Convivio* (I, iii, 15–48), is the more effective for its manly reticence, and for the author's habitual silence regarding the events of his external experience. The loss of reputation, of cherished family and friends, and of personal dignity is set forth in those brief passages of concentrated pathos,

> 'La colpa seguirà la parte offensa
> In grido, come suol,'
>
> 'Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
> Più caramente,'
>
> 'Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
> Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
> Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale,'

which no reader can forget, and which need no commentary.

Less clear is the reference to the poet's fellow-outcasts of the White party, whose companionship he describes as the worst affliction of all. In this large band of exiles, whose energies were bent on forcing their way back into the city and regaining the supremacy they had just lost, Dante was surely the man of most note and the natural leader. We have evidence of his activity in June, 1302, when they were in Pisa; in June, 1303, he was apparently not with them; but in March, 1304, when Cardinal Niccolò da Prato came to Florence as a peacemaker, Dante, appealing to him in a Latin letter (Epistola 1), made himself spokesman for the Whites. In the ill-fated military adventure of July, 1304, he had no part, nor did he share in the disastrous operations of 1306–07. It was doubtless early in 1303 or in the spring of 1304 that he turned his back on his 'wicked, foolish' comrades and 'made a party by himself.'

There was obviously a violent difference of opinion on some matter of policy; Dante's advice was not followed, he left the party in disgust, and his opponents came to grief. Torraca suggests that the quarrel may have occurred in May, 1304, when the Whites chose twelve delegates to represent them in a parley with the Cardinal, and Dante was not one of the number.

Involved in this problem is the question of the date of Dante's residence in Verona, his 'first refuge' after his banishment. Alberto della Scala, lord of Verona, died in 1301; his oldest son, Bartolommeo, on March 7, 1304; the next son, Alboino, in 1311; the third, Can Grande, outlived Dante. The 'great Lombard' who received our poet so hospitably must have been either Bartolommeo or Alboino. Of the latter Dante speaks slightingly in the *Convivio*, IV, xvi, 59-74. If, however, Alighieri remained with the exiles until after the arrival of Niccolò da Prato, Alboino must have been his host, since Bartolommeo was dead. In the present state of our knowledge, the question reduces itself to a balance of the weight attached, on the one hand, to the epistle to the Cardinal, as an indication that Dante was still, in March, 1304, in active collaboration with the Whites, and, on the other, to the disrespectful allusion to Alboino in the latter part of the *Convivio*, as being inconsistent with the praise bestowed on the head of the house of the Scaligeri in our canto. Most commentators, following the poet's son Pietro, have identified the 'great Lombard' with Bartolommeo. Some, as Torraca and I. Del Lungo (*Il Canto XVII del Paradiso*, 1910), have favored Alboino.

At the court of Verona, destined to become a great general and ruler and friend of learning, appears Dante's future patron, Can Grande della Scala, the man upon whom the exile's political hopes were to centre after the untimely death of Henry VII. Cacciaguida's eulogy of this promising lad (a boy of nine in 1300) ends with one of those veiled prophecies which deal with the really unknown. With it we may compare the Hound of *Inferno* I, 100-111, and the Eagle of *Purgatorio* XXXIII, 37-51.

Qual venne a Climenè, per accertarsi
Di ciò ch' avea incontro a sè udito,
Quei ch' ancor fa li padri a' figli scarsi,

1-3. Eager to learn from his heavenly ancestor something about his kin, Dante compares himself to Phaëthon, the son of Apollo and Clўmĕne, who, having been told that the god was not really his father, went to his mother to

Tale era io, e tale era sentito
E da Beatrice, e dalla santa lampa 5
Che pria per me avea mutato sito.
Per che mia donna: 'Manda fuor la vampa
Del tuo disio,' mi disse, 'sì ch' ella esca
Segnata bene della interna stampa;
Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca 10
Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' aüsi
A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.'
'O cara piota mia, che sì t' insusi
Che, come veggion le terrene menti
Non capere in triangolo due ottusi, 15
Così vedi le cose contingenti
Anzi che sieno in sè, mirando il Punto
A cui tutti li tempi son presenti;
Mentre ch' io era a Virgilio congiunto,
Su per lo monte che l' anime cura 20
E discendendo nel mondo defunto,
Dette mi fur di mia vita futura
Parole gravi; avvenga ch' io mi senta
Ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura.
Per che la voglia mia saria contenta 25
D' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa;

find out the truth: *Met.*, I, 748–756. For the accentuation of *Climenè*, cf. *Inf.* V, 4, and XXX, 2. — The example of Phaëthon still makes fathers cautious in granting their sons' requests, because of the tragic results of Apollo's indulgence, when he allowed Phaëthon to drive the chariot of the sun: *Met.*, II, 31–328.

5. *Lampa:* the light of Cacciaguida.

11. *Perchè t' ausi*, 'to accustom thyself.'

12. *L' uom ti mesca*, 'one may give thee drink.'

13. *Piota*, 'sole': i. e., foundation.

14–16. The blest see even 'contingent,' or casual, things — whether they be past, present, or future — as clearly as 'earthly minds' can grasp an eternal, concrete, elementary fact, — such as the geometrical proposition that 'two obtuse angles cannot be contained in a triangle.' Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, IX, x.

17–18. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xiv, Art. 13.

24. *Tetragono*, 'foursquare': Aristotle, *Ethics*, I, x; *Rhetoric*, III, xi, 2.

Chè saëtta previsa vien più lenta.'
Così diss' io a quella luce stessa
Che pria m' avea parlato, e come volle
Beatrice, fu la mia voglia confessa. 30
Nè per ambage, in che la gente folle
Già s' inviscava, pria che fosse anciso
L' Agnel di Dio che le peccata tolle,
Ma per chiare parole, e con preciso
Latin, rispose quell' amor paterno, 35
Chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso:
'La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno
Della vostra matera non si stende,
Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno.
Necessità però quindi non prende, 40
Se non come dal viso in che si specchia
Nave che per corrente giù discende.
Da indi, sì come viene ad orecchia
Dolce armonia da organo, mi viene
A vista il tempo che ti s' apparecchia. 45
Qual si partì Ippolito d' Atene
Per la spietata e perfida noverca,

27. 'An arrow foreseen comes slower' — i. e., strikes us with a less violent shock. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. cxxxiii, Art. 9: 'jacula quæ prævidentur minus feriunt' (quoted from Gregory).

31. 'In no ambiguous terms,' such as heathen prophets used in order to ensnare the 'foolish folk.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 99: 'Horrendas canit ambages.'

33. John i, 29: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.'

37. 'Contingency' is the whole sequence of casual events, as distinguished from the eternal and inevitable. — *Quaderno*, 'volume.' Cf. XV, 50. — Contingency, or casualty, is confined to the world of matter.

40–42. 'But it (contingency) does not derive inevitability therefrom (from being foreseen by God), any more than a boat going downstream derives inevitability from the eye in which it is mirrored.' Casual things are no more necessary from being anticipated by omniscience than they would be if there were no power to see them coming. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xxii, Art. 4.

46–47. Hippolytus was driven from Athens by the false accusation of his stepmother, Phædra. Cf. *Met.*, XV, 493–505 ('sceleratæ fraude novercæ,' l. 498).

Tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene.
Questo si vuole, questo già si cerca,
E tosto verrà fatto a chi ciò pensa 50
Là dove Cristo tutto dì si merca.
La colpa seguirà la parte offensa
In grido, come suol; ma la vendetta
Fia testimonio al ver che la dispensa.
Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta 55
Più caramente, e questo è quello strale
Che l' arco dello esilio pria saëtta.
Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale. 60
E quel che più ti graverà le spalle
Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia
Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle;
Che tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia
Si farà contro a te; ma poco appresso 65
Ella, non tu, n' avrà rossa la tempia.
Di sua bestialitate il suo processo
Farà la prova, sì che a te fia bello
Averti fatta parte per te stesso.

50. *Verrà fatto a chi*, 'will be brought to pass by him who' — by Pope Boniface VIII. It would seem from these lines that the exile of Dante, and probably of other leading opponents of the Papal policy, was planned in Rome as early as April, 1300, a couple of months before Dante's priorate.

51. The place 'where Christ is bought and sold every day' is Rome.

52. *Colpa*, 'blame.' — *Offensa* (= *offesa*), 'wronged.' — Cf. *Cons.*, I, Pr. iv, end: 'Quo fit ut existimatio bona prima omnium deserat infelices.'

53. *Vendetta:* many regarded the disgrace and death of Boniface VIII as a divine punishment for his cruelty and ambition. Cf. Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, II, xxxv; G. Villani, *Croniche*, VIII, lxiv.

58. *Sa*, 'tastes.'

62. *Compagnia:* the Whites, Dante's fellow-exiles. — Cf. Ecclus. viii, 18–20.

63. *Valle:* vale of tears, misery.

66. *Avrà rossa la tempia*, 'shall have its brows red,' i. e., shall blush with shame for its folly.

Lo primo tuo rifugio e il primo ostello 70
Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo
Che in sulla scala porta il santo uccello,
Che in te avrà sì benigno riguardo
Che del fare e del chieder, tra voi due,
Fia prima quel che tra gli altri è più tardo. 75
Con lui vedrai colui che impresso fue
Nascendo sì da questa stella forte
Che notabili fien l' opere sue.
Non se ne son le genti ancora accorte
Per la novella età; chè pur nove anni 80
Son queste rote intorno di lui torte.
Ma pria che il Guasco l' alto Arrigo inganni,
Parran faville della sua virtute
In non curar d' argento nè d' affanni.
Le sue magnificenze conosciute 85
Saranno ancora sì che i suoi nimici
Non ne potran tener le lingue mute.
A lui t' aspetta ed ai suoi benefici;
Per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,
Cambiando condizion ricchi e mendici. 90
E porteraine scritto nella mente
Di lui, ma nol dirai, . . .' e disse cose
Incredibili a quei che fien presente.

71. *Gran Lombardo:* the head of the great house of the Scaligeri, or della Scala family, of Verona.

72. The Scaligeri had as their armorial bearings a ladder, to which was added, at the top, an Imperial eagle.

76. *Colui:* Can Grande.

77. *Questa stella:* Mars.

82. Before 1312, when the Gascon Pope, Clement V, after promising to support the Emperor, Henry VII, in his expedition to Italy, promoted opposition to it. Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 83; *Par.* XXX, 133–148.

84. Indifference to wealth and to peril is a characteristic of 'magnanimity': *Summa Theologiæ,* Secunda Secundæ, Qu. cxxix, Art. 8, end.

93. *Che fien presente* (= *presenti*), 'who shall be witnesses.'

Poi giunse: 'Figlio, queste son le chiose
Di quel che ti fu detto; ecco le insidie 97
Che dietro a pochi giri son nascose.
Non vo' però ch' a' tuoi vicini invidie,
Poscía che s' infutura la tua vita
Vie più là che il punir di lor perfidie.'
Poi che tacendo si mostrò spedita 100
L' anima santa di metter la trama
In quella tela ch' io le porsi ordita,
Io cominciai, come colui che brama,
Dubitando, consiglio da persona
Che vede e vuol dirittamente, ed ama: 105
'Ben veggio, padre mio, sì come sprona
Lo tempo verso me, per colpo darmi
Tal ch' è più grave a chi più s' abbandona;
Per che di provedenza è buon ch' io m' armi,
Sì che se loco m' è tolto più caro, 110
Io non perdessi gli altri per miei carmi.
Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro,
E per lo monte del cui bel cacume
Gli occhi della mia Donna mi levaro,
E poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume, 115
Ho io appreso quel che, s' io ridico,
A molti fia sapor di forte agrume;

97–99. Dante's life extended long beyond the miserable end of Boniface and of Corso Donati (*Purg.* XXIV, 82–87). The latter was a 'neighbor' in the strictest sense of the word. It may be, however, that l. 98 refers to Dante's enduring fame, rather than to his bodily existence.

100–102. 'When, by its silence, the blessed soul showed that it had finished putting the woof upon the web which I had given it warped.' Cacciaguida had embroidered his answer upon the canvas of Dante's question.

108. *Più s' abbandona*, 'is most heedless.'

110. *Loco:* Florence.

111. *Carmi*, 'verses.'

117. *Agrume*, 'sourness.'

E s' io al vero son timido amico,
Temo di perder viver tra coloro
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico.' 120
La luce in che rideva il mio tesoro,
Ch' io trovai lì, si fe' prima corrusca,
Quale a raggio di sole specchio d' oro;
Indi rispose: 'Coscïenza fusca
O della propria o dell' altrui vergogna 125
Pur sentirà la tua parola brusca.
Ma nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna,
Tutta tua visïon fa manifesta,
E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rogna!
Chè se la voce tua sarà molesta 130
Nel primo gusto, vital nutrimento
Lascerà poi quando sarà digesta.
Questo tuo grido farà come vento,
Che le più alte cime più percote;
E ciò non fa d' onor poco argomento. 135
Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,
Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa,
Pur l' anime che son di fama note;
Chè l' animo di quel ch' ode non posa
Nè ferma fede per esemplo ch' àia 140
La sua radice incognita e nascosa,
Nè per altro argomento che non paia.'

124. *Fusca*, 'darkened.' 126. 'Will indeed deem thy speech harsh.'

129. *Rogna*, 'itch.' — Dante chose to write his poem in the 'comic' rather than the 'tragic' style, that he might, when occasion required, sacrifice elegance to vigor.

130–132. Cf. *Cons.*, III, Pr. i: '. . . ut degustata quidem mordeant, interius autem recepta dulcescant.'

135. *Argomento*, 'proof': because it requires exceptional courage to 'strike the highest peaks.'

138. *Pur*, 'only.' The statement was perhaps approximately true for Dante's first readers.

139–142. The listener is never satisfied nor convinced by an unknown example or an obscure argument. — *Aia* = *abbia*.

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

AFTER noting, in the Cross of Mars, various champions of the Faith (among whom are two Old Testament heroes), Dante finds himself transferred to the next planet, and once more is made aware of his uplifting by the increased beauty of his guide and by the changed color of the light that envelops him. Human justice, according to our poet, is a product of the heaven of Jupiter, and in this star appear the souls of the just. They reveal their nature by arranging themselves successively in the shapes of the letters that spell the first verse of the Book of Wisdom: 'Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth.' '*Diligite justitiam*' are 'the first verb and noun' of the text, and '*qui judicatis terram*' are 'the last' — in all, 'thirty-five vowels and consonants.' First the bright spirits flutter and sing; then, arraying themselves in the form of one of these letters, they are silent for a little while; after which they break ranks and resume their tuneful flight until the next letter is fashioned. Like the cranes which Lucan describes in *Pharsalia*, V, 711–716,

'Effingunt varias, casu monstrante, figuras,'
'Et turbata perit dispersis litera pennis.'

Having reached the end of the sentence, they remain in the shape of the final M, symbol of Monarchy, the embodiment of justice. It is an M of the sort we met in *Purgatorio* XXIII, 32, resembling two O's placed side by side, in its general outline not unlike the Florentine lily. Presently a fresh swarm of lights descends upon the top of the figure, and more than a thousand rise like sparks from its lower parts, transforming it into the Imperial Eagle — the eagle of heraldry. Monarchy is the earthly representative of Justice, and the ultimate form of Monarchy is the Empire.

See E. G. Parodi, *Il giglio d' oro nel canto XVIII del Paradiso*, 1903; cf. *Bull.*, XI, 250.

Già si godeva solo del suo verbo
Quello specchio bëato, ed io gustava

1. *Verbo*, 'word,' i. e., thought. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xxxiv, Art. 1: 'Id enim quod intellectus concipiendo format est verbum.'
2. Cacciaguida is called a 'mirror' because he reflects God's mind.

Lo mio, temprando col dolce l' acerbo;
E quella Donna ch' a Dio mi menava,
Disse: 'Muta pensier, pensa ch' io sono 5
Presso a colui ch' ogni torto disgrava.'
Io mi rivolsi all' amoroso suono
Del mio conforto, e quale io allor vidi
Negli occhi santi amor, qui l' abbandono;
Non perch' io pur del mio parlar diffidi, 10
Ma per la mente che non può reddire
Sopra sè tanto, s' altri non la guidi.
Tanto poss' io di quel punto ridire,
Che, rimirando lei, lo mio affetto
Libero fu da ogni altro disire 15
Fin che il piacere eterno, che diretto
Raggiava in Bëatrice, dal bel viso
Mi contentava col secondo aspetto.
Vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso,
Ella mi disse: 'Volgiti ed ascolta, 20
Che non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso.'
Come si vede qui alcuna volta
L' affetto nella vista, s' ello è tanto
Che da lui sia tutta l' anima tolta,
Così nel fiammeggiar del fulgor santo, 25

6. Cf. Deut. xxxii, 35: 'To me belongeth vengeance, and recompence.'
8. *Conforto:* cf. *Purg.* III, 22, IX, 43.
10. *Pur,* 'only.' — Cf. *Conv.*, III, iii, 126–127.
11. *Mente,* 'memory.' — *Reddire,* 'return': cf. XI, 105; *Purg.* I, 106.
16. *Fin che,* 'as long as.'
18. *Secondo,* 'reflected': cf. I, 49.
21. *Pur,* 'only.' — Beatitude consists not only in acceptance of the demonstration of divine truth, but also in the companionship of the blest and the comprehension of their state as a manifestation of divine grace. This idea is conveyed by Beatrice in a figure as appropriate as it is sweet and modest.
22. *Qui:* on earth.
23. *Vista,* 'eyes.'
24. *Tolta,* 'rapt.'
25. *Fulgor santo:* Cacciaguida.

A ch' io mi volsi, conobbi la voglia
In lui di ragionarmi ancora alquanto.
Ei cominciò: 'In questa quinta soglia
Dell' arbore che vive della cima,
E frutta sempre, e mai non perde foglia, 30
Spiriti son bëati che giù, prima
Che venissero al ciel, fur di gran voce
Sì ch' ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima.
Però mira nei corni della croce:
Quel ch' io or nomerò, lì farà l' atto 35
Che fa in nube il suo foco veloce.'
Io vidi per la croce un lume tratto
Dal nomar Josüè, com' ei si feo,
Nè mi fu noto il dir prima che il fatto.
Ed al nome dell' alto Maccabeo 40
Vidi moversi un altro rotëando,
E letizia era ferza del paleo.
Così per Carlo Magno e per Orlando
Due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo,
Com' occhio segue suo falcon volando. 45

28. *Soglia*, 'tier': cf. III, 82, XXX, 113, XXXII, 13. The 'tree' of the heavens, which derives all its sustenance from above, is conceived as a fir, whose branches grow in rings or 'tiers' around the trunk. The fifth ring is the heaven of Mars.

33. *Musa:* cf. XV, 26. — *Opima*, 'rich.'

36. *Il suo foco*, 'its own fire': the lightning contained in the cloud. The soul, when named, will flash over the cross as lightning flashes across a cloud.

38. *Dal nomar*, 'by the mention of.' — *Josuè:* Joshua, successor of Moses and conqueror of the Promised Land. — *Com' ei si feo* (= *fece*), 'when it (the mention) was made.'

40. *Maccabeo:* Judas Maccabæus, the Hebrew champion who delivered his people from the tyranny of the Syrians. See 1 Macc. ii–ix.

42. 'And joy was the whip of the top,' i. e., it was joy that made it (the light) spin. Several times in the *Paradiso* Dante makes a swift rotary motion the symbol of keen delight.

43. *Per:* at the name of. — Charlemagne and Roland are the famous characters in the old French *Chanson de Roland*, which had become a favorite romance in all western Europe.

44. *Due ne:* i. e., *due lumi*. *Due* is the object of *seguì*.

Poscia trasse Guglielmo e Rinoardo
E il duca Gottifredi la mia vista
Per quella croce, e Roberto Guiscardo.
Indi tra l' altre luci mota e mista,
Mostrommi l' alma che m' avea parlato 50
Qual era tra i cantor del cielo artista.
Io mi rivolsi dal mio destro lato
Per vedere in Beatrice il mio dovere,
O per parlare o per atto segnato,
E vidi le sue luci tanto mere, 55
Tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza
Vinceva gli altri e l' ultimo solere.
E come, per sentir più dilettanza
Bene operando, l' uom di giorno in giorno
S' accorge che la sua virtute avanza, 60
Sì m' accors' io che il mio girare intorno
Col cielo insieme avea cresciuto l' arco,
Veggendo quel miracol più adorno.

46. William, count of Orange, is the hero of a group of Old French epics, of which the best known is the *Aliscans*. He combatted the Saracens in southern France, as Charlemagne and Roland fought against them in Spain. Associated with him is the gigantic Renoart, of Saracen birth but baptized. — *Guglielmo* and *Rinoardo* are subjects of *trasse*.

47. Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the first crusade (1096), battled with the Saracens in the Holy Land and became first Christian king of Jerusalem. — *Vista* is the object of *trasse*.

48. Robert Guiscard, a Norman conqueror of the second half of the 11th century, took a large part of southern Italy and Sicily from the Saracens.

49. *Mota* (= *mossa*) *e mista*, 'going and mingling.'

57. 'Surpassed her former habits, and her latest.'

58–60. Cf. Aristotle, Ethics, II, iii, 1. — *Per sentir*, 'through feeling.' — *Bene operando*, 'in doing good.'

61–63. Thus from an increase of Beatrice's loveliness I inferred that I had risen to a greater and swifter sphere. Since all the heavens revolve together from east to west, the outer must move faster than the inner, just as the tire of a wheel moves quicker than the hub; and as Dante proceeds from the centre to one heaven after another, each successive sphere he reaches must, in a given time, cover a greater arc than its predecessor. As long as Dante remains in a sphere, he of course revolves with it. — *Miracolo:* Beatrice. Cf. *V. N.*, XXI, 22, XXIX, 24–41.

E quale è il trasmutare, in picciol varco
Di tempo, in bianca donna, quando il volto 65
Suo si discarchi di vergogna il carco,
Tal fu negli occhi miei, quando fui volto,
Per lo candor della temprata stella
Sesta, che dentro a sè m' avea ricolto.
Io vidi in quella giovïal facella 70
Lo sfavillar dell' amor che lì era
Segnare agli occhi miei nostra favella.
E come augelli surti di riviera,
Quasi congratulando a lor pasture,
Fanno di sè or tonda or altra schiera, 75
Sì dentro ai lumi sante crëature
Volitando cantavano, e faciensi
Or D, or I, or L, in sue figure.
Prima cantando a sua nota moviensi;
Poi, diventando l' un di questi segni, 80
Un poco s' arrestavano e taciensi.
O diva Pegasëa, che gl' ingegni
Fai gloriosi, e rendili longevi, —
Ed essi teco le cittadi e i regni, —
Illustrami di te, sì ch' io rilevi 85

64–66. The change from the red light of Mars to the whiteness of Jupiter is compared to the change in a pale lady's face when a blush suddenly passes from it.

68. The 'temperate sixth star,' Jupiter, is between hot Mars and cold Saturn: cf. *Conv.*, II, xiv, 198–202.

70. *Giovial facella*, 'torch of Jove': the planet Jupiter.

74. *Congratulando*, 'rejoicing together.' — *Pasture*, 'food.'

77. *Faciensi* = *si facevano*.

79. *A sua nota*, 'to their own tune.'

82. *Pegasea*, 'Pegasēa,' i. e., Muse: the Muses are associated with the winged horse, Pegasus. It is not clear whether Dante had in mind any special Muse, nor, if so, whether the one invoked is Calliope (*Purg.* I, 9), Urania (*Purg.* XXIX, 41), or Euterpe (who presided over the sphere of Jupiter).

84. *Ed essi teco:* supply *rendono longevi*. *Essi* stands for *gl' ingegni*.

85. *Rilevi*, 'set forth.'

Le lor figure com' io l' ho concette:
Paia tua possa in questi versi brevi!
Mostrarsi dunque in cinque volte sette
Vocali e consonanti; ed io notai
Le parti sì come mi parver dette. 90
'*Diligite iustitïam,*' primai
Fur verbo e nome di tutto il dipinto;
'*Qui iudicatis terram,*' fur sezzai.
Poscia nell' M del vocabol quinto
Rimasero ordinate, sì che Giove 95
Pareva argento lì, d' oro distinto.
E vidi scendere altre luci dove
Era il colmo dell' M, e lì quetarsi
Cantando, credo, il ben ch' a sè le move.
Poi, come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi 100
Surgono innumerabili faville,
Onde gli stolti sogliono augurarsi,
Risurger parver quindi più di mille
Luci, e salir quali assai e quai poco,
Sì come il Sol, che l' accende, sortille; 105
E quïetata ciascuna in suo loco,
La testa e il collo d' un' aquila vidi
Rappresentare a quel distinto foco.
Quei che dipinge lì non ha chi il guidi,
Ma esso guida; e da lui si rammenta 110

96. *D' oro distinto*, 'patterned with gold.' The planet looked like a silver background with a golden M embroidered on it. For the silvery hue of Jupiter, cf. *Conv.*, II, xiv, 202–204.
100. *Percoter*, 'stirring.' — *Ciocchi*, 'logs.'
102. *Augurarsi*, 'draw omens.'
105. *Sortille*, 'distributed them.'
108. *A*, 'by.' — *Distinto*, 'patterned': cf. l. 96.
109–111. 'He (God) who paints there has no one to direct him, but he himself directs; and from him we recognize that power which is the essence of nest-building.' The instinct of the bird, which builds its nest without a pattern,

Quella virtù ch' è forma per li nidi.
L' altra bëatitudo, che contenta
Pareva prima d' ingigliarsi all' emme,
Con poco moto seguitò la imprenta.
O dolce stella, quali e quante gemme 115
Mi dimostraro che nostra giustizia
Effetto sia del ciel che tu ingemme!
Per ch' io prego la Mente, in che s' inizia
Tuo moto e tua virtute, che rimiri
Ond' esce il fummo che il tuo raggio vizia; 120
Sì ch' un' altra fïata omai s' adiri
Del comperare e vender dentro al templo
Che si murò di sangue e di martiri.
O milizia del ciel, cu' io contemplo,
Adora per color che sono in terra 125
Tutti svïati dietro al malo esemplo!
Già si solea con le spade far guerra;
Ma or si fa togliendo, or qui or quivi,
Lo pan che il pïo Padre a nessun serra.

comes directly from God, and, in its small way, is an image of the creative activity of God, who constructs solely from his inner conception. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xix, Art. 4, end.

112. *L' altra beatitudo:* the rest of the blessed souls, those that had not yet left their places in the M.

113. *Ingigliarsi*, 'lily themselves,' remain as a lily. The Florentine lily is very similar in shape to a capital M of the type Dante has in mind. These lines may indicate that the Guelf souls, though seemingly reluctant at first to give up their own standard, readily conform to the Imperial design. — *Emme* is the name of the letter *m*.

114. *Imprenta*, 'design.'

122. Mat. xxi, 12.

123. Cf. Acts xx, 28: 'the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.'

124. Cf. Luke ii, 13: 'militia cœlestis' — 'heavenly host.'

125. *Adora*, 'pray.'

126. Cf. Romans iii, 12: 'they are all gone out of the way.'

129. *Lo pan:* the sacraments. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. lxxx, Art. 3–6. — Nowadays wars are waged by means of excommunications and interdicts.

Ma tu, che sol per cancellare scrivi, 130
Pensa che Pietro e Paolo, che moriro
Per la vigna che guasti, ancor son vivi.
Ben puoi tu dire: 'I' ho fermo il disiro
Sì a colui che volle viver solo,
E che per salti fu tratto al martiro, 135
Ch' io non conosco il Pescator nè Polo.'

130. John XXII, who was Pope when Dante was writing, issued and revoked many excommunications. He amassed a large fortune. In 1317 he excommunicated Can Grande della Scala, who remained under the ban until his death: cf. C. Cipolla, *Lettere di Giovanni XXII riguardanti Verona e gli Scaligeri,* 1909.

132. Cf. Isaiah iii, 14: 'for ye have eaten up the vineyard.'

133–136. My heart is so set on John the Baptist (i. e., on the gold florin bearing his image) that I have forgotten Peter and Paul. — *Volle viver solo:* Luke i, 80. — *Salti:* the dance of Herodias's daughter. See Mat. xiv, 1–12. — *Polo* is another form of *Paolo.* — Soon after Dante's death John XXII caused a scandal by having minted in Avignon a gold coin almost exactly like the florin of Florence. Cf. G. Villani, *Croniche,* IX, clxx.

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

THE doctrine emphasized in this canto is that Heaven can be won only through faith in Christ. 'Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved' (Acts iv, 12). 'Quod nemo, quantumcumque moralibus et intellectualibus virtutibus, et secundum habitum et secundum operationem perfectus, absque fide salvari potest, dato quod nunquam aliquid de Christo audiverit; nam hoc ratio humana per se justum intueri non potest, fide tamen adiuta potest. Scriptum est enim ad Hebræos: "Impossibile est sine fide placere Deo"' (*Mon.*, II, viii, 28–37). That a pagan on the banks of the Indus, who has never heard of Christ, should be lost for lack of faith seems to mere human reason unjust. But to attribute injustice to God is a contradiction of terms; for we derive our notion of right and wrong from him, and what we call justice is simply his will. 'Ex his iam liquet quod ius quum sit bonum, per prius in mente Dei est: et quum omne quod in mente Dei est, sit Deus (iuxta illud: "Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat"); et Deus maxime seipsum velit, sequitur quod ius a Deo, prout in eo est, sit volitum. Et quum voluntas et volitum in Deo sit idem, sequitur ulterius quod divina voluntas sit ipsum ius. Et iterum ex hoc sequitur quod ius in rebus nihil est aliud quam similitudo divinæ voluntatis. Unde fit quod quidquid divinæ voluntati non consonat, ipsum ius esse non possit; et quidquid divinæ voluntati est consonum, ius ipsum sit. Quapropter quærere utrum de iure factum sit aliquid, licet alia verba sint, nihil tamen aliud quæritur quam utrum factum sit secundum quod Deus vult' (*Mon.*, II, ii, 39–57). When Dante propounds to the Eagle, in the heaven of Jupiter, the problem of the justice of the fate of the virtuous heathen, he is rebuked with two solemn warnings, one before and one after the statement of the question. Man must not presume to fathom the unfathomable purpose of his Maker. 'What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion . . . Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why

hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?' (Romans ix, 14–21). Only in the following canto do we find the solution, which proves to be not inconsistent with the human idea of right.

On earth justice is possible only under a universal monarchy: this is shown by the strife among kings, when there is no Emperor to control them. Cf. *Convivio*, IV, iv, 1–44. It is fitting, then, that a fearful arraignment of the sovereigns ruling in 1300 should be uttered by the Imperial Eagle. 'Et vidi, et audivi vocem unius aquilæ volantis per medium cæli, dicentis voce magna: Væ, væ, væ habitantibus in terra' (Rev. viii, 13). The passage reminds one of Sordello's famous poem on the death of Blacatz, and also of the series of portraits in the Valley of the Princes, in *Purgatorio* VII. 'And another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works' (Rev. xx, 12). Thus the living kings are judged by the Eagle — those Christian kings whose record is such as to deserve rebuke even from the heathen. Contrasted with them is the Eagle itself, whose single voice — a compound of all the voices of all the just — symbolizes the unity of justice and the perfect harmony of the righteous. Such concord no pen ever described before.

Parea dinanzi a me con l' ali aperte
  La bella image, che nel dolce *frui*
  Liete facevan l' anime conserte.
Parea ciascuna rubinetto in cui
  Raggio di sole ardesse sì acceso 5
  Che ne' miei occhi rifrangesse lui.
E quel che mi convien ritrar testeso
  Non portò voce mai, nè scrisse inchiostro,
  Nè fu per fantasia giammai compreso;
Ch' io vidi, ed anco udii parlar lo rostro, 10

2. *Che* is the object of *facevan* in l. 3. — *Frui* (a Latin infinitive used as a noun), 'fruition.'

7. *Testeso*, 'now.'

9. *Compreso*, 'grasped.' — Cf. 1 Cor. ii, 9: 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man . . .'

E sonar nella voce ed 'io' e 'mio,'
Quand' era nel concetto 'noi' e 'nostro.'
E cominciò: 'Per esser giusto e pio
Son io qui esaltato a quella gloria
Che non si lascia vincere a disio; 15
Ed in terra lasciai la mia memoria
Sì fatta, che le genti lì malvage
Commendan lei, ma non seguon la storia.'
Così un sol calor di molte brage
Si fa sentir, come di molti amori 20
Usciva solo un suon di quella image.
Ond' io appresso: 'O perpetüi fiori
Dell' eterna letizia, che pur uno
Parer mi fate tutti i vostri odori,
Solvetemi spirando il gran digiuno 25
Che lungamente m' ha tenuto in fame,
Non trovandogli in terra cibo alcuno.
Ben so io che, se in cielo altro rëame
La divina giustizia fa suo specchio,
Che 'l vostro non l' apprende con velame. 30
Sapete come attento io m' apparecchio
Ad ascoltar; sapete quale è quello
Dubbio, che m' è digiun cotanto vecchio.'
Quasi falcone ch' esce del cappello,
Move la testa, e coll' ali si plaude, 35
Voglia mostrando e facendosi bello,
Vid' io farsi quel segno, che di laude

13. *Per esser*, 'for being.'
15. 'Which cannot be surpassed by desire.'
28–29. The angelic order of the Thrones, which reflects God's judgments, presides over the sphere of Saturn. Cf. IX, 61–62.
34. *Cappello*, 'hood.'
35. *Si plaude*, 'claps.' Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 238 ('plausit pennis') and XIV, 507 ('plausis circumvolat alis').

Della divina grazia era contesto,
Con canti, quai si sa chi lassù gaude.
Poi cominciò: 'Colui che volse il sesto 40
All' estremo del mondo, e dentro ad esso
Distinse tanto occulto e manifesto,
Non potè suo valor sì fare impresso
In tutto l' universo che il suo verbo
Non rimanesse in infinito eccesso. 45
E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo,
Che fu la somma d' ogni creatura,
Per non aspettar lume, cadde acerbo;
E quinci appar ch' ogni minor natura
È corto recettacolo a quel Bene 50
Che non ha fine e sè con sè misura.
Dunque nostra veduta, che conviene
Essere alcun dei raggi della Mente
Di che tutte le cose son ripiene,
Non può da sua natura esser possente 55
Tanto, che suo Principio non discerna

40. *Colui:* God. — *Sesto,* 'compass.' Cf. Pr. viii, 27: 'he set a compass upon the face of the depth.'

44. *Verbo:* conception, idea. Cf. XVIII, 1. See *Summa Theologiæ,* Prima, Qu. xxxii, Art. 1: 'per verbum intelligitur ratio idealis, per quam Deus omnia condidit.'

45. *In infinito eccesso,* 'infinitely greater' than the realization. Cf. XIII, 52–78. God's ideal conception is infinite, while the created universe is finite.

46. 'And a proof of this (the inferiority of every created thing to the creative mind) is that the first proud one (Lucifer) . . .'

48. 'Fell unripe, because he would not wait for light.' Without grace, it is impossible for any created mind to see God in his essence (cf. XIV, 48); but Lucifer and his companions in pride, rejecting the grace that was offered them immediately upon their creation, tried by their own powers to penetrate God and to become like him. Cf. *Vulg. El.,* I, ii: 'divinam curam perversi expectare noluerunt.' See *Summa Theologiæ,* Prima, Qu. lxii–lxiii.

50. *Corto:* insufficient. See *Summa Theologiæ,* Prima, Qu. xii, Art. 4.

52. *Nostra:* even the vision of the blest. Some texts have *vostra.*

55. *Da,* 'by.'

56. *Che suo* etc., 'as not to discern its origin (the divine Mind) . . .'

Molto di là da quel che l' è parvente.
Però nella giustizia sempiterna
La vista che riceve il vostro mondo,
Com' occhio per lo mar, dentro s' interna; 60
Che benchè dalla proda veggia il fondo,
In pelago nol vede, e nondimeno
È lì, ma cela lui l' esser profondo.
Lume non è, se non vien dal Sereno
Che non si turba mai; anzi è tenebra, 65
Od ombra della carne o suo veleno.
Assai t' è mo aperta la latebra
Che t' ascondeva la giustizia viva,
Di che facei question cotanto crebra;
Chè tu dicevi: "Un uom nasce alla riva 70
Dell' Indo, e quivi non è chi ragioni
Di Cristo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva;
E tutti i suoi voleri ed atti buoni
Sono, quanto ragione umana vede,
Senza peccato in vita o in sermoni. 75
More non battezzato e senza fede:
Ov' è questa giustizia che il condanna?
Ov' è la colpa sua, se ei non crede?"

57. 'Far beyond all that it (our vision) can see.' Our intelligence, a product of the intelligence of God, has just power enough to understand how far beyond the range of its comprehension its divine Source lies.

58–60. Earthly intelligence, then, can no more penetrate eternal justice than a human eye can penetrate the ocean. Cf. Ps. xxxvi, 6: 'thy judgments are a great deep.'

61. *Proda*, 'shore.'

62. *In pelago*, 'on the main.'

63. 'It (the bottom) is there, but its depth conceals it.'

64. *Lume non è*, 'there is no light.'

66. Without grace, all that we take to be light is darkness, either the shadow or the poison of the flesh — either ignorance or vice.

67. *Latebra*, 'hiding-place.'

69. *Facei* = *facevi*. — *Crebra*, 'frequent.'

72. Cf. Romans x, 14.

Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna,
Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia, 80
Con la veduta corta d' una spanna?
Certo a colui che meco s' assottiglia,
Se la scrittura sopra voi non fosse,
Da dubitar sarebbe a maraviglia.
O terreni animali, o menti grosse! 85
La prima Volontà, ch' è per sè buona,
Da sè, ch' è Sommo Ben, mai non si mosse.
Cotanto è giusto, quanto a lei consuona;
Nullo crëato bene a sè la tira,
Ma essa radïando lui cagiona.' 90
Quale sopr' esso il nido si rigira,
Poi che ha pasciuto la cicogna i figli,
E come quei ch' è pasto la rimira,
Cotal si fece (e sì levai li cigli)
La benedetta imagine, che l' ali 95
Movea sospinta da tanti consigli.
Rotëando cantava, e dicea: 'Quali
Son le mie note a te, che non le intendi,
Tal è il giudizio eterno a voi mortali.'
Poi si quetaron quei lucenti incendi 100

79. Cf. Romans ix, 20: 'Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?'
82. 'Surely, for him who sophisticates with me . . .' Dante is putting subtle questions about justice to the Eagle, who is its embodiment.
83. If you mortals had not the Bible and its clear utterances to guide you, there would be no end to your sophistries, since even with the Bible you enter into such discussions.
84. 'There would be a wonderful chance for questioning.'
85. Cf. *Cons.*, III, Pr. iii: 'Vos quoque, O terrena animalia.'
87. Cf. Malachi iii, 6: 'For I am the Lord, I change not.'
89. 'No created goodness draws it (the divine will) to itself.'
90. *Lui cagiona*, 'causes it (the *creato bene*).'
91. *Sopr' esso*, 'over.' — The subject of *si rigira* is *la cicogna*, to be supplied from l. 92.
100. *Poi* = *poi che*.

Dello Spirito Santo, ancor nel segno
Che fe' i Romani al mondo reverendi,
Esso ricominciò: 'A questo regno
Non salì mai chi non credette in Cristo,
Nè pria nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno. 105
Ma vedi, molti gridan "Cristo, Cristo!"
Che saranno in giudizio assai men *prope*
A lui che tal che non conosce Cristo;
E tai Cristiani dannerà l' Etiope,
Quando si partiranno i due collegi, 110
L' uno in eterno ricco, e l' altro inope.
Che potran dir li Persi ai vostri regi,
Come vedranno quel volume aperto
Nel qual si scrivon tutti i suoi dispregi?
Lì si vedrà tra l' opere d' Alberto 115
Quella che tosto moverà la penna,
Per che il regno di Praga fia deserto.
Lì si vedrà lo duol che sopra Senna
Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna. 120

104. For the third time we have *Cristo* in rhyme with itself: cf. XII, 71.
106. Mat. vii, 22–23.
107. *Prope* (Latin), 'near.'
109. *Etiope*, 'Ethiop.' Cf. Mat. xii, 41–42.
110. Mat. xxv, 31–46.
111. *Inope*, 'poor.'
114. *I suoi dispregi*, 'their disgraces.'
115. *Alberto:* Albert of Austria. Cf. *Purg.* VI, 97.
116. *Quella* (sc., *opera*): the devastation of Bohemia in 1304. — *Penna:* the pen of the recording angel.
118. *Sopra Senna*, 'on the Seine': in France.
119. Philip the Fair, to supply himself with money after the battle of Courtray in 1302, debased the coinage of the realm, causing great misery. Cf. A. Franco, *Numismatica dantesca*, 1903 (*Bull.*, XI, 263).
120. Philip died in 1314 from a fall occasioned by a wild boar which ran between his horse's legs: cf. G. Villani, *Croniche*, IX, lxv. *Colpo di cotenna*, 'boarskin blow,' is an odd phrase: the king's death was due, not to the tusks of the boar, but to its bristly hide brushing against the horse.

Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' asseta,
  Che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilese folle
  Sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.
Vedrassi la lussuria e il viver molle
  Di quel di Spagna, e di quel di Büemme, 125
  Che mai valor non conobbe nè volle.
Vedrassi al Ciotto di Jerusalemme
  Segnata con un *i* la sua bontate,
  Quando il contrario segnerà un *emme*.
Vedrassi l' avarizia e la viltate 130
  Di quel che guarda l' isola del foco,
  Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate;
Ed a dare ad intender quanto è poco,
  La sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,
  Che noteranno molto in parvo loco. 135
E parranno a ciascun l' opere sozze
  Del barba e del fratel, che tanto egregia
  Nazione e due corone han fatte bozze.
E quel di Portogallo e di Norvegia

121. *Asseta*, 'quickens thirst.'

123. *Soffrir*, 'endure,' keep. — *Sua meta*, 'his bounds.' — The first part of the 14th century saw the wars of Edward I and Edward II against the Scotch under Wallace and Bruce.

125. *Quel di Spagna:* Ferdinand IV of Castile. — *Quel di Buemme:* Wenceslaus IV (*Purg*. VII, 101). *Buemme* = *Boemia*, 'Bohemia.'

127. Charles II of Naples, titular King of Jerusalem, was called 'the Cripple' on account of his lameness.

128–129. His goodness will be marked I, his wickedness 1000. He seems to have had no virtue except liberality: cf. VIII, 82; *Purg*. XX, 79.

131. Frederick of Aragon, King of Sicily: cf. *Purg*. VII, 119; *Conv*., IV, vi, 182; *Vulg. El*., I, xii, 37. After warring for some years with Charles of Naples, he made peace with him and married his daughter. Upon the death of Emperor Henry VII, he abandoned the Ghibelline cause.

132. *Æn*., III, 707–715.

133–135. To indicate at the same time his insignificance and his wickedness, his many misdeeds shall be recorded in shorthand.

137. *Barba*, 'uncle': James, King of Majorca and Minorca. — *Fratel:* James II of Aragon. Cf. *Purg*. VII, 119.

138. *Nazione*, 'birth.' — *Fatte bozze*, 'dishonored.'

139. Concerning Dionysius of Portugal and Hakon of Norway, Dante probably knew little.

Lì si conosceranno, e quel di Rascia, 140
Che mal ha visto il conio di Vinegia.
O bëata Ungaria, se non si lascia
Più malmenare! E bëata Navarra,
Se s' armasse del monte che la fascia!
E creder dee ciascun che già, per arra 145
Di questo, Nicosìa e Famagosta
Per la lor bestia si lamenti e garra,
Che dal fianco dell' altre non si scosta.'

140. *Si conosceranno*, 'shall be revealed.' — Rascia was a state made up of parts of Servia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. Its king in 1300 was a certain Stephen Ouros, who counterfeited the Venetian ducat.

142. The throne of Hungary, which belonged to Charles Martel (VIII, 64–66), was usurped by Andrew III.

144. Navarre would be happy if she could protect herself with the mountain chains that enfold her — that is, if she could make the Pyrenees a bulwark against France, which is destined to annex her on the death of her queen, Joanna, married to Philip the Fair.

145–147. We may regard as a 'foretaste' and a warning of these great disasters the misfortunes of a couple of towns in Cyprus, which are already bewailing and scolding about their 'beast,' the dissolute King of Cyprus, Henry II of Lusignan.

148. This little beast trots along beside the big ones on the path of crime.

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

By way of answer to Dante's question in the preceding canto, we now find illustrated the possibility of salvation for a virtuous man living in pagan times. 'Invincible' (that is, insuperable, inevitable) ignorance is not an absolute bar: cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 2. Often, says St. Thomas, has grace been extended to the worthy but otherwise unenlightened: 'Multis gentilium facta fuit revelatio de Christo. . . . Sibylla etiam prænuntiavit quædam de Christo. . . . Si qui tamen salvati fuerunt quibus revelatio non fuit facta, non fuerunt salvati absque fide Mediatoris. Quia etsi non habuerunt fidem explicitam, habuerunt tamen fidem implicitam in divina providentia, credentes Deum esse liberatorem hominum secundum modos sibi placitos et secundum quod aliquibus veritatem cognoscentibus ipse revelasset' (*Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. ii, Art. 7). The *Commedia*, however, affords only two examples: that of Cato in *Purgatorio* I, and, in the present canto, that of Ripheus (or, better, Rhipeus), an inconspicuous character in the *Æneid*. Nowhere, before Dante, do we find any suggestion that this Trojan prince attained Heaven, nor that he was of particular importance. Virgil mentions his name, with those of other Trojans, in *Æn.*, II, 339 and 395. In *Æn.*, II, 426–427, he adds a brief description:

> 'Cadit et Ripheus, justissimus unus
> Qui fuit in Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.'

Nothing more. But these words evidently made a profound impression on Dante, and led him to conjecture that such devotion to justice must have been a result of grace — of that divine plan which no created mind can penetrate. The upright heathen, who has made the most of his natural endowments, is met by grace, which moves him to love good above everything else, and finally reveals to him the essential truth of salvation through Christ. The choice of such a minor personage as Ripheus emphasizes the mystery of God's predestination. On the other hand, Ripheus was a Trojan, a representative of that noble stock from which the

Romans sprang. And among the Trojans he was 'the most righteous of all, and the strictest observer of justice.'

Quite different is the case of the just Emperor Trajan, who, in Christian times, died a pagan, but, in response to the prayer of St. Gregory the Great, was allowed to emerge from the lower world (where conversion is impossible) and resume his body for a little while — long enough to embrace the true faith and secure a place in Heaven. A reference to this widely current legend occurs in *Purgatorio* X, 73–76. Trajan's redemption is an example of the efficacy of saintly intercession. The effect of petition in one's own behalf is illustrated by a Biblical character, King Hezekiah. We are to understand, however, that in all such instances God's will is not altered, the prayer itself being foreordained.

Grouped with the three princes already mentioned are David, chosen by God to be ruler over his people, William the Good, the just king of Sicily, and the Emperor Constantine, who exemplifies the doctrine that the evil consequences of a well meant act do not constitute guilt for the doer. Of these six foremost champions of justice, two are ancient Hebrews, three belong to classical antiquity, and one is a modern. These spirits form the Eagle's eye: David is the pupil, and the other five make up the eyebrow. The curve in which the latter are arranged is evidently a semicircle, although the poet calls it *cerchio* and *tondo*. In the description of this company we find a sort of formal symmetry that reminds us of the architectural structure of lines 25–63 in *Purgatorio* XII, where are pictured the carvings on the floor of the terrace of Pride: in our canto lines 37–72 fall into six sections of six verses each, and the second tiercet of every section begins with 'Ora conosce.'

The Eagle, in this canto, is responsible for three very striking figures: the murmur of countless voices rising from the bird's body up through the neck, like the sound of many waters, until it takes the form of speech in the beak; the silence of the single voice of the bird, followed by a chorus of the individual souls that compose it, even as the disappearance of the sun introduces the great host of stars, which shine with its light; the satisfaction of the Eagle in the completion of its divine message — a satisfaction compared to that of the lark, which flies singing into the sky, and then suddenly stops, sated with the sweetness of its own note. This last simile goes back to the Provençal poet Bernart de Ventadorn:

> 'Quant vei la lauzeta mover
> De ioi sas alas contra l rai

Que s'oblida e s laissa cazer
  Per la doussor qu' al cor li vai' . . .

Tor. cites a close imitation of these lines by an Italian who wrote shortly before Dante, a certain Bondie Diotaiuti. Izaac Walton, in the *Complete Angler* (Little, Brown & Co., 1898, p. 11), gives a different explanation of the lark's silence: 'As first the Lark, when she means to rejoice, to cheer herself and those that hear her, she then quits the earth and sings as she ascends higher into the air; and, having ended her heavenly employment, grows then mute and sad to think she must descend to the dull earth, which she would not touch but for necessity.' — For a few other examples of lost souls saved by prayer, see A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892–93, I, 256.

Quando colui che tutto il mondo alluma
  Dell' emisperio nostro sì discende
  Che il giorno d' ogni parte si consuma,
Lo ciel, che sol di lui prima s' accende,
  Subitamente si rifà parvente 5
  Per molte luci, in che una risplende.
E quest' atto del ciel mi venne a mente,
  Come il segno del mondo e de' suoi duci
  Nel benedetto rostro fu tacente;
Però che tutte quelle vive luci, 10
  Vie più lucendo, cominciaron canti
  Da mia memoria labili e caduci.
O dolce amor, che di riso t' ammanti,
  Quanto parevi ardente in quei flaïlli,
  Ch' avieno spirto sol di pensier santi! 15
Poscia che i cari e lucidi lapilli,
  Ond' io vidi ingemmato il sesto lume,
  Poser silenzio agli angelici squilli,
Udir mi parve un mormorar di fiume,

1. *Colui:* the sun.
3. Cf. *Æn.*, II, 795: 'consumpta nocte.'
6. Dante thought of all the stars as deriving their light from the sun.
8. *Come*, 'when.' — *Segno:* the Eagle.
12. *Labili*, 'fleeting.'
14. *Flailli*, 'pipes.' Cf. Old French *flavel*, 'flute.'
16. *Lapilli*, 'jewels.'
19. Cf. Ezekiel xliii, 2: 'his voice was like a noise of many waters.'

Che scende chiaro giù di pietra in pietra, 20
Mostrando l' ubertà del suo cacume.
E come suono al collo della cetra
Prende sua forma, e sì come al pertugio
Della sampogna vento che penètra,
Così rimosso d' aspettare indugio, 25
Quel mormorar dell' aquila salissi
Su per lo collo, come fosse bugio.
Fecesi voce quivi, e quindi uscissi
Per lo suo becco in forma di parole,
Quali aspettava il core ov' io le scrissi. 30
'La parte in me che vede, e pate il sole
Nell' aquile mortali,' incominciommi,
'Or fisamente riguardar si vuole,
Perchè dei fochi, ond' io figura fommi,
Quelli onde l' occhio in testa mi scintilla, 35
E' di tutti i lor gradi son li sommi.
Colui che luce in mezzo per pupilla
Fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,
Che l' arca traslatò di villa in villa.
Ora conosce il merto del suo canto, 40
In quanto effetto fu del suo consiglio,
Per lo remunerar ch' è altrettanto.
Dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
Colui che più al becco mi s' accosta

22–24. In the cittern, or lute, 'the sound is shaped at the neck,' where the fingering is done; in the reed, at the holes.
25. *Rimosso . . . indugio*, 'without delay.'
27. *Bugio*, 'hollow.'
33. *Riguardar si vuole*, 'must be inspected.'
36. *E'* (= *ei*) repeats the *quelli* of l. 35.
38. David.
39. See 2 Samuel vi, 2–17. — *Arca:* the Ark of the Covenant. — *Villa*, 'house.' — Cf. *Purg.* X, 56.
41. *Consiglio*, 'wisdom.'

La vedovella consolò del figlio. 45
Ora conosce quanto caro costa
Non seguir Cristo, per l' esperïenza
Di questa dolce vita, e dell' opposta.
E quel che segue in la circonferenza
Di che ragiono, per l' arco superno, 50
Morte indugiò per vera penitenza.
Ora conosce che il giudizio eterno
Non si trasmuta, quando degno preco
Fa crastino laggiù dell' odïerno.
L' altro che segue, con le leggi e meco, 55
Sotto buona intenzion che fe' mal frutto,
Per cedere al pastor, si fece Greco.
Ora conosce come il mal dedutto
Dal suo bene operar non gli è nocivo,
Avvegna che sia il mondo indi distrutto. 60
E quel che vedi nell' arco declivo
Guglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora
Che piange Carlo e Federico vivo.
Ora conosce come s' innamora

45. For the story of Trajan's justice to the poor widow for the death of her son, see *Purg.* X, 73–93.

48. *Opposta:* the life of the souls in Limbus.

51. King Hezekiah being 'sick unto death,' Isaiah announced to him his impending fate. 'Then he turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto the Lord,' and 'wept sore.' Whereupon the Lord sent word through Isaiah that he had heard Hezekiah's prayer and seen his tears. 'I will heal thee,' he said. 'And I will add unto thy days fifteen years.' See 2 Kings xx, 1–6; also Isaiah xxxviii, 1–5. There is no mention here of penitence.

54. 'Turns to-day's into to-morrow's down on earth.' In such cases the 'prayer' and its result are a part of the divine plan.

55–57. Constantine, ceding Rome to the Pope and transferring the capital to Byzantium, made himself, the Eagle, and the laws Greek. Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 115–117; *Inf.* XXVII, 94–97; *Purg.* XXXII, 124–129; *Par.* VI, 1–3.

58–59. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xx, Art. 5.—*Dedutto*, 'resulting.'

62. William II, called 'the Good,' king of Sicily in the second half of the 12th century.

63. The kings of Naples and Sicily who were rebuked in XIX, 127–135.

Lo ciel del giusto rege, ed al sembiante 65
Del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora.
Chi crederebbe, giù nel mondo errante,
Che Rifëo Troiano in questo tondo
Fosse la quinta delle luci sante?
Ora conosce assai di quel che il mondo 70
Veder non può della divina grazia,
Benchè sua vista non discerna il fondo.'
Quale allodetta che in aere si spazia
Prima cantando, e poi tace contenta
Dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia, 75
Tal mi sembiò l' imago, della imprenta
Dell' eterno piacere, al cui disio
Ciascuna cosa, quale ell' è, diventa.
Ed avvegna ch' io fossi al dubbiar mio
Lì quasi vetro allo color che il veste, 80
Tempo aspettar tacendo non patìo;
Ma della bocca: 'Che cose son queste?'
Mi pinse con la forza del suo peso;
Per ch' io di corruscar vidi gran feste.
Poi appresso con l' occhio più acceso 85
Lo benedetto segno mi rispose,
Per non tenermi in ammirar sospeso:
'Io veggio che tu credi queste cose,
Perch' io le dico, ma non vedi come;

65. *Al sembiante*, 'by the aspect.'
73. *Si spazia*, 'soars.'
76. 'Thus the image appeared to me, (satisfied) with the stamp' of God's will.
79-80. My doubt showed through me, as a coat of paint shows through glass. Cf. *Conv.*, III, ix, 95-99: 'E però coloro che vogliono fare parere le cose nello specchio d' alcuno colore, interpongono di quel colore tra 'l vetro e' l piombo, sicchè il vetro ne rimane compreso.'
81. 'It (the doubt) endured not to bide its time in silence.' Cf. *Conv.*, IV, Canzone III, 9, and ii, 38-90.

Sì che, se son credute, sono ascose. 90
Fai come quei che la cosa per nome
Apprende ben; ma la sua quiditate
Veder non può, se altri non la prome.
Regnum cœlorum vïolenza pate
Da caldo amore e da viva speranza, 95
Che vince la divina volontate;
Non a guisa che l' uomo all' uom sobranza,
Ma vince lei perchè vuole esser vinta,
E vinta vince con sua beninanza.
La prima vita del ciglio e la quinta 100
Ti fa maravigliar, perchè ne vedi
La regïon degli Angeli dipinta.
Dei corpi suoi non uscir, come credi,
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
Quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi. 105
Chè l' una dello Inferno, u' non si riede
Giammai a buon voler, tornò all' ossa,
E ciò di viva speme fu mercede —
Di viva speme, che mise la possa
Ne' preghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla 110
Sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
L' anima glorïosa onde si parla,

92. *Quiditate*, 'quiddity,' essence.
93. *Prome*, 'discloses.'
94. Mat. xi, 12: 'the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence.'
97. *A guisa che*, 'as.' — *Sobranza a*, 'overcomes.'
98. *Vince lei*, 'it (love and hope) conquers it (divine will).'
100. *Vita:* soul. Cf. IX, 7. — The first and fifth are Trajan and Ripheus.
105. The one (Ripheus) had faith in the feet (of Christ) that were to suffer (being nailed to the cross), the other (Trajan) had faith in the feet that had suffered. *Passuri* and *passi* are Latin future and perfect participles. Both Ripheus and Trajan had faith in Christ, one before and one after the crucifixion. Cf. *Mon.*, III, iii, 62–69.
106. *L' una:* the soul of Trajan.
108. *Speme:* the hopefulness of St. Gregory.
111. *Sua voglia:* Trajan's will.

Tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
Credette in Lui che poteva aiutarla;
E credendo s' accese in tanto foco 115
Di vero amor ch' alla morte seconda
Fu degna di venire a questo gioco.
L' altra, per grazia che da sì profonda
Fontana stilla che mai crëatura
Non pinse l' occhio infino alla prim' onda, 120
Tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura;
Per che di grazia in grazia Dio gli aperse
L' occhio alla nostra redenzion futura:
Ond' ei credette in quella, e non sofferse
Da indi il puzzo più del paganesmo, 125
E riprendiene le genti perverse.
Quelle tre donne gli fur per battesmo,
Che tu vedesti dalla destra rota,
Dinanzi al battezzar più d' un millesmo.
O predestinazion, quanto remota 130
È la radice tua da quegli aspetti
Che la prima cagion non veggion *tota!*
E voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti
A giudicar; chè noi che Dio vedemo
Non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti 135
Ed enne dolce così fatto scemo,

116. *Morte seconda*, 'second death' — when Trajan died for the second time. The phrase is not used in its theological sense (as in *Inf.* I, 117).
118. The inclination of the will to good is a result of grace: *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cxi, Art. 2.
120. The 'first wave' of a fountain is the water that is gushing into it from the bottom.
122–123. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cix, Art. 5.
126. *Riprendiene* (= *ne riprendeva*), 'reproved therefor.'
127–128. *Purg.* XXIX, 121–129. The three Christian Virtues (whom Dante saw beside the right wheel of the chariot of the Church) were Ripheus's baptism.
129. 'More than a thousand years before baptizing began.'
132. *Tota* (Latin) = *tutta*. 136. *Enne* = *ci è*. — *Scemo*, 'want.'

Perchè il ben nostro in questo ben s' affina,
Che quel che vuole Iddio e noi volemo.'
Così da quella imagine divina,
Per farmi chiara la mia corta vista, 140
Data mi fu soave medicina.
E come a buon cantor buon citarista
Fa seguitar lo guizzo della corda,
In che più di piacer lo canto acquista,
Sì, mentre che parlò, sì mi ricorda 145
Ch' io vidi le due luci benedette,
Pur come batter d' occhi si concorda,
Con le parole mover le fiammette.

137–138. 'For our good is perfected by this good, namely, that we will what God wills.' Our happiness is made perfect by the surrender of our will to God.

142–148. While the Eagle speaks, the lights of Trajan and Ripheus flash together (like the twinkling of a pair of eyes) at the two ends of the semicircle, — just as a lute-player accompanies a singer by touching the strings.

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

The sphere of the cold planet, Saturn, symbolizes the spiritual state of contemplative minds. Here Dante encounters an atmosphere of monastic discipline. His eagerness to penetrate the secret of predestination is kindly but firmly checked. No song is heard. His beauteous guide refrains from smiling. According to the Pseudo-Dionysius, the highest contemplation ends in silence, without words or concepts (G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, II, 1912, 91). The Rule of St. Benedict admonishes us to rise to glory by the Jacob's Ladder of humility, two of whose twelve steps are silence and the mortification of laughter (Busnelli, II, 92–93). The silence of the souls and the seriousness of Beatrice are, it is true, artistically turned to double account by the author, who wishes to create a suggestion of loveliness beyond anything hitherto conceived. We have seen the brightness and swiftness of the lights increase from sphere to sphere; at this point the absence of description serves to convey the impression of a still higher degree of intensity.

Corresponding to the Cross in Mars and the Eagle in Jupiter, we find in Saturn a Ladder of golden light, the emblem of Contemplation, stretching upward farther than the eye can follow — such a ladder as Jacob once saw. 'And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it' (Gen. xxviii, 12). A similar ladder adorns the gown of Lady Philosophy in the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius (I, Pr. i). In the fragmentary Old Provençal *Bocci* — probably through an error in reading the Latin text — the figures climbing the rungs are called birds; and by an odd coincidence Dante likens to birds the bright spirits that come swarming down the steps to meet him. Foremost among them is the stern reformer and famous doctor of the Church, Peter Damian.

This Peter, born in Ravenna in 1007, came of a family so poor that he was abandoned by his mother. As a child he tended pigs until he was rescued and sent to school by his brother Damian,

then Archdeacon of Ravenna. In gratitude he afterwards named himself 'Damiani,' or Damian's. Having made good use of his opportunities, he won fame and wealth as a teacher in his native city. But he soon sickened of the corruption of the world, especially of the clergy, and withdrew in 1037 to the Benedictine monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana on a mountainside in Umbria. There he preached and practised the strictest asceticism. Some twenty years later he reluctantly became Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia, and was sent on several important missions; as soon as possible, however, he returned to his cloister. He died in 1072. Among his writings, — the most important of which are concerned with the reform of Church discipline, — is one entitled *De Quadragesima sive de Quadraginta duabus Hebræorum Mansionibus*, an allegorical treatise which Dante may have known.

Another saintly Peter of Ravenna was Pietro degli Onesti, who called himself and was universally called 'Petrus Peccans,' or Peter the Sinner. He founded in 1096 the monastery of Santa Maria in Porto, where his grave is still to be seen. Apparently there was in Dante's time some confusion of these two Peters; so that the poet thought it worth while to correct the error by putting into the mouth of the earlier one an explicit statement of the distinction. 'I, Peter Damian,' he says, 'was in Holy Cross, and Peter the Sinner was at St. Mary's.' The verses in question (ll. 121–123) have, however, been understood in various other ways and are not yet entirely clear; in line 122 there is a well authenticated reading *fui* instead of *fu*, and editors punctuate the lines differently, according to their interpretation. The matter is made more complicated by the fact that Peter Damian also assumed, while a monk, the epithet 'sinner.'

See E. Anzalone, *Dante e Pier Damiano*, 1903; cf. *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 24. — For Peter Damian's *De Quadragesima*, see P. Amaducci, *La fonte della Divina Commedia*, 2 vols., 1911; cf. *Giorn. dant.*, XIX, 23. Amaducci unsuccessfully tries to show that Dante derived the whole general scheme of his journey from Peter Damian's work. — For discussions of the debated lines, see Tor., Scart., and *Bull.*, X, 359–360.

Già eran gli occhi miei rifissi al volto
  Della mia Donna, e l' animo con essi,
  E da ogni altro intento s' era tolto;
E quella non ridea, ma: 'S' io ridessi,'

Mi cominciò, 'tu ti faresti quale 5
Fu Semelè, quando di cener fessi;
Chè la bellezza mia, che per le scale
Dell' eterno palazzo più s' accende,
Com' hai veduto, quanto più si sale,
Se non si temperasse, tanto splende 10
Che il tuo mortal potere al suo fulgore
Sarebbe fronda che tuono scoscende.
Noi sem levati al settimo splendore,
Che sotto il petto del Lëone ardente
Raggia mo misto giù del suo valore. 15
Ficca diretro agli occhi tuoi la mente,
E fa di quegli specchi alla figura
Che in questo specchio ti sarà parvente.'
Chi sapesse qual era la pastura
Del viso mio nell' aspetto bëato, 20
Quand' io mi trasmutai ad altra cura,
Conoscerebbe quanto m' era a grato
Ubbidire alla mia celeste scorta,
Contrappesando l' un con l' altro lato.
Dentro al cristallo che il vocabol porta, 25
Cerchiando il mondo, del suo chiaro duce
Sotto cui giacque ogni malizia morta,

6. Sĕmĕle, daughter of Cadmus and mother of Bacchus, having insisted on beholding her lover, Jupiter, in all his heavenly majesty, was burned to ashes by his splendor: *Met.*, III, 253–315; cf. *Inf.* XXX, 2.

13–15. Saturn, 'the seventh brightness,' being in line with the constellation of Leo, its cold influence 'now radiates downward' mitigated by the heat of the Lion.

18. *Questo specchio:* Saturn.

19–20. Anyone who knew how my eyes loved to feed on her blessed face.

21. When I, at her bidding, turned my attention to a different object.

24. 'By balancing the one side with the other': i. e., by weighing in the scales my desire to see Beatrice against my desire to obey her.

25–27. The cold, crystal planet 'bears the name' of Saturn, that 'illustrious governor' of the world who ruled in the Golden Age.

Di color d' oro in che raggio traluce,
Vid' io uno scaleo eretto in suso
Tanto che nol seguiva la mia luce. 30
Vidi anco per li gradi scender giuso
Tanti splendor ch' io pensai ch' ogni lume
Che par nel ciel quindi fosse diffuso.
E come per lo natural costume
Le pole insieme al cominciar del giorno 35
Si movono a scaldar le fredde piume, —
Poi altre vanno via senza ritorno,
Altre rivolgon sè onde son mosse,
Ed altre roteändo fan soggiorno, —
Tal modo parve a me che quivi fosse 40
In quello sfavillar che insieme venne,
Sì come in certo grado si percosse;
E quel che presso più ci si ritenne
Si fe' sì chiaro ch' io dicea pensando:
'Io veggio ben l' amor che tu m' accenne.' 45
Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come e il quando
Del dire e del tacer, si sta; ond' io
(Contra il disio) fo ben ch' io non domando.
Per ch' ella, che vedeva il tacer mio
Nel veder di Colui che tutto vede, 50
Mi disse: 'Solvi il tuo caldo disio.'
Ed io incominciai: 'La mia mercede
Non mi fa degno della tua risposta;
Ma per colei che il chieder mi concede,

30. *Luce*, 'eye.'
35. *Pole*, 'daws': cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XVIII, 44.
40-42. When the sparkling host of souls, in its swift descent, reaches a 'certain round' of the ladder (presumably the step nearest to Dante), it breaks up into groups that hover and flit like birds.
43. *Quel:* sc., *splendore* (l. 32).
47. *Si sta*, 'is still.' For the use of the present tense, cf. *Purg.* XXI, 115-117.

Vita bëata che ti stai nascosta 55
Dentro alla tua letizia, fammi nota
La cagion che sì presso mi t' ha posta;
E di' perchè si tace in questa rota
La dolce sinfonia di Paradiso,
Che giù per l' altre suona sì devota.' 60
'Tu hai l' udir mortal sì come il viso,'
Rispose a me; 'onde qui non si canta
Per quel che Bëatrice non ha riso.
Giù per li gradi della scala santa
Discesi tanto, sol per farti festa 65
Col dire e con la luce che m' ammanta.
Nè più amor mi fece esser più presta,
Chè più e tanto amor quinci su ferve,
Sì come il fiammeggiar ti manifesta;
Ma l' alta carità, che ci fa serve 70
Pronte al Consiglio che il mondo governa,
Sorteggia qui, sì come tu osserve.'
'Io veggio ben,' diss' io, 'sacra lucerna,
Come libero amore in questa corte
Basta a seguir la Provvidenza eterna; 75
Ma quest' è quel ch' a cerner mi par forte:
Perchè predestinata fosti sola
A questo offizio tra le tue consorte.'
Nè venni prima all' ultima parola

59. *Sinfonia:* the hymns sung by the spirits in the preceding spheres.
63. *Per quel che*, 'for the same reason that': cf. *Purg.* XV, 133, and XXXIII, 77–78.
67. *Più amor:* i. e., greater than that of my companions.
68. *Quinci su ferve*, 'glows up yonder,' on the ladder.
72. *Sorteggia*, 'allots.'
76. *Cerner*, 'make out.' — *Forte*, 'hard.' — Why does God choose one soul for a particular office, rather than another? Once more Dante is confronted with the inscrutable mystery of predestination, which perturbs and baffles him. And once more his curiosity is curbed. Cf. XIX, 52–66, 79–90; XX, 130–138.

Che del suo mezzo fece il lume centro, 80
Girando sè come veloce mola.
Poi rispose l' amor che v' era dentro:
'Luce divina sopra me s' appunta, —
Penetrando per questa ond' io m' inventro,
La cui virtù, col mio veder congiunta, 85
Mi leva sopra me tanto ch' io veggio
La Somma Essenza della quale è munta.
Quinci vien l' allegrezza ond' io fiammeggio;
Perchè alla vista mia, quant' ella è chiara,
La chiarità della fiamma pareggio. 90
Ma quell' alma nel ciel che più si schiara,
Quel Serafin che in Dio più l' occhio ha fisso,
Alla domanda tua non satisfara;
Però che sì s' inoltra nell' abisso
Dell' eterno statuto quel che chiedi 95
Che da ogni crëata vista è scisso.
Ed al mondo mortal, quando tu riedi,
Questo rapporta, sì che non presuma
A tanto segno più mover li piedi.
La mente che qui luce, in terra fuma; 100

80–81. For swift gyration as an expression of joy, cf. XVIII, 41–42.
83. *S' appunta*, 'focuses.'
84. *Questa:* sc., *luce.*—*Ond' io m' inventro*, 'in which I am embellied,' i. e., contained.
85. *Cui* refers to *luce* in l. 83.
87. *Munta*, 'milked,' i. e., drawn. Cf. *Inf.* XII, 135, and XXIV, 43.
89. *Quanto*, 'according as.'
90. 'I match the clearness of my flame.' Again the doctrine that happiness depends on clearness of spiritual vision, which is a gift of grace.
91. *Si schiara*, 'is illumined.'
92. The Seraphim are the angels closest to God, and represent divine love.
93. *Satisfara*, 'would satisfy': an old-fashioned southern form of the conditional.
95. *Quel che chiedi* is the subject of *s' inoltra* in l. 94.
96. *Scisso*, 'cut off': cf. *Purg.* VI, 123.
99. *Segno*, 'goal.'

Onde riguarda come può laggiùe
Quel che non puote, perchè il ciel l' assuma.'
Sì mi prescrisser le parole sue
Ch' io lasciai la questione, e mi ritrassi
A domandarla umilmente chi fue. 105
'Tra due liti d' Italia surgon sassi
(E non molto distanti alla tua patria)
Tanto che i tuoni assai suonan più bassi,
E fanno un gibbo che si chiama Catria,
Disotto al quale è consecrato un ermo, 110
Che suol esser disposto a sola latria.'
Così ricominciommi il terzo sermo;
E poi continüando disse: 'Quivi
Al servigio di Dio mi fei sì fermo
Che pur con cibi di liquor d' ulivi 115
Lievemente passava caldi e geli,
Contento nei pensier contemplativi.
Render solea quel chiostro a questi cieli
Fertilemente, ed ora è fatto vano,
Sì che tosto convien che si riveli. 120
In quel loco fu' io, Pier Damïano
(E Pietro Peccator fu nella casa

101–102. 'Consider, then, how it can do on earth' (where it 'is smoky') 'that which it cannot do' in Heaven (where it 'shines'). — *Perchè*, 'though.'

106. *Sassi:* the northern part of the Apennines.

109. *Gibbo*, 'hump.' Catria is a high eastern spur of the Apennines, between Urbino and Gubbio.

110. *Ermo*, 'hermitage' (cf. *Purg.* V, 96): the monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana.

111. *Suol* is evidently equivalent to the imperfect, *soleva*, as in *Inf.* XXVII, 48, *Par.* XII, 123 (cf. *Inf.* XVI, 22). — *Latria*, 'divine worship.'

112. *Sermo*, 'speech.'

115. *Pur*, 'merely.'

118. *Render*, 'produce' a harvest of blessed souls.

119. *Vano*, 'void.' There seems to be here a reference to some condition or event of which we have no knowledge.

122. *Casa:* the monastery of Santa Maria in Porto, 'on the Adriatic shore,' near Ravenna.

Di Nostra Donna in sul lito Adrïano).
Poca vita mortal m' era rimasa,
Quando fui chiesto e tratto a quel cappello 125
Che pur di male in peggio si travasa.
Venne Cephas, e venne il gran vasello
Dello Spirito Santo, magri e scalzi,
Prendendo il cibo di qualunque ostello.
Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi 130
Li moderni pastori, e chi li meni
(Tanto son gravi !) e chi diretro gli alzi.
Copron dei manti loro i palafreni,
Sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle:
O pazïenza, che tanto sostieni!' 135
A questa voce vid' io più fiammelle
Di grado in grado scendere e girarsi,
Ed ogni giro le facea più belle.
Dintorno a questa vennero, e fermarsi,
E fero un grido di sì alto suono 140
Che non potrebbe qui assimigliarsi;
Nè io lo intesi, sì mi vinse il tuono.

125. *Cappello:* the cardinal's hat.

126. 'Which is shifted' (literally 'poured') 'only from bad to worse': each successive cardinal is worse than the one before.

127. *Cephas:* St. Peter. See John i, 42: 'And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A stone.' *Petrus* is a translation of the Aramaic *cephas.* — *Vasello:* St. Paul, the 'chosen vessel.' See Acts ix, 15. Cf. *Inf.* II, 28. — Cf. *Par.* XVIII, 131.

128. *Magri e scalzi:* cf. Mat. x, 10.

129. *Ostello,* 'house.' See Luke x, 5 and 7. Cf. 1 Cor. x, 27.

130. *Chi rincalzi,* 'someone to prop them.'

134. *Pelle:* the fur-lined mantle.

141. *Assimigliarsi,* 'be paralleled.'

142. *Intesi,* 'understood.'

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

THE deafening cry of reprobation and prophecy of punishment, with which the preceding canto ends, leaves us in startled and wondering suspense, much as we were left at the close of the twentieth canto of the *Purgatorio*, when the mountain shook and all the souls raised a shout of thanksgiving at the release of Statius. Dante and his readers are, however, soon reassured; and presently more shining spirits appear, brightest among them the great founder of the Benedictine order. St. Benedict's career is related by Gregory the Great in his *Dialogi*, II. He lived from 480 to 543. Born in Nursia, he was educated in Rome, but at the age of fourteen withdrew to the wilderness, where he dwelt for three years in a cave. His mature life was devoted to the conversion of pagans and the direction of his busy and scholarly order.

Between Saturn and the fixed stars is a distance greater than any hitherto traversed by Dante. The long, swift ascent symbolizes the uplifting of the soul by contemplation. In the eighth sphere, which contains countless heavenly bodies, the poet enters the constellation of Gemini, under whose influence he was born. Thus, in a spiritual sense, he returns, like Plato's departed, to his native star: cf. *Par.* IV, 52–57. At this point of his journey, he is told to look back,

'Chè suole a riguardar giovare altrui.' — *Purg.* IV, 54.

Beneath him are the sun, the moon, and all the planets, and, lowest, our little earth, so tiny that its pettiness makes him smile. Once St. Benedict, standing at a window, had a similar vision, suddenly beholding the whole world collected, as it were, under one sunbeam (Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, II, xxxv).

A closer parallel to Dante's experience, however, is to be found in Cicero's *De Republica*, VI, where Scipio, in a dream, is lifted to the skies. 'Erant autem eæ stellæ, quas numquam ex hoc loco vidimus, et eæ magnitudines omnium, quas esse numquam suspicati sumus, ex quibus erat ea minima, quæ ultima a cælo, citima terris, luce lucebat aliena. Stellarum autem globi terræ magnitudinem facile vincebant. Jam ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est, ut me imperii nostri . . . pæniteret' (*De Rep.*, VI, xvi). He sees

the starry sphere, the seven planets (including sun and moon), and the earth. 'Omnis enim terra, quæ colitur a vobis,' says the shade of his ancestor, 'angusta verticibus, lateribus latior, parva quædam insula est, circumfusa illo mari, quod Atlanticum, quod magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in terris, qui tamen tanto nomine quam sit parvus vides. Ex his ipsis cultis notisque terris num aut tuum aut cuiusquam vestrum nomen vel Caucasum hunc, quem cernis, transcendere potuit vel illum Gangen tranatare?' (*De Rep.*, VI, xx). So Dante sees the whole inhabited continent, — short from north to south, but broad from east to west, — exposed 'from hills to river mouths,' from Caucasus to Ganges and Ebro. This, then, is 'the little threshing-floor that makes us so ferocious'! Like a threshing-floor our earth appeared to Alexander the Great, when, according to an ancient legend, he had himself carried up to the sky by eagles or griffins. Equally insignificant it seemed to Boethius (*Cons.*, II, Metr. vii, 1–6):

> 'Quicumque solam mente præcipiti petit,
> Summumque credit gloriam,
> Late patentes ætheris cernat plagas,
> Arctumque terrarum situm:
> Brevem replere non valentis ambitum
> Pudebit aucti nominis.'

In Canto XXVII, ll. 76–87, Dante describes a second downward look from the same constellation, with which he has been revolving. It would appear from this passage that during his first observation he reached the meridian of Jerusalem, the centre of the inhabited earth. The phrase 'while I was circling with the eternal Twins' indicates that this first gaze lasts a considerable length of time. When it began, he was presumably in line with central Asia, and saw the whole of that region, as far east as the mouth of the Ganges; when it ended, he was on the meridian of the Holy City, and could see the entire westerly stretch of land to the Atlantic. If the sun, too, had been in Gemini, he could have taken in the whole continent (which is 180° broad) at one sweep, from a position on the line of Jerusalem; but inasmuch as the sun was in Aries, some 40° west of the observer, the part of the earth illumined by its light did not coincide with Dante's field of vision.

An early Italian version of the story of Alexander's ascent to the skies, in a cage carried by four griffins, is to be found on p. 159 of *I nobili fatti di Alessandro Magno*, edited by G. Grion, 1872. This and other fabulous tales of Alexander — widely current in the Middle Ages — hark back, in the main, to the Greek romance which goes under the name of Callisthenes.

Oppresso di stupore, alla mia guida
  Mi volsi, come parvol che ricorre
  Sempre colà dove più si confida;
E quella, come madre che soccorre
  Subito al figlio pallido ed anelo 5
  Con la sua voce che il suol ben disporre,
Mi disse: 'Non sai tu che tu sei in cielo?
  E non sai tu che il cielo è tutto santo,
  E ciò che ci si fa vien da buon zelo?
Come t' avrebbe trasmutato il canto, 10
  Ed io ridendo, mo pensar lo puoi,
  Poscia che il grido t' ha mosso cotanto;
Nel qual, se inteso avessi i preghi suoi,
  Già ti sarebbe nota la vendetta
  Che tu vedrai innanzi che tu muoi. 15
La spada di quassù non taglia in fretta,
  Nè tardo, ma' che al parer di colui,
  Che disïando o temendo l' aspetta.
Ma rivolgiti omai inverso altrui;
  Ch' assai illustri spiriti vedrai, 20
  Se com' io dico l' aspetto ridui.'
Com' a lei piacque gli occhi dirizzai,
  E vidi cento sperule, che insieme
  Più s' abbellivan coi mutüi rai.
Io stava come quei che in sè ripreme 25
  La punta del disio, e non s' attenta
  Del domandar, sì del troppo si teme.

1. Cf. *Cons.*, I, Pr. ii: 'sed te, ut video, stupor oppressit.'
10. See XXI, 58–63.
11. See XXI, 4–6.
17. *Ma' che*, 'except.' — *Parer*, 'opinion.'
21. *Ridui* = *riduci*.
23. *Sperule*, 'little globes' of light.
26. *Punta*, 'prick.' — *S' attenta*, 'ventures.'

E la maggiore e la più luculenta
Di quelle margarite innanzi fessi,
Per far di sè la mia voglia contenta. 30
Poi dentro a lei udi': 'Se tu vedessi,
Com' io, la carità che tra noi arde,
Li tuoi concetti sarebbero espressi;
Ma perchè tu aspettando non tarde
All' alto fine, io ti farò risposta 35
Pure al pensier di che sì ti riguarde.
Quel monte a cui Cassino è nella costa
Fu frequentato già in sulla cima
Dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta.
E quel son io che su vi portai prima 40
Lo nome di Colui che in terra addusse
La verità che tanto ci sublima;
E tanta grazia sopra me rilusse
Ch' io ritrassi le ville circostanti
Dall' empio culto che il mondo sedusse. 45
Questi altri fochi tutti contemplanti
Uomini furo, accesi di quel caldo
Che fa nascere i fiori e i frutti santi.
Qui è Maccario, qui è Romöaldo,
Qui son li frati miei, che dentro ai chiostri 50

29. *Fessi* = *si fece.*
30. *Di sè,* 'concerning itself.'
34. *Tarde* = *tardi,* present subjunctive of *tardare.*
36. 'Even to the thought of which thou art so chary.'
37-39. On the summit of Monte Cassino, in the Kingdom of Naples, St. Benedict in 528 erected two chapels in a temple of Apollo, and converted the heathen; there arose the first and most famous monastery of his order. Cf. St. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi,* II, viii. — *Gente:* the pagan people.
42. *Sublima,* 'exalts.'
49. *Maccario:* probably St. Macarius of Alexandria, a disciple of St. Antony and a promoter of monasticism in the East. He died in 405. — *Romoaldo:* St. Romualdus of Ravenna, dissatisfied with the laxity into which the Benedictines had fallen, founded in 1012 the order of Camaldoli. His life was written by St. Peter Damian (XXI, 121).

Fermar li piedi e tennero il cor saldo.'
Ed io a lui: 'L' affetto che dimostri
Meco parlando, e la buona sembianza
Ch' io veggio e noto in tutti gli ardor vostri,
Così m' ha dilatata mia fidanza 55
Come il sol fa la rosa, quando aperta
Tanto divien quant' ell' ha di possanza.
Però ti prego, e tu, padre, m' accerta
S' io posso prender tanta grazia ch' io
Ti veggia con imagine scoperta.' 60
Ond' egli: 'Frate, il tuo alto disio
S' adempierà in sull' ultima spera,
Dove s' adempion tutti gli altri e il mio.
Ivi è perfetta, matura ed intera
Ciascuna disïanza; in quella sola 65
È ogni parte là dove sempr' era.
Perchè non è in loco, e non s' impola;
E nostra scala infino ad essa varca,
Onde così dal viso ti s' invola.
Infin lassù la vide il patrïarca 70
Jacob porgere la superna parte,
Quando gli apparve d' Angeli sì carca.
Ma per salirla mo nessun diparte
Da terra i piedi, e la regola mia
Rimasa è per danno delle carte. 75
Le mura che soleano esser badia

62. *L' ultima spera:* the Empyrean, or real Heaven.
67. *Loco*, 'space.' — *Non s' impola*, 'it has no pole': it does not revolve, like the material heavens.
69. *Viso*, 'sight.' — *S' invola*, 'abstracts itself.'
71. Gen. xxviii, 12.
75. *Per danno delle carte*, 'as waste paper.' Cf. the Provençal phrase *getar a son dan*, 'to care nothing for,' which appears in the Italian of Chiaro Davanzati: 'Gitto a mio danno lo parlare e 'l vedere' (*Non già per gioja c' agio mi conforto*).

Fatte sono spelonche, e le cocolle
Sacca son piene di farina ria.
Ma grave usura tanto non si tolle
Contra il piacer di Dio quanto quel frutto 80
Che fa il cor dei monaci sì folle!
Chè quantunque la Chiesa guarda, tutto
E della gente che per Dio domanda;
Non di parenti, nè d' altro più brutto.
La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda 85
Che giù non basta buon cominciamento
Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
Pier cominciò senz' oro e senza argento,
Ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
E Francesco umilmente il suo convento. 90
E se guardi il principio di ciascuno,
Poscia riguardi là dov' è trascorso,
Tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno.
Veramente Jordan volto retrorso
Più fu, e il mar fuggir, quando Dio volse, 95

77. Cf. Isaiah vii, 11: 'Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers (*spelunca latronum*) in your eyes?' Mat. xxi, 13: 'My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.' — *Cocolle*, 'cowls.'

78. *Sacca* is a fem. plural of *sacco*.

79. *Ma*, 'why!' — *Si tolle*, 'rebels.'

80. *Frutto*, 'income' derived from misuse of Church moneys.

82. *Guarda*, 'has in keeping.'

83. 'Belongs to the people who ask in God's name' — to the worthy poor.

85. *Blanda*, 'soft,' weak.

86. *Giù:* on earth.

88. Acts iii, 6: 'Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none.'

90. *Francesco:* St. Francis of Assisi (XI).

93. *Del bianco* etc., 'the white turned dark,' like a withered flower. Cf. Peire d' Alvernhe, *Rossinhol, el seu repaire*, 55–57:

'Que tost chai
Blancs en bai,
Com flors sobre lenha.'

94. *Veramente*, 'nevertheless.' — 'Jordan turned back': Joshua iii, 14–17.

95. *Più* is to be connected with *mirabile* in l. 96. — 'And the sea fleeing': Exod. xiv, 21–29.

Mirabile a veder, che qui il soccorso.'
Così mi disse, ed indi si ricolse
Al suo collegio, e il collegio si strinse;
Poi come turbo tutto in su s' accolse.
La dolce Donna dietro a lor mi pinse 100
Con un sol cenno su per quella scala,
Sì sua virtù la mia natura vinse;
Nè mai quaggiù, dove si monta e cala
Naturalmente, fu sì ratto moto
Ch' agguagliar si potesse alla mia ala. 105
S' io torni mai, lettore, a quel devoto
Trïonfo, per lo quale io piango spesso
Le mie peccata, e il petto mi percoto,
Tu non avresti in tanto tratto e messo
Nel foco il dito, in quanto io vidi il segno 110
Che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso.
O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno
Di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco
Tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno!
Con voi nasceva e s' ascondeva vosco 115

96. The turning back of the Jordan and the parting of the Red Sea were examples of divine intervention 'more wonderful to behold than succor here.' Therefore we must not despair. Cf. Ps. cxiv (Vulg. cxiii), 3 and 5: 'The sea saw it, and fled: Jordan was driven back.' . . . 'What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back?'

98. *Si strinse*, 'closed together.'

99. *Turbo*, 'whirlwind,' cyclone.

106. *S' io torni mai*, 'as I hope ever to return.' — *Lettore:* Scart. notes that this is the last of Dante's sixteen apostrophes to the 'reader.'

108. Cf. Luke xviii, 13: 'the publican . . . smote upon his breast (*percutiebat pectus suum*).'

109–110. 'Thou wouldst not have drawn out and put thy finger in the fire so quickly as I saw the sign.' The order of the two acts is inverted (as in II, 23–24) to give the impression of simultaneousness. — *Segno:* Gemini (the Twins), the sign that follows Taurus (the Bull) in the zodiac. Dante has risen to the heaven of the fixed stars.

113. *Dal quale io riconosco*, 'to which I owe': cf. XXIX, 59, XXXI, 84. — Gemini, the house of Mercury, bestows a taste for learning.

115–117. The sun was rising and setting with Gemini when Dante first

Quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita,
Quand' io senti' da prima l' aër Tosco;
E poi quando mi fu grazia largita
D' entrar nell' alta rota che vi gira,
La vostra regïon mi fu sortita. 120
A voi devotamente ora sospira
L' anima mia per acquistar virtute
Al passo forte che a sè la tira.
'Tu sei sì presso all' ultima salute,'
Cominciò Bëatrice, 'che tu dei 125
Aver le luci tue chiare ed acute.
E però prima che tu più t' inlei,
Rimira in giù, e vedi quanto mondo
Sotto li piedi già esser ti fei;
Sì che il tuo cor, quantunque può, giocondo 130
S' appresenti alla turba trïonfante,
Che lieta vien per questo etera tondo.'
Col viso ritornai per tutte quante
Le sette spere, e vidi questo globo
Tal, ch' io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante; 135
E quel consiglio per migliore approbo
Che l' ha per meno; e chi ad altro pensa

breathed 'the Tuscan air': he was born, then, between May 21 and June 21. — *Vosco*, 'with you.'

121–123. Entering upon the third stage of his celestial journey, Dante invokes the aid of his native constellation for the 'difficult pass' that is drawing him on — namely, the description of the higher heavens. This appeal, one of Dante's most charming inventions, stands in line with the preludes in I, 1–36, and X, 1–27. Here, however, he calls, not on Apollo, but on his own stars.

125. *Dei* = *devi.*

126. *Luci*, 'eyes.'

127. *T' inlei*, 'enter into it' (the *salute*). The verb is made by Dante from the pronoun *lei:* cf. *inluia* in IX, 73; *intuassi* and *immii* in IX, 81.

129. *Fei* = *feci.*

132. *Etera*, 'ether.'

137. *L' ha per meno*, 'holds it cheapest.' — *Altro:* 'other things' than 'this globe.'

Chiamar si puote veramente probo.
Vidi la figlia di Latona incensa
Senza quell' ombra che mi fu cagione 140
Per che già la credetti rara e densa.
L' aspetto del tuo nato, Iperïone,
Quivi sostenni, e vidi com' si move
Circa e vicino a lui, Maia e Dïone!
Quindi m' apparve il temperar di Giove 145
Tra il padre e il figlio; e quindi mi fu chiaro
Il varïar che fanno di lor dove.
E tutti e sette mi si dimostraro
Quanto son grandi, e quanto son veloci,
E come sono in distante riparo. 150
L' aiuola che ci fa tanto feroci,
Volgendom' io con gli eterni Gemelli,
Tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci.
Poscia rivolsi gli occhi agli occhi belli.

138. *Probo*, 'righteous.'
139. 'Latona's daughter' is Diana, the moon.
140. The upper side of the moon (Dante says) has no dark spots.
141. See II, 49–60.
142. Hyperion is often called by ancient poets the father of the sun. See *Met.*, IV, 192: 'Hyperione nate' (cf. 241).
143. *Com' si move*, 'what motion there is,' how the planets move.
144. *Lui:* the sun. — *Maia* and *Dione* are probably to be taken as vocatives like *Iperione* in l. 142. These persons are invoked, because, like Hyperion, they are parents of gods whose names are borne by heavenly bodies: Maia is the mother of Mercury; Dione, the mother of Venus. Cf. *Theb.*, II, 1 ('Maia satus') and *Æn.*, I, 297 ('Maia genitum'); *Par.* VIII, 7.
145. *Temperar:* see XVIII, 68.
146. *Padre:* Saturn. — *Figlio:* Mars.
150. *Riparo*, 'abode.'
151. *Aiuola*, 'little threshing-floor': the inhabited part of the earth.

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

As the ecstatic dreamer approaches the confines of the material universe, he begins to catch glimpses of reality — of the true life of the world of spirit. In the eighth heaven Dante has a beautiful vision of the triumph of Christ and Mary, in the midst of the whole army of the blest, 'all the fruit harvested from the revolution of these spheres.' Their appearance is eagerly awaited by Beatrice, and greeted by her with a cry of rapture. The starry sphere is a traditional symbol of the Church; here all the elect are gathered, in company with the Apostles and the Evangelists, to whom, perhaps, this heaven especially belongs. In this borderland between the visible and the invisible universe, Jesus, the Man-God, comes to meet the upward faring soul. The rising of Christ and Mary to the Empyrean, before the waiting host, symbolizes the Ascension and the Assumption. The triumph here depicted is a counterpart of the pageant of the Church Militant in the Terrestrial Paradise. In this scene the angels, who were not redeemed by the Saviour of man, have no share. The canto ends with the triumph of St. Peter, who does not as yet rise to the Empyrean, but remains with his flock, in the place of Christ.

For the traditional identification of the eighth heaven with the Church, see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 118–119. The same author cites (pp. 114–116) from a commentary on the Transfiguration, by Innocent III, a passage in which Christ is described as possessing the four characteristics of the sun: brightness, impassibility, subtlety, agility. The same passage throws some light on the appropriateness of Dante's ensuing examination, by the Apostles, in the three Christian virtues. The inability of the unaided human eye to see Christ is discussed by Rabanus Maurus, St. Gregory, and others: Busnelli, I, 110–113. Christ is compared to sun, moon, and star in Rev. xxi, 23, xxii, 16. — The superiority of the Apostles to other men is declared by St. Thomas in his Commentary on Romans viii, 5, and Ephesians i, 3. While others may have done greater things, the Apostles did what they did with greater love, and so achieved greater merit. In Mat. xix, 28, Jesus promises his followers that they 'shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel'; and St. Thomas, in his Commentary, points out that judges must be elevated above the rest of the world. It is therefore not unlikely that Dante meant to assign to the Apostles a sphere higher than those allotted to other men. This eighth heaven, with its ecclesiastical traditions, would be a fit place for them. Here St. Peter triumphs, and here Dante is judged by Peter, James, and John. With the Apostles are probably associated the Evangelists, and also, it would seem, Adam, the man shaped by God's own hand.

Come l' augello intra l' amate fronde,
  Posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati
  La notte, che le cose ci nasconde,
Che per veder gli aspetti disïati,
  E per trovar lo cibo onde li pasca, 5
  In che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati,
Previene il tempo in su l' aperta frasca,
  E con ardente affetto il sole aspetta,
  Fiso guardando pur che l' alba nasca, —
Così la Donna mia si stava eretta 10
  Ed attenta, rivolta inver la plaga
  Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta;
Sì che veggendola io sospesa e vaga,
  Fecimi quale è quei che disïando
  Altro vorria, e sperando s' appaga. 15
Ma poco fu tra uno ed altro quando,
  Del mio attender, dico, e del vedere
  Lo ciel venir più e più rischiarando.
E Bëatrice disse: 'Ecco le schiere
  Del trionfo di Cristo, e tutto il frutto 20
  Ricolto del girar di queste spere.'
Pareami che il suo viso ardesse tutto;
  E gli occhi avea di letizia sì pieni

3. *La notte*, 'during the night.'
5. Cf. *Æn.*, XII, 475: 'Pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas.'
6. *Aggrati*, 'a pleasure.'
7. *Previene il tempo*, 'anticipates the hour.'
9. *Pur che* etc., 'only for dawn to break.'
11. *Plaga*, 'quarter': the sky overhead.
12. In the middle of the sky the sun seems to move slower than it does near the horizon.
13. *Vaga*, 'eager.'
15. 'Would fain have something, and is soothed by hope.'
16. *Quando:* moment.
19-21. The blest were predisposed to virtue by the heavens which influenced them at birth; and salvation was made possible by Christ.

Che passar mi convien senza costrutto.
Quale nei plenilunïi sereni 25
Trivïa ride tra le ninfe eterne
Che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni,
Vid' io, sopra migliaia di lucerne,
Un Sol che tutte quante l' accendea,
Come fa il nostro le viste superne; 30
E per la viva luce trasparea
La lucente Sustanzia tanto chiara
Nel viso mio che non la sostenea.
O Bëatrice, dolce guida e cara!
Ella mi disse: 'Quel che ti sobranza 35
È virtù da cui nulla si ripara.
Quivi è la Sapïenza e la Possanza
Ch' aprì la strada intra il cielo e la terra,
Onde fu già sì lunga disïanza.'
Come foco di nube si disserra 40
(Per dilatarsi sì che non vi cape)
E fuor di sua natura in giù s' atterra,
La mente mia così, tra quelle dape

24. *Costrutto*, 'phrasing.' Cf. XII, 67.
26. Trivia is one of the names of Diana: the moon. Dante apparently pronounced the name *Trivía*. — *Ninfe:* the stars.
27. *Seni*, 'laps,' confines. Cf. XIII, 7.
30. Christ illumines all the blest, just as our material sun illumines all the stars — 'the phenomena on high' (cf. II, 115). See *Conv.*, II, xiv, 125–126: 'del suo lume tutte le altre stelle s' informano.' Cf. *Par.* XX, 6.
32. *Sustanzia:* the humanity of Christ.
35. *Sobranza:* cf. XX, 97.
37. See I Cor. i, 24: 'Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.' Usually Christ is identified with Wisdom.
38. See Hebrews x, 20: 'a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us.'
41. *Per dilatarsi*, 'expanding.' Cf. Ristoro d' Arezzo, *Della Composizione del Mondo*, II, vii, 2.
42. *Fuor di*, 'contrary to.' It is the nature of fire to rise: cf. I, 115; *Conv.*, III, iii, 11–13.
43. *Dape*, 'viands.'

Fatta più grande, di sè stessa uscìo,
E che si fesse, rimembrar non sape. 45
'Apri gli occhi e riguarda qual son io!
Tu hai vedute cose che possente
Sei fatto a sostener lo riso mio.'
Io era come quei che si risente
Di visïon obblita, e che s' ingegna 50
Indarno di ridurlasi alla mente,
Quando io udi' questa profferta, degna
Di tanto grado che mai non si estingue
Del libro che il preterito rassegna.
Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue 55
Che Polinnïa con le suore fero
Del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,
Per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero
Non si verria, cantando il santo riso,
E quanto il santo aspetto facea mero. 60
E così, figurando il Paradiso,
Convien saltar lo sacrato poema,
Come chi trova suo cammin reciso.
Ma chi pensasse il ponderoso tema

45. *Che si fesse,* 'what it became.'
47. *Che,* 'such that.'
49. *Si risente,* 'is reminded.'
51. *Ridurlasi* =*ridursela.*
53. *Grado,* 'gratitude.'
54. *Rassegna,* 'records.'
55–57. 'Polyhymnia and her sisters' are the Muses, who nourish (or 'fatten') the tongues of poets. Dante evidently pronounced *Polinnía.* — In a sequence of St. James, found in a 14th-century manuscript (F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters,* p. 107, No. 700, ll. 21–22), we read:

'Vas sincerum, granum pingue
Bibit lac cœlestis linguæ.'

60. *Facea mero,* 'it (the smile) lighted up' the face of Beatrice.
61. *Figurando,* 'depicting.'
62. *Poema* is the subject of *saltar.*
63. *Reciso,* 'barred.'

E l' omero mortal che se ne carca, 65
Nol biasmerebbe, se sott' esso trema.
Non è pileggio da picciola barca
Quel che fendendo va l' ardita prora,
Nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesmo parca.
'Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora 70
Che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino
Che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora?
Quivi è la rosa in che il Verbo Divino
Carne si fece; quivi son li gigli,
Al cui odor si prese il buon cammino.' 75
Così Beatrice. Ed io, ch' a' suoi consigli
Tutto era pronto, ancora mi rendei
Alla battaglia dei debili cigli.
Come a raggio di sol, che puro mei
Per fratta nube, già prato di fiori 80
Vider, coperti d' ombra, gli occhi miei,
Vid' io così più turbe di splendori
Folgorati di su di raggi ardenti,
Senza veder principio dei fulgori.

67. *Pileggio*, 'voyage' (Low Latin *parigium*). — Cf. II, 1–9.
69. *Parca*, 'would spare.'
70. Cf. XVIII, 21.
73. *Rosa:* Mary, the 'Mystic Rose,' as she is called in many sermons and hymns. Series of prayers to the Virgin were named *rosaria*. — *Verbo:* Christ. — Cf. John i, 14: 'And the Word was made flesh.'
74. *Gigli* : the Apostles. In his unfinished commentary on Isaiah, St. Thomas discusses the resemblance of saints to lilies : see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 128–129.
75. *A*, 'by.' — See 2 Cor. ii, 14: 'Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the *savour* of his knowledge by us in every place' — '*odorem* notitiæ suæ manifestat per nos.'
78. *Cigli:* 'brows,' for 'eyes.'
79–81. 'As ere now my eyes, covered by a shadow, have seen a flowery meadow under a sunbeam that streams clear through a rifted cloud': a beautiful simile to describe the throngs of flowerlike souls illumined from above by the light of Christ, who has risen again to the Empyrean, that Dante's eyes may not be blinded by his brightness.
84. *Principio*, 'source': Christ.

O benigna Virtù che sì gl' imprenti, 85
Su t' esaltasti per largirmi loco
Agli occhi lì, che non eran possenti!
Il nome del bel fior ch' io sempre invoco
E mane e sera, tutto mi ristrinse
L' animo ad avvisar lo maggior foco. 90
E come ambo le luci mi dipinse
Il quale e il quanto della viva stella,
Che lassù vince, come quaggiù vinse,
Per entro il cielo scese una facella
Formata in cerchio a guisa di corona, 95
E cinsela, e girossi intorno ad ella.
Qualunque melodia più dolce suona
Quaggiù, e più a sè l' anima tira,
Parrebbe nube che squarciata tuona,
Comparata al sonar di quella lira 100
Onde si coronava il bel zaffiro,
Del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.
'Io sono amore angelico, che giro
L' alta letizia che spira del ventre
Che fu albergo del Nostro Disiro; 105
E girerommi, Donna del ciel, mentre

85. *Gl' imprenti*, 'dost mark them.'
88. *Nome:* the mention of Mary in l. 73. Among the bright lights, hers is now the greatest (l. 90).
91. *Come*, 'when.'—*Luci*, 'eyes.'—The subject of *dipinse* is the phrase in l. 92.
92. *Il quale e il quanto*, 'the quality and bigness.'
94. The 'torch' is the Archangel Gabriel, the messenger of the Annunciation. He now forms a circling halo around the head of the Virgin.
99. Cf. *Met.*, XII, 51-52:

'qualemve sonum, cum Juppiter atras
Increpuit nubes, extrema tonitrua reddunt.'

101. The 'sapphire' is Mary. This gem, besides being precious and beautiful, possesses a beneficent power.
103. *Giro*, 'encircle.'
104. *Ventre*, 'womb.'
106. *Mentre*, 'until': until Mary shall rise to the Empyrean, following Christ.

Che seguirai tuo figlio e farai dia
Più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre.'
Così la circulata melodia
Si sigillava, e tutti gli altri lumi 110
Facean sonar lo nome di Maria.
Lo rëal manto di tutti i volumi
Del mondo, che più ferve e più s' avviva
Nell' alito di Dio e nei costumi,
Avea sopra di noi l' interna riva 115
Tanto distante che la sua parvenza
Là dov' io era ancor non m' appariva.
Però non ebber gli occhi miei potenza
Di seguitar la coronata fiamma,
Che si levò appresso sua Semenza. 120
E come il fantolin, che in ver la mamma
Tende le braccia poi che il latte prese, —
Per l' animo che in fin di fuor s' infiamma, —
Ciascun di quei candori in su si stese
Con la sua fiamma sì che l' alto affetto 125
Ch' egli aveano a Maria mi fu palese.
Indi rimaser lì nel mio cospetto,

107. *Dia*, 'divine.'
108. *Perchè gli entre* (= *vi entri*), 'by entering it.'
110. *Si sigillava*, 'sealed itself,' i. e., ended.
112. 'The royal cloak of all the revolutions of the world' is the Empyrean, which surrounds all the revolving spheres. For *volumi*, cf. XXVI, 119, XXVIII, 14; also *Met.*, II, 71.
114. *Costumi* (sc., *di Dio*), 'ways.'
115. *Interna riva*, 'inner bank.' Even the lowest edge of the Empyrean is far beyond the reach of Dante's eye.
120. *Semenza:* Christ, the 'seed' or child of Mary.
123. 'Because of the spirit (of grateful love) which breaks even into external flame' — which, in default of words, finds expression in a gesture. — This figure reveals the same tender recollection of family life that we find in Dante's other references to children.
124. All the bright souls — the 'whitenesses' — extend their flames upward after Mary.

'*Regina cœli*' cantando sì dolce
Che mai da me non si partì il diletto.
Oh quanta è l' ubertà che si soffolce 130
In quell' arche ricchissime, che foro
A seminar quaggiù buone bobolce!
Quivi si vive e gode del tesoro
Che s' acquistò piangendo nell' esilio
Di Babilon, dove si lasciò l' oro. 135
Quivi trïonfa, sotto l' alto Filio
Di Dio e di Maria, di sua vittoria,
E con l' antico e col nuovo concilio,
Colui che tien le chiavi di tal gloria.

128. *Regina cœli:* an antiphon sung in the office of the Virgin after Easter. 'O Queen of Heaven, rejoice, for he whom thou wert worthy to bear rose as he promised; pray to God for us. Hallelujah!'

130. *Ubertà*, 'plenty.' — *Si soffolce*, 'is stored.'

131. *Arche*, 'bins': the blessed souls.

132. *Bobolce*, 'husbandmen.' They are now filled with the good which they sowed on earth. Cf. Galatians vi, 7: 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.'

134-135. The 'exile of Babylon' is the earthly life. Cf. Ps. cxxxvii (Vulg. cxxxvi), 1: 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.' — On earth 'they forsook gold,' following the precept of Jesus in Mat. xix, 21: 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.' — Some editors, in l. 135, read *egli lasciò* and make St. Peter the subject of ll. 133-135, as well as 136-139.

137. *Di sua vittoria*, 'by his victory.'

138. In company with the souls of the Old and the New Covenant. Prophets and Apostles preached the same faith.

139. *Colui* (St. Peter) is the subject of *trionfa* in l. 136. — Cf. Mat. xvi, 19: 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

In the course of the celestial journey, God is revealed through his works, through Christian doctrine, and finally through immediate contemplation of himself. 'For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then I shall know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three' (1 Cor. xiii, 12–13). The full comprehension of these fundamental Christian virtues precedes the direct vision of God; and therefore the poet represents himself as passing an examination in them, in the eighth sphere, before seeing, in the ninth, the Lord in his relation to the angels, and, in the Empyrean, the triune Divinity in his essence. It is fitting that the glorification of these virtues should proceed from a living man, inasmuch as they are essentially human qualities: the blest retain Love, intensified and purified; but with them Faith has become knowledge, and Hope has been exchanged for fulfilment.

Dante's examiners are St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, the disciples most closely associated with Jesus, and the traditional representatives of the virtues he preached. The fitness of Peter and John to stand for Faith and Love is obvious; less clear is the special appropriateness of the assignment of Hope to James, which will be discussed in connection with Canto XXV. After his colloquy, in this sphere, with the Apostles and Adam, Dante converses only with his guides, Beatrice and St. Bernard.

Throughout the exposition of Faith, in this canto, question and answer follow one another as in a catechism, and Dante compares himself to a candidate undergoing the test required for a doctor's degree. He offers as a description of Faith the statement of St. Paul in Hebrews xi, 1: 'Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' This formula, says St. Thomas, although some say that it is not a definition, contains all the elements of one: 'licet quidam dicant prædicta Apostoli verba non esse fidei definitionem, tamen, si quis recte consideret, omnia ex quibus fides potest definiri in prædicta descriptione tanguntur' (*Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. iv, Art. 1).

And he adds: 'Si quis ergo in formam definitionis huiusmodi verba reducere velit, potest dicere quod *fides est habitus mentis, qua inchoatur vita æterna in nobis, faciens intellectum assentire non apparentibus*.'

But why, demands St. Peter, did St. Paul call Faith first a 'substance' (*sustanzia*) and then an 'evidence' (*argomento*)? The eternal Heavenly life, replies Dante, is beyond the perception of mortals, and, for them, exists only in their belief; hence Faith, from the human point of view, is the material, or substance, of which the hoped-for joys consist. Moreover, while in ordinary matters we argue from proved facts, in religion we use as our basis for further reasoning a belief; and so Faith, in theological questions, takes the place which in worldly syllogisms is taken by evidence.

For the association, by Biblical commentators, of the three theological virtues with Peter, James, and John, see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 153–156.

'O sodalizio eletto alla gran cena
  Del benedetto Agnello, il qual vi ciba
  Sì che la vostra voglia è sempre piena,
Se per grazia di Dio questi preliba
  Di quel che cade della vostra mensa, 5
  Prima che morte tempo gli prescriba,
Ponete mente all' affezione immensa,
  E roratelo alquanto! voi bevete
  Sempre del fonte onde vien quel ch' ei pensa.'
Così Beatrice; e quelle anime liete 10
  Si fero spere sopra fissi poli,

1. *Sodalizio*, 'company.' — Cf. Luke xiv, 16, and Mat. xxii, 14: 'A certain man made a great supper, and bade many' — 'many are called, but few are chosen.'

2. Cf. Rev. xix, 9: 'Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.' The Paschal Lamb of the Hebrews, slain and eaten at Easter time, became a symbol of Christ.

4. *Questi preliba*, 'this man (Dante) foretastes.'

8. *Roratelo*, 'bedew him'; give him a few drops from the fount of Truth, upon which his thought is bent.

11. It is evident from l. 30 and from XXV, 14, that *spere* means 'circles,' rings of spirits dancing in a round, or carol.

Fiammando forte a guisa di comete.
E come cerchi in tempra d' orïuoli
Si giran sì che il primo, a chi pon mente,
Quïeto pare, e l' ultimo che voli, 15
Così quelle carole differente-
Mente danzando, della sua ricchezza
Mi si facean stimar veloci e lente.
Di quella ch' io notai di più bellezza
Vid' io uscire un foco sì felice 20
Che nullo vi lasciò di più chiarezza.
E tre fïate intorno di Beatrice
Si volse con un canto tanto divo
Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice;
Però salta la penna, e non lo scrivo, 25
Chè l' imagine nostra a cotai pieghe —
Non che il parlare — è troppo color vivo.
'O santa suora mia, che sì ne preghe
Devota, per lo tuo ardente affetto
Da quella bella spera mi disleghe.' 30
Poscia, fermato il foco benedetto,

13. *Cerchi*, 'wheels.' — *Tempra*, 'escapement.'
15. *Che voli*, '(seems) to fly.'
16–18. The pace of the circling rings of dancers is a measure of their 'wealth' of gladness. — An adverb like *differentemente* was originally a phrase made up of an adjective and the ablative *mente;* its composite nature long continued to be felt.
19. *Quella:* sc., *carola.*
26–27. 'For our imagination — not to say our speech — is too bright a color for such folds.' Human speech and even human memory are not profound enough to describe or retain an impression of such depth of holiness. The metaphor is taken from the technique of painting (in *V. N.*, XXXV, Dante appears as an artist): pictures, in our poet's day, consisted mainly of faces and garments, the latter falling in folds, and these folds presented the deepest shades; skill was required to find a color dark enough to portray them, while preserving the purity of tone the Tuscans loved.
28. *Ne preghe* = *ci preghi.*
30. *Mi disleghe*, 'thou unloosest me' from the round.
31. *Poscia:* first (ll. 22–23) the shining spirit circles about Beatrice and sings, 'then' it stops and speaks the words just cited.

Alla mia Donna dirizzò lo spiro,
Che favellò così com' io ho detto.
Ed ella: 'O luce eterna del gran viro
A cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi, 35
Ch' ei portò giù, di questo gaudio miro,
Tenta costui dei punti lievi e gravi,
Come ti piace, intorno della fede,
Per la qual tu su per lo mare andavi.
S' egli ama bene, e bene spera, e crede, 40
Non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi
Dov' ogni cosa dipinta si vede.
Ma perchè questo regno ha fatto civi
Per la verace fede, a glorïarla
Di lei parlare è buon ch' a lui arrivi.' 45
Sì come il baccellier s' arma, — e non parla
Fin che il maëstro la question propone, —
Per approvarla, e non per terminarla, —
Così m' armava ïo d' ogni ragione,
Mentre ch' ella dicea, per esser presto 50
A tal querente ed a tal professione.
'Di', buon Cristiano, fatti manifesto:

34. *Viro* (Latin *vir*), 'man.'
35. Cf. XXIII, 139.
36. 'Of this wondrous delight' depends on 'the keys' in l. 35.
37. *Tenta*, 'test,' examine.
39. Through faith Peter 'walked on the water, to go to Jesus': Mat. xiv, 25-29.
41. *Viso*, 'sight.' — *Quivi*, 'there': in God.
43. *Civi*, 'citizens.'
44. *A gloriarla*, 'in order to glorify it' (faith).
45. 'It is well that he (Dante) be called upon to speak of it.' *Arrivi* is equivalent to *tocchi*, 'befall.'
46. To receive the degree of Doctor in Theology, a bachelor had to discuss a thesis propounded by a Master. — Cf. 1 Peter, iii, 15.
48. The candidate 'arms himself to argue' the question, 'not to decide it': that belongs to the Master.
51. *Querente*, 'questioner.'

Fede che è?' Ond' io levai la fronte
In quella luce onde spirava questo;
Poi mi volsi a Beatrice, ed essa pronte 55
Sembianze femmi, perchè io spandessi
L' acqua di fuor del mio interno fonte.
'La grazia che mi dà ch' io mi confessi,'
Comincia' io, 'dall' alto primipilo,
Faccia li miei concetti bene espressi!' 60
E seguitai: 'Come il verace stilo
Ne scrisse, patre, del tuo caro frate,
Che mise Roma teco nel buon filo,
Fede è sustanzia di cose sperate,
Ed argomento delle non parventi; 65
E questa pare a me sua quiditate.'
Allora udii: 'Dirittamente senti,
Se bene intendi perchè la ripose
Tra le sustanzie, e poi tra gli argomenti.'
Ed io appresso: 'Le profonde cose 70
Che mi largiscon qui la lor parvenza
Agli occhi di laggiù son sì ascose
Che l' esser loro v' è in sola credenza,
Sopra la qual si fonda l' alta spene,

54. *In*, 'toward.' — *Questo*: these words.
57. Cf. John vii, 38.
58. *Ch' io mi confessi*, 'that I be confessed.'
59. *Dall' alto primipilo*, 'by the high commander': St. Peter, the first commander of the Church. *Primipilus* is the title of a Roman military officer.
61. *Stilo*, 'pen': Hebrews xi, 1.
62. Cf. 2 Peter iii, 15: 'our beloved brother Paul.' — *Del tuo caro frate* depends on *stilo* in l. 61.
63. 'Who, with thee, brought Rome into the right line' — into the path of Christianity.
66. *Quiditate*, 'essence.'
67. *Senti*, 'thou thinkest.'
68. *La ripose*, 'he (Paul) placed it (faith).'
71. 'Which here (in Heaven) allow themselves to be seen by me.'
73. 'That their existence is there to be found only in belief.'

E però di sustanzia prende intenza; 75
E da questa credenza ci conviene
Sillogizzar senza avere altra vista;
Però intenza di argomento tiene.'
Allora udii: 'Se quantunque s' acquista
Giù per dottrina fosse così inteso, 80
Non gli avria loco ingegno di sofista.'
Così spirò da quell' amore acceso;
Indi soggiunse: 'Assai bene è trascorsa
D' esta moneta già la lega e il peso;
Ma dimmi se tu l' hai nella tua borsa.' 85
Ond' io: 'Sì ho, sì lucida e sì tonda
Che nel suo conio nulla mi s' inforsa.'
Appresso uscì della luce profonda
Che lì splendeva: 'Questa cara gioia,
Sopra la quale ogni virtù si fonda, 90
Onde ti venne?' Ed io: 'La larga ploia
Dello Spirito Santo, ch' è diffusa
In su le vecchie e in su le nuove cuoia,
È sillogismo che la m' ha conchiusa
Acutamente sì che in verso d' ella 95
Ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa.'

75. *Prende intenza*, 'it assumes the concept': it falls into the category. *Intenza* is the scholastic Latin *intentio*, 'notion' or 'concept'; English *intention* has often been used in this sense.
77. *Sillogizzar*, 'argue.' — *Vista*, 'proof.'
78. 'Therefore it contains the idea of evidence.'
81. 'The sophist's wit would have no place there.' — *Gli* = *vi*.
83. *Trascorsa*, 'inspected.'
84. *Lega*, 'composition.'
87. *Conio*, 'stamp.' — *S' inforsa*, 'is dubious.'
89. *Gioia*, 'jewel.'
90. Romans xiv, 23: 'for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.' Cf. Hebrews xi, 6.
91. *Ploia*, 'rain': inspiration.
93. *Cuoia*, 'parchments': Testaments.
95. *In verso di*, 'compared to.'

Io udii poi: 'L' antica e la novella
Proposizion che così ti conchiude,
Perchè l' hai tu per divina favella?'
Ed io: 'La prova che il ver mi dischiude 100
Son l' opere seguite, a che natura
Non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè incude.'
Risposto fummi: 'Di', chi t' assicura
Che quell' opere fosser? Quel medesmo
Che vuol provarsi, non altri, il ti giura.' 105
'Se il mondo si rivolse al Cristianesmo,'
Diss' io, 'senza miracoli, quest' uno
È tal che gli altri non sono il centesmo;
Chè tu entrasti povero e digiuno
In campo a seminar la buona pianta, 110
Che fu già vite, ed ora è fatta pruno.'
Finito questo, l' alta Corte santa
Risonò per le spere un: 'Dio laudamo,'
Nella melode che lassù si canta.
E quel baron, che sì di ramo in ramo 115
Esaminando già tratto m' avea
Che all' ultime fronde appressavamo,

98. *Proposizion*, 'premise': the two Testaments are the premises from which the conclusion is deduced.

101. *Opere seguite*, 'works that followed': the miracles, which cannot be explained as products of nature.

104–105. *Quel medesmo* etc., 'the very thing that is to be proved (the revealed Truth), and naught else, is thy voucher for it.' St. Peter, wishing, as examiner, to draw out Dante more fully, tells him that he is arguing in a circle.

106–108. If the world was converted to Christianity without the miracles related in the Bible, this conversion was itself a far greater miracle, and quite sufficient proof of divine intervention. The argument is taken from St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, v: 'hoc nobis unum grande miraculum sufficit, quod . . . terrarum orbis sine ullis miraculis credidit.' St. Thomas also, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei*, I, vi, discourses on the miracle of the conversion of the world to Christianity.

113. *Spere*, 'rings.' — *Dio laudamo:* cf. *Purg.* IX, 140.

115. *Baron*, 'lord': St. Peter.

Ricominciò: 'La grazia che donnea
Con la tua mente, la bocca t' aperse
Infino a qui, com' aprir si dovea, 120
Sì ch' io approvo ciò che fuori emerse;
Ma or conviene esprimer quel che credi,
Ed onde alla credenza tua s' offerse.'
'O santo padre, spirito che vedi
Ciò che credesti sì che tu vincesti 125
Ver lo sepolcro i più giovani piedi,'
Comincia' io, 'tu vuoi ch' io manifesti
La forma qui del pronto creder mio,
Ed anco la cagion di lui chiedesti.
Ed io rispondo: Io credo in uno Iddio 130
Solo ed eterno, che tutto il ciel move,
Non moto, con amore e con disio.
Ed a tal creder non ho io pur prove
Fisice e metafisice, ma dalmi
Anco la verità che quinci piove 135
Per Moïsè, per profeti, e per salmi,
Per l' Evangelio, e per voi che scriveste
Poi che l' ardente Spirto vi fece almi.

118. *Donnea*, 'holds amorous converse.'
121. *Emerse*, 'has issued.'
124–126. St. Peter now sees in God that which on earth he accepted through faith. This faith was so strong that it impelled him to enter the Sepulchre before John, although the younger disciple reached it first: John xx, 3–8. Cf. *Mon.*, III, ix, 111–114.
128. *Forma*, 'essence.'
129. *La cagion di lui*, 'its cause.'
134. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. ii, Art. 3, gives five physical and metaphysical proofs of the existence of God: the impossibility of explaining the world without the assumption of a first motor, of a first efficient cause, of a first necessity, of a first goodness, of a first governing intelligence. In Prima, Qu. I, Art. 5, he tells us that theology makes use of philosophy. — *Dalmi* = *me lo dà:* the subject is *verità* in l. 135.
136. Luke xxiv, 44: 'all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.'
137. *Voi:* the Apostles. 138. *Almi*, 'reverend.'

E credo in tre persone eterne, e queste
Credo una essenza sì una e sì trina 140
Che soffera congiunto *sono* ed *este*.
Della profonda condizion divina
Ch' io tocco mo, la mente mi sigilla
Più volte l' evangelica dottrina.
Quest' è il principio; quest' è la favilla 145
Che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,
E come stella in cielo in me scintilla.'
Come il signor ch' ascolta quel che i piace,
Da indi abbraccia il servo, gratulando
Per la novella, tosto ch' ei si tace, 150
Così, benedicendomi cantando,
Tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
L' apostolico lume, al cui comando
Io avea detto; sì nel dir gli piacqui!

141. *Soffera*, 'it admits.' We may use with 'Trinity' the verb 'are' or the verb 'is.' — *Este* for *è* is not uncommon in early Italian.

143. *Mente* is the object of *sigilla*, 'stamps.'

144. Various passages in the Bible are cited in support of the doctrine of the Trinity: Mat. xxviii, 19; 2 Cor. xiii, 14; 1 Peter i, 2; 1 John v, 7 ('For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one').

148. *I=gli:* cf. *Inf.* XXII, 73.

152. *Cinse*, 'encircled.' The subject is *lume* in l. 153.

154. Cf. Jeremiah ix, 24: 'But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord.'

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

UNTIL the very end of his life Dante cherished, at the bottom of his heart, a hope that he might be called back to his city, to that Florence which he so loved and so reviled. Pathetic indeed is the yearning expressed in the opening lines of this canto. Some day, he thinks, his great poem may win such fame as to 'overcome the cruelty that locks him out' — 'la crudeltà che fuor mi serra.' In earlier years, addressing one of his lyrics as he sent it forth, he had said (Canzone XI, 77–79):

> 'Forse vedrai Fiorenza, la mia terra,
> Che fuor di sè mi serra,
> Vota d'amore e nuda di pietate.'

The longing to return is voiced in the *Convivio*, I, iii, 25–28; and the same sentiment is treated half playfully, half sadly, in the first Eclogue, 39–50.

It is fitting that a disclosure of the poet's one earthly hope should serve as prelude to a canto in which Hope is the principal theme. In this virtue he is tested by St. James, as he was tried in Faith by St. Peter; but the examination is less searching. The definition of Hope recited by Dante is that of Peter Lombard in the *Sententiæ*, III, xxvi: 'Est enim spes certa expectatio futuræ beatitudinis veniens ex Dei gratia et ex meritis præcedentibus.' 'Sine meritis,' he adds, 'aliquid sperare non spes sed præsumptio dici potest.' Almost the same words are to be found in Albertus Magnus, *Paradisus Animæ sive Libellus de Virtutibus*, xxi: 'Spes vera et perfecta expectatio certa futuræ beatitudinis, proveniens ex gratia Dei et meritis præcedentibus. Hæc duo necessaria sunt ad fidem. Gratia enim Dei non nisi meritis conservatur: meritis autem sine gratia nemo salvatur. Spes ergo sine meritis non est spes, sed præsumptio.' When we say that Hope comes from Grace and from antecedent merits, we must remember that these two sources are not of the same kind: the impulse to hope springs from Grace alone, while our merits are, as we know, a necessary condition of the fulfilment of our assurance of salvation. This is explained by St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xvii, Art. 1.

St. James is the only Apostle whose death is recorded in the Bible. The 'certain expectation' of Heaven led him to martyrdom, and made him a suitable exponent of Hope. So says Chrysostom, quoted in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. xlv, Art. 3. It should be noted also that James the Apostle, son of Zebedee and brother of John, and James, 'the Lord's brother,' author of the Epistle, were in Dante's time regarded as the same person. In the Epistle of James i, 12, we read: 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him' — words of hopeful message. And in v, 8: 'Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.'

The end of the canto once more leaves us startled and curious; for the poet, as he gazes into the effulgence of St. John, — who now appears on the scene, — is stricken with sudden blindness. Love is blind; and it is during his brief period of sightlessness that Dante undergoes, in the next canto, his examination in that virtue. Furthermore, the celestial pilgrim cannot see God until his earthly sight is quenched and replaced by a spiritual sense. In Canto XXIII, 33 — and again in l. 87, after his eyes were fortified (ll. 47–48) by the vision of enlightenment — Dante was unable to bear the light of Christ. Even when his new sight comes, it must be trained and purified and strengthened by degrees. A similar blindness came upon St. Paul at the time of his conversion. Acts ix, 3–9: 'And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice. . . . And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him to Damascus. And he was there three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.' To these three days is generally assigned the rapture of St. Paul (2 Cor. xii), when 'he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.'

Se mai continga che il poema sacro, —
  Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
  Sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro, —
Vinca la crudeltà che fuor mi serra

1. *Continga*, 'it happen.' 3. *Macro*, 'lean.'

Del bello ovile ov' io dormii agnello 5
Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra,
Con altra voce omai, con altro vello
Ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
Del mio battesmo prenderò il cappello;
Però che nella Fede, che fa conte 10
L' anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.
Indi si mosse un lume verso noi
Di quella spera ond' uscì la primizia
Che lasciò Cristo dei vicari suoi. 15
E la mia Donna piena di letizia
Mi disse: 'Mira, mira, ecco il barone
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia!'
Sì come quando il colombo si pone
Presso al compagno, e l' uno all' altro pande, 20
Girando e mormorando, l' affezione,
Così vid' ïo l' un dall' altro grande

5. *Ovile:* cf. 'l' ovil di San Giovanni' in XVI, 25. — *Agnello:* cf. Jeremiah xi, 19: 'But I was like a lamb . . . that is brought to the slaughter; and I knew not that they had devised devices against me.' Tor. cites from Villari the opening passage of a law proposed in Florence in 1291, in which the metaphor of lambs, wolves, and fold occurs.

7. *Vello,* 'fleece,' carrying out the figure of the *agnello:* I shall then be a full-grown poet, no longer a bleating lamb.

8. *Fonte:* in the church of S. Giovanni, where he was baptized. Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 17.

9. *Cappello,* 'wreath': cf. Old French and Provençal *chapel.*

10–12. In St. John's I was admitted to the Faith, and for my proficiency in that Faith I was applauded in Heaven by St. Peter; it is therefore appropriate that I receive the laurel crown, the earthly reward for my Faith, in the place where I first embraced it. — *Conte,* 'known.' — *Girò:* see XXIV, 151–152.

13. *Lume:* St. James, who comes from the same ring as St. Peter.

14–15. 'The first-fruit which Christ left of his vicars' is Peter.

17. *Barone:* cf. XXIV, 115.

18. The grave of St. James at Campostella in Galicia (the northwestern corner of Spain) was for several centuries a favorite place of pilgrimage. Cf. *V. N.*, XLI, 39–50. See J. Bédier, *La chronique de Turpin et le pèlerinage de Campostelle* in *Annales du Midi,* XXIII (1911), 1.

20. *Pande,* 'lavishes.'

Principe gloriöso essere accolto,
Laudando il cibo che lassù li prande.
Ma poi che il gratular si fu assolto, 25
Tacito *coram me* ciascun s' affisse,
Ignito sì che vinceva il mio volto.
Ridendo allora Bëatrice disse:
'Inclita vita, per cui la larghezza
Della nostra basilica si scrisse, 30
Fa risonar la speme in questa altezza!
Tu sai che tante fiate la figuri
Quante Jesù ai tre fe' più chiarezza.'
'Leva la testa, e fa che t' assicuri;
Chè ciò che vien quassù dal mortal mondo, 35
Convien ch' ai nostri raggi si maturi.'
Questo conforto dal foco secondo
Mi venne; ond' io levai gli occhi ai monti,
Che gl' incurvaron pria col troppo pondo.
'Poichè per grazia vuol che tu t' affronti 40

24. *Prande*, 'feeds.'
25. *Assolto*, 'ended.'
26. *Coram me* (Latin), 'before me': cf. XI, 62. — *S' affisse*, 'stopped': cf. *Inf.* XVIII. 43.
27. *Ignito*, 'fiery.' — *Volto:* 'face,' for 'eyes.'
29. *Vita*, 'soul.' — *Larghezza*, 'bounty.'
30. *Basilica:* the 'court' of Heaven. — *Si scrisse:* in the Epistle of James there are some references to divine liberality. See i, 5 ('God, that giveth to all men liberally') and 17 ('Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights'); ii, 5 ('Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?').
32–33. 'Thou knowest that thou dost personify it (Hope) as many times as Jesus bestowed most light on the three.' Three of the disciples (Peter, James, John) were chosen by Jesus to be present, and to receive the clearest revelation of his character, on three different occasions: at the Transfiguration (Mat. xvii, 1–8), in the Garden of Gethsemane (Mat. xxvi, 36–38), and at the raising of the daughter of Jairus (Luke viii, 50–56). On these three occasions Peter, James, and John stand respectively for Faith, Hope, and Love.
38. Ps. cxxi (Vulg. cxx), 1: 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.' The 'hills' are the two Apostles, who have bent Dante's eyes beneath the weight of their light.
40. The subject of *vuol* is *Imperadore* in l. 41. — *T' affronti* is to be connected

Lo nostro Imperadore, anzi la morte,
Nell' aula più segreta co' suoi conti, —
Sì che, veduto il ver di questa corte,
La speme che laggiù bene innamora
In te ed in altrui di ciò conforte, — 45
Di' quel che ell' è, e come se ne infiora
La mente tua, e di' onde a te venne!'
Così seguì 'l secondo lume ancora.
E quella pïa, che guidò le penne
Delle mie ali a così alto volo, 50
Alla risposta così mi prevenne:
'La Chiesa militante alcun figliuolo
Non ha con più speranza, com' è scritto
Nel Sol che raggia tutto nostro stuolo;
Però gli è conceduto che d' Egitto 55
Venga in Jerusalemme per vedere,
Anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto.
Gli altri due punti (che non per sapere
Son domandati, ma perch' e' rapporti

with *co' suoi conti* in l. 42. — The counts in the Imperial court of Heaven are the Saints.

44. *Speme* is the object of *conforte* in l. 45. — *Laggiù bene innamora,* 'begets righteous love on earth.'

45. *Di ciò conforte,* 'thou mayest strengthen therewith' — with the recital of what thou hast seen.

46–47. Three questions are asked: what is Hope, to what degree dost thou possess it ('how does thy mind blossom with it'), and from what source dost thou derive it? Beatrice (l. 51) forestalls Dante's response to the second question, since an affirmative answer to it from him would imply that he considered himself worthy of salvation, and hence might smack of vainglory; to the other two he replies.

55. By 'Egypt' is meant life on earth. See Ps. cxiv (Vulg. cxiii), 1; cf. Epistola X, vii, 142–143 and 152–155.

56. Cf. Hebrews xii, 22: 'ye are come . . . unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels.'

57. *Militar,* 'service.' Cf. Job vii, 1: 'militia est vita hominis super terram' (the English version is quite different). — *Prescritto,* 'closed.'

59. *Perch' e' rapporti,* 'that he may relate' on earth.

Quanto questa virtù t' è in piacere) 60
A lui lasc' io, chè non gli saran forti
Nè di jattanza; ed egli a ciò risponda,
E la grazia di Dio ciò gli comporti!'
Come discente ch' a dottor seconda,
Pronto e libente, in quel ch' egli è esperto, 65
Perchè la sua bontà si disasconda,
'Speme,' diss' io, 'è uno attender certo
Della gloria futura, il qual produce
Grazia divina e precedente merto.
Da molte stelle mi vien questa luce; 70
Ma quei la distillò nel mio cor pria,
Che fu sommo cantor del Sommo Duce.
"Sperino in te" nella sua teodia
Dice, "color che sanno il nome tuo!"
E chi nol sa, s' egli ha la fede mia? 75
Tu mi stillasti con lo stillar suo
Nell' epistola poi, sì ch' io son pieno,
Ed in altrui vostra pioggia repluo.'
Mentr' io diceva, dentro al vivo seno

60. Souls in Heaven have no further use for Hope, but St. James loves it still.
61. *Forti*, 'hard.'
62. *Jattanza*, 'vainglory.'
63. *Ciò gli comporti*, 'help him therein.'
64. *Discente*, 'pupil.' — *Seconda*, 'replies.'
65. *Libente*, 'willing.' — *Che* = *in cui*.
66. *Si disasconda*, 'may be disclosed.'
67. *Uno attender certo*, 'a sure expectation.'
68. *Il qual* is the object of *produce*, of which *grazia* and *merto* (l. 69) are subjects.
70. Cf. Daniel xii, 3: 'And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the *stars* for ever and ever.'
71. *Quei:* David. — *Distillò*, 'instilled.'
73–74. Ps. ix, 10: 'And they that know thy name will put their trust in thee' — 'sperent in te.' — *Teodia*, 'theody,' sacred song.
76. 'Thou didst instil it into me with his instilling.'
78. *Repluo*, 'I shower in turn': I communicate to others the hope I have derived from David and thee.

Di quello incendio tremolava un lampo 80
Subito e spesso, a guisa di baleno.
Indi spirò: 'L' amore ond' io avvampo
Ancor ver la virtù che mi seguette
Infin la palma, ed all' uscir del campo,
Vuol ch' io respiri a te, che ti dilette 85
Di lei; ed emmi a grato che tu diche
Quello che la speranza ti promette.'
Ed io: 'Le nuove e le scritture antiche
Pongono il segno (ed esso lo mi addita)
Dell' anime che Dio s' ha fatte amiche: 90
Dice Isaia che ciascuna vestita
Nella sua terra fia di doppia vesta —
E la sua terra è questa dolce vita;
E il tuo fratello, assai vie più digesta, —
Là dove tratta delle bianche stole, — 95
Questa rivelazion ci manifesta.'
E prima, appresso al fin d' este parole,
'*Sperent in te*' di sopra noi s' udì,

81. James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were surnamed by Jesus 'Boanerges, which is, The sons of thunder': Mark iii, 17.
83. *Virtù:* Hope. — *Seguette = seguì.*
84. *Palma:* the victory of martyrdom. He was put to death by Herod Agrippa. — *Campo:* the 'battlefield' of life. James was a strenuous and rigid ascetic.
85. *Respiri,* 'breathe (i. e., speak) once more.' — *Ti dilette,* 'art gladdened.'
86. *Diche = dica.*
89. 'The token' set up by the Old and the New Testament is indicated in ll. 91–96. — *Ed esso* etc., 'and it (the token) points it out to me,' i. e., points out what blessedness in Heaven means — perfect joy of the body and the spirit.
91–93. Isaiah lxi, 7 and 10: 'therefore in their land shall they possess the double: everlasting joy shall be unto them'; 'he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation.' The 'double garment' is the effulgence of the soul and the clarified body. — The *-saia* seems to count as one syllable. Cf. XV, 110.
94. *Fratello:* John. — *Assai vie più digesta,* 'far more explicitly.'
95. St. John 'treats of the white robes' of the elect in Rev. iii, 5, and vii, 9–17. The 'white robes' symbolize the brightness or glory of 'the souls that God has made his friends.' The body, after the Resurrection, will become bright and pure like the spirit, and will share in its happiness. According to St. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium,* VII, vii, the body is called the 'second robe.'
98. Cf. l. 73.

A che risposer tutte le carole;
Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì 100
Sì che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,
L' inverno avrebbe un mese d' un sol dì.
E come surge e va ed entra in ballo
Vergine lieta (sol per fare onore
Alla novizia, e non per alcun fallo), 105
Così vid' io lo schiarato splendore
Venire ai due, che si volgeano a rota
Qual conveniasi al loro ardente amore.
Misesi lì nel canto e nella nota;
E la mia Donna in lor tenne l' aspetto, 110
Pur come sposa tacita ed immota.
'Questi è colui che giacque sopra il petto
Del nostro Pellicano, e questi fue
D' in su la croce al grande ufficio eletto.'
La Donna mia così; nè però piùe 115
Mosser la vista sua di stare attenta
Poscia che prima le parole sue.
Quale è colui ch' adocchia e s' argomenta

100. *Lume:* the 'light' of St. John. — *Si schiarì*, 'brightened.'

101–102. In mid-winter the constellation of Cancer, for a month, shines all night long. If it contained a star as bright as this newly appeared 'crystal,' night, during that month, would be as light as day. In other words, the effulgence of St. John is as bright as the sun.

103–111. The three representatives of the Christian virtues dance before Beatrice, as the Virtues themselves did (in allegorical form) in *Purg.* XXIX, 121–129.

105. *Novizia*, 'bride.' — *Fallo*, 'failing': vanity.

112. John xxiii, 23: 'Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.'

113. Ps. cii (Vulg. ci), 6: 'I am like a pelican of the wilderness.' It was generally believed that the pelican brings its young back to life with its own blood; hence this bird was taken as a symbol of Christ.

114. John was entrusted with the care of Mary. John xix, 27: 'Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! and from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.'

116. *La vista sua*, 'her eyes,' is the object of *mosser*, of which the subject is *le parole sue*, 'her words,' in l. 117.

118. *S' argomenta*, 'strives.'

Di vedere eclissar lo sole un poco,
Che per veder non vedente diventa, 120
Tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo foco,
Mentre che detto fu: 'Perchè t' abbagli
Per veder cosa che qui non ha loco?
In terra è terra il mio corpo, e saragli
Tanto (con gli altri) che il numero nostro 125
Con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.
Con le due stole nel bëato chiostro
Son le due luci sole che saliro;
E questo apporterai nel mondo vostro.'
A questa voce l' infiammato giro 130
Si quïetò con esso il dolce mischio
Che si facea del suon del trino spiro,
Sì come, — per cessar fatica o rischio, —
Li remi, pria nell' acqua ripercossi,

119. Dante had an opportunity to see seven eclipses of the sun, two of them total in Italy.

123. Dante is trying to see, through the effulgence, the body of St. John, believing, according to an old legend, that John was taken up to Heaven in the flesh. John xxi, 22–23: 'Jesus saith unto him (Peter), If I will that he (John) tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'

124. *Saragli* = *vi sarà.*

125. *Tanto . . . che*, 'until.'

126. *Con . . . s' agguagli*, 'shall be equal to.' Ephesians i, 4: 'According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world.' In *Conv.*, II, vi, 95–99, Dante tells us that the elect are to fill the places of the fallen angels, who were 'perhaps a tenth part' of all the angelic orders.

127. The 'two robes' are the effulgence of the spirit and the clarified body.

128. 'The two lights that have ascended' are Christ and Mary, who have returned to the Empyrean: XXIII, 86, 120. Theirs are the only human bodies now in Heaven. This is the opinion expressed by St. Thomas in *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. liii, Art. 3; previously he had been inclined to a different one.

131. *Con esso*, 'together with.' — *Mischio*, 'concert.'

132. The 'threefold breath' of Peter, James, and John.

133. *Cessar*, 'avoid.'

134. *Ripercossi*, 'driven.' — The vigorous simile is taken from Statius, *Theb.*, VI, 779–781.

Tutti si posan al sonar d' un fischio. 135
Ahi, quanto nella mente mi commossi,
Quando mi volsi per veder Beatrice,
Per non poter vedere, bench' io fossi
Presso di lei, e nel mondo felice!

138. *Per non poter,* 'at being unable.'

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

In the course of the examination in Love, conducted by St. John, no definition of that virtue is given, perhaps because Dante could find none to his liking. The candidate for admission to the mysteries of Paradise is asked merely what he loves, and why. God is naturally the first and greatest object of his affection; then the rest of the universe in so far as it is in the likeness of its Creator.

After a somewhat brief colloquy — brief, no doubt, because Dante's whole life has shown him to be an adept in Love — the traveler's sight is restored, and he finds that Adam has joined the group. To him the poet mentally addresses four questions, which are all answered, though not in the order in which they are put. First comes the reply to number three: what was the real nature of Adam's sin? Number one follows: how long ago was he created? Question four, which is next taken up, is concerned with the language which the first man invented and spoke. And last we have the answer to number two: how long did Adam stay in the Garden of Eden? The author of original sin, which led to Redemption by Christ, is a figure necessary to the completeness of a scene devoted to the triumph of the Saviour.

Mentr' io dubbiava per lo viso spento,
  Della fulgida fiamma che lo spense
  Uscì un spiro che mi fece attento,
Dicendo: 'Intanto che tu ti risense
  Della vista che hai in me consunta, 5
  Ben è che ragionando la compense.
Comincia dunque, e di' ove s' appunta

4. *Ti risense*, 'regainest the sense.'
6. *La compense*, 'thou make up for it.'
7. *S' appunta*, 'aims.'

L' anima tua. E fa ragion che sia
La vista in te smarrita e non defunta;
Perchè la Donna che per questa dia 10
Region ti conduce, ha nello sguardo
La virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania.'
Io dissi: 'Al suo piacere e tosto e tardo
Vegna rimedio agli occhi che fur porte,
Quand' ella entrò col foco ond' io sempr' ardo. 15
Lo Ben che fa contenta questa corte
Alfa ed Omega è di quanta scrittura
Mi legge amore, o lievemente o forte.'
Quella medesma voce, che paura
Tolta m' avea del subito abbarbaglio, 20
Di ragionare ancor mi mise in cura;
E disse: 'Certo a più angusto vaglio
Ti conviene schiarar; dicer convienti
Chi drizzò l' arco tuo a tal bersaglio.'
Ed io: 'Per filosofici argomenti, 25
E per autorità che quinci scende,
Cotale amor convien che in me s' imprenti;
Chè il bene, in quanto ben, come s' intende
Così accende amore, e tanto maggio
Quanto più di bontate in sè comprende. 30

8. *Fa ragion*, 'depend upon it.' Cf. *Inf.* XXX, 145.
10. *Dia*, 'divine.' Cf. XIV, 34; XXIII, 107.
12. Ananias cured St. Paul of his blindness by 'putting his hands on him.' Acts ix, 17–18.
16. Dante now proceeds to answer St. John's question (ll. 7–8): what is the object of thy love?
17. Rev. i, 8: 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord.'
21. 'Made me solicitous to speak again.'
22. *A più angusto vaglio*, 'with a finer sieve.'
26. By revealed Truth.
28–30. 'For good, as such, kindles love in proportion as it is understood, and kindles the greater love, the more goodness it contains within it.'

Dunque all' Essenza ov' è tanto avvantaggio
Che ciascun ben che fuor di lei si trova
Altro non è ch' un lume di suo raggio,
Più che in altra convien che si mova
La mente, amando, di ciascun che cerne 35
Lo vero in che si fonda questa prova.
Tal vero allo intelletto mïo sterne
Colui che mi dimostra il primo amore
Di tutte le sustanzie sempiterne.
Sternel la voce del verace Autore, 40
Che dice a Moïsè, di sè parlando:
"Io ti farò vedere ogni valore."
Sternilmi tu ancora, cominciando
L' alto preconio, che grida l' arcano
Di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando.' 45
Ed io udi': 'Per intelletto umano,
E per autoritadi a lui concorde,
De' tuoi amori a Dio guarda il soprano.

31. *All' Essenza* is to be connected with *si mova* in l. 34. — *Avvantaggio*, 'supremacy.' — Since love is attracted by goodness, and all goodness is in God, he must be the primal object of love.

34. 'Must turn more than to any other (essence).' The subject of *si mova* is *la mente di ciascun* etc.

35. *Cerne*, 'discerns.'

36. *In che*, 'upon which.' — *Prova*, 'argument.'

37. *Sterne*, 'unfolds.'

38. *Colui:* Aristotle, who in his *Metaphysics*, XI, vii, discusses the existence, the unity, and the perfection of the First Mover, and in viii the nature of the First Substance.

40. *Sternel = lo sterne.* — *Autore:* God.

42. Exod. xxxiii, 19: 'I will make all my goodness pass before thee.'

44. *Preconio*, 'proclamation': probably the Gospel of John, which opens solemnly and mysteriously with the announcement of the Incarnation ('In the beginning was the Word,' etc.), God's great sacrifice to man; cf. John iii, 16. Some critics, however, think that the reference is to the Revelation, and particularly to the verse cited in the note to l. 17.

45. *Bando*, 'heralding.'

46. *Per:* in conformity with.

48. 'The highest of thy loves looks to God.'

Ma di' ancor, se tu senti altre corde
Tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone 50
Con quanti denti questo amor ti morde.'
Non fu latente la santa intenzione
Dell' aquila di Cristo, anzi m' accorsi
Dove volea menar mia professione.
Però ricominciai: 'Tutti quei morsi 55
Che posson far lo cor volger a Dio,
Alla mia caritate son concorsi;
Chè l' essere del mondo, e l' esser mio,
La morte ch' ei sostenne perch' io viva,
E quel che spera ogni fedel, com' io, 60
Con la predetta conoscenza viva,
Tratto m' hanno del mar dell' amor torto,
E del diritto m' han posto alla riva.
Le fronde onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
Dell' Ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto 65
Quanto da lui a lor di bene è porto.'
Sì com' io tacqui, un dolcissimo canto
Risonò per lo cielo, e la mia Donna
Dicea con gli altri: 'Santo, Santo, Santo!'
E come a lume acuto si dissonna 70
Per lo spirto visivo che ricorre

49–51. An odd combination of metaphors. Such mixing is not uncommon in Dante: cf. *Conv.*, II, i, 1–13. — *Tu suone*, 'thou mayest announce.'
53. 'Christ's Eagle' is John. The 'four beasts' of Rev. iv, 7, are traditionally identified with the four Evangelists; St. John is the 'flying eagle.'
58. *Essere*, 'existence.'
61. Cf. ll. 31–36.
64–66. I love the various creatures of God that make up the world, in proportion to the grace which their Maker, in his predestination, has bestowed upon them.
69. Isaiah vi, 3, and Rev. iv, 8.
70–71. 'And as one is awakened by a keen light because of the spirit (or sense) of sight running to meet . . .' Cf. *Conv.*, III, ix, 66–105, where the act of sight is described scientifically.

Allo splendor che va di gonna in gonna,
E lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre
(Sì nescia è la sua subita vigilia!)
Fin che l' estimativa nol soccorre, — 75
Così degli occhi miei ogni quisquilia
Fugò Beatrice col raggio de' suoi,
Che rifulgean da più di mille milia;
Onde me' che dinanzi vidi poi,
E quasi stupefatto domandai 80
D' un quarto lume, ch' io vidi con noi.
E la mia Donna: 'Dentro da que' rai
Vagheggia il suo Fattor l' anima prima
Che la prima Virtù creasse mai.'
Come la fronda, che flette la cima 85
Nel transito del vento, e poi si leva
Per la propria virtù che la sublima,
Fec' io in tanto in quanto ella diceva,
Stupendo; e poi mi rifece sicuro
Un disio di parlare, ond' io ardeva; 90
E cominciai: 'O pomo, che maturo
Solo prodotto fosti, o padre antico,
A cui ciascuna sposa è figlia e nuro, —
Devoto quanto posso a te supplico

72. *Gonna*, 'coat': membrane of the eye.
73. *Abborre*, 'shrinks from.'
74. *Nescia*, 'senseless.' — *Vigilia*, 'waking.'
75. *Estimativa*, 'judgment.'
76. *Quisquilia*, 'mote.'
79. *Me'* = *meglio*.
83. *Vagheggia*, 'worships': the subject is *l' anima prima*, Adam.
85. *Fronda*, 'bough.' — *Flette*, 'bends.' — Cf. *Theb.*, VI, 854-857.
87. *Sublima*, 'uplifts.'
88. *In tanto in quanto*, 'while.'
89. *Stupendo*, 'amazed.'
93. *Nuro* (Latin *nurus*), 'daughter-in-law.'

Perchè mi parli. Tu vedi mia voglia, 95
E per udirti tosto non la dico.'
Talvolta un animal coperto broglia
Sì che l' affetto convien che si paia
Per lo seguir che face a lui l' invoglia;
E similmente l' anima primaia 100
Mi facea trasparer per la coperta
Quant' ella a compiacermi venia gaia.
Indi spirò: 'Senz' essermi profferta
Da te, la voglia tua discerno meglio
Che tu qualunque cosa t' è più certa, 105
Perch' io la veggio nel verace Speglio
Che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,
E nulla face lui di sè pareglio.
Tu vuoi udir quant' è che Dio mi pose
Nell' eccelso giardino, ove costei 110
A così lunga scala ti dispose,
E quanto fu diletto agli occhi miei,
E la propria cagion del gran disdegno,
E l' idïoma ch' usai e ch' io fei.
Or, figliuol mio, non il gustar del legno 115

97. *Broglia*, 'stirs.' — It is not evident what kind of a creature Dante had in mind: possibly a falcon.

98–99. 'So that its feeling must be revealed by the response that its wrapper makes to it.'

102. 'How joyously it came to do me pleasure.'

103. *Profferta*, 'uttered.'

107–108. 'Which makes itself an image of other things, while nothing makes of itself an image of it (the mirror).' God reflects everything, but nothing can reflect God. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lvii, Art. 2: 'Deus per essentiam suam, per quam omnia causat, est similitudo omnium.' — There are, however, other readings of the text, and other interpretations: see *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 97; *Modern Language Review*, I, 116.

109. *Quant' è che*, 'how long it is since.'

110. *Costei:* Beatrice, who in the Garden of Eden prepared Dante for the ascent to Heaven.

112. *Quanto fu diletto*, 'how long it (the garden) was a delight.'

113. *Disdegno:* the 'wrath' of God.

Fu per sè la cagion di tanto esilio,
  Ma solamente il trapassar del segno.
Quindi, onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio,
  Quattromila trecento e due volumi
  Di sol desiderai questo concilio; 120
E vidi lui tornare a tutti i lumi
  Della sua strada novecento trenta
  Fïate, mentre ch' io in terra fu' mi.
La lingua ch' io parlai fu tutta spenta
  Innanzi assai ch' all' opra inconsumabile 125
  Fosse la gente di Nembrot attenta;
Chè nullo effetto mai razïonabile
  (Per lo piacere uman, che rinnovella
  Seguendo il cielo) sempre fu durabile.
Opera naturale è ch' uom favella; 130
  Ma così o così, natura lascia

117. *Il trapassar del segno*, 'transgressing the bound.' Adam's sin was not gluttony, but disobedience, caused by pride. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, xii-xiv.

118. 'Therefore, in the place whence thy lady drew Virgil': in the Limbus. Cf. *Inf.* II, 52 ff.

119. *Volumi*, 'revolutions': cf. XXIII, 112; XXVIII, 14.

120. *Concilio:* the 'assembly' of the blest, for which Adam yearned before his release from Limbus by Christ.

121. *Lui:* the sun. — *Lumi:* the signs of the zodiac.

122. Gen. v, 5: 'And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years.'

123. *Fu' mi = mi fui*, 'I was': cf. *Purg.* XXII, 90. — The two numbers added make 5232 years between the creation of Adam and the Crucifixion. Cf. *Purg.* XXXIII, 62. — Eusebius of Cæsarea, cited by Scart., puts the birth of Christ in the year 5200 of the world.

125. The 'unaccomplishable task' which Nimrod's people attempted was the building of the Tower of Babel: Gen. xi, 4–9. Cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 77–78; *Purg.* XII, 34. — Dante evidently changed his opinion on this subject, for in *Vulg. El.*, I, vi, 49-61, he had said that Adam's language was spoken by all men until the confusion of tongues, and by the Hebrews after that event. His study of human speech doubtless led him to the conclusion that an unwritten language could not last without change through many generations.

127–129. 'For no product of reason was ever permanent for all time, because of human inclination, which varies with the sky.'

130. 'It is a natural operation for man to speak': hence he always does speak, in some fashion.

Poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbella.
Pria ch' io scendessi all' infernale ambascia,
I s' appellava in terra il Sommo Bene,
Onde vien la letizia che mi fascia; 135
El si chiamò da poi, e ciò conviene,
Chè l' uso de' mortali è come fronda
In ramo, che sen va ed altra viene.
Nel monte che si leva più dall' onda
Fu' io, con vita pura e disonesta, 140
Dalla prim' ora a quella che seconda
(Come il sol muta quadra) l' ora sesta.'

132. *Abbella*, 'suits.'

134. We do not know where Dante got the idea that the first name of God was *I*. This letter is the initial of *Jehovah*, and also of *Jah:* cf. Ps. lxviii (Vulg. lxvii), 5 ('extol him . . . by his name Jah'). Moreover, standing for the number 1, it is the symbol of unity. See D. Guerri, *Il nome adamitico di Dio* in *Di alcuni versi dotti della 'Divina Commedia,'* 1908. — There are several other readings.

136. *El* is the Hebrew name. St. Isidore, *Etymologiæ*, VII, i: 'Primum apud Hebræos Dei nomen *El* dicitur.' Cf. *Vulg. El.*, I, iv, 26–31.

137–138. Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 60–61.

139–142. Adam lived in the Garden of Eden, on the mountaintop, before and after his sin, only about six hours — 'from the first hour to the one that follows the sixth, when the sun changes quadrant' (passes from the first quadrant, or 90°, to the second), i. e., from sunrise until the hour that follows noon. Among the various estimates of theologians, Dante chose one of the shortest, that of Petrus Comestor (cf. XII, 134).

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

When Dante once more gazes down at the earth, he finds that during the interval since the end of his previous observation (XXII, 133–153) he has traversed 90°, or a quarter of the whole circumference. Six hours, then, have elapsed. At the close of the first look, he was on the meridian of Jerusalem; he is now in line with the Strait of Gibraltar, having covered the whole length of the Mediterranean, whose extent was curiously exaggerated by the ancients (cf. IX, 82–87). Had the sun been under Gemini (but so placed as not to obstruct his sight), he could have beheld, from his present view-point, the whole western hemisphere, from Jerusalem to the Island of Purgatory; but, as he tells us (ll. 86–87), 'the sun was ahead of me, distant a sign and more beneath my feet.' The signs of the zodiac are, of course, all in the eighth heaven. Dante is in Gemini; and the sun is 'in,' or under, Aries. Between Gemini and Aries is Taurus. We may suppose that the poet is at or near the western extremity of Gemini, and we know that the sun is in line with a point something less than a third of the way from the eastern end of Aries. Each of the twelve signs is 30° long. A line drawn from Dante to the centre of the earth, and a line drawn from the sun to the same point, would then be separated by an arc of not more than 40°. It follows that some 40° of Dante's field of vision, on the eastern side, is in the dark, or at least in the twilight. Instead, therefore, of seeing clearly to the Phœnician coast, at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, he sees 'almost the shore' (l. 83) — perhaps as far as Greece. It should be remembered that all this Mediterranean region was observed by him at the time of his first inspection.

See Moore, III, 62–71; for a different explanation, Torraca. The matter has given rise to much controversy.

'Al Padre, al Figlio, allo Spirito Santo'
Cominciò 'Gloria' tutto il Paradiso,
Sì che m' inebbrïava il dolce canto.

1–6. The splendor of the host, as it sings the hymn *Gloria Patri,* seems to the enraptured spectator 'a smile of the universe'!

Ciò ch' io vedeva mi sembiava un riso
Dell' universo; per che mia ebbrezza 5
Entrava per l' udire e per lo viso.
O gioia! o ineffabile allegrezza!
O vita intera d' amore e di pace!
O senza brama sicura ricchezza!
Dinanzi agli occhi miei le quattro face 10
Stavano accese, e quella che pria venne
Incominciò a farsi più vivace;
E tal nella sembianza sua divenne
Qual diverrebbe Giove, s' egli e Marte
Fossero augelli, e cambiassersi penne. 15
La Provvidenza, che quivi comparte
Vice ed offizio, nel bëato coro
Silenzio posto avea da ogni parte,
Quand' io udi': 'Se io mi trascoloro,
Non ti maravigliar; chè, dicend' io, 20
Vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.
Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il loco mio,
Il loco mio, il loco mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,
Fatto ha del cimitero mio clöaca 25

10. The 'four torches' are the lights of Peter, James, John, and Adam.
11. *Quella:* the flame of St. Peter.
13–15. If the planets Jupiter and Mars were birds, and each should moult and exchange feathers with the other, Jupiter would turn red and Mars white: thus St. Peter's effulgence reddens. A whimsical figure.
16. *Comparte,* 'distributes.'
17. *Vice,* 'turn.'
22. In 1300 Boniface VIII was Pope; but his election, corruptly procured during the lifetime of his predecessor (Celestine V), is condemned as invalid by St. Peter, first of the Popes. The discordant wrath of Peter and the whole heavenly host is rendered the more terrific by its incongruity with the peaceful joy of Paradise.
23. For the repetition, cf. Jeremiah vii, 4. — *Vaca,* 'is vacant.'
24. *Presenza,* 'sight.'
25. St. Peter's 'burial place' is Rome, where he suffered martyrdom.

Del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
Che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa.'
Di quel color che per lo sole avverso
Nube dipinge da sera e da mane,
Vid' io allora tutto il ciel cosperso. 30
E come donna onesta, che permane
Di sè sicura, e per l' altrui fallanza,
Pure ascoltando, timida si fane,
Così Beatrice trasmutò sembianza;
E tal eclissi credo che in ciel fue, 35
Quando patì la Suprema Possanza.
Poi procedetter le parole sue
Con voce tanto da sè trasmutata
Che la sembianza non si mutò piùe:
'Non fu la sposa di Cristo allevata 40
Del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
Per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata;
Ma per acquisto d' esto viver lieto
E Sisto e Pio e Calisto ed Urbano
Sparser lo sangue dopo molto fleto. 45

28. *Che* is the subject of *dipinge* in l. 29. — *Per lo sole avverso*, 'the sun being opposite.' — Cf. *Met.*, III, 183-185:

> 'Qui color infectis adversi solis ab ictu
> Nubibus esse solet aut purpureæ auroræ,
> Is fuit in vultu visæ sine veste Dianæ.'

33. *Fane* = *fa*: cf. *Inf.* XI, 31, XVIII, 87; *Purg.* IV, 22, XXV, 47.
34. Cf. Daniel iii, 19: 'Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed.'
36. Mat. xxvii, 45.
39. *Piue*: 'more' than the voice.
40. *Allevata*, 'nurtured.'
41. Linus and Cletus were Bishops of Rome in the 1st century.
42 Cf. 1 Peter v, 1-2.
44. Sixtus, Pius, Calixtus, and Urban, Bishops of Rome in the 2d and 3d centuries, were all martyrs.
45. *Fleto* (Latin *fletus*), 'weeping.'

Non fu nostra intenzion ch' a destra mano
Dei nostri successor parte sedesse,
Parte dall' altra, del popol cristiano;
Nè che le chiavi che mi fur concesse
Divenisser segnacolo in vessillo 50
Che contra i battezzati combattesse;
Nè ch' io fossi figura di sigillo
Ai privilegi venduti e mendaci,
Ond' io sovente arrosso e disfavillo!
In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci 55
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi:
O difesa di Dio, perchè pur giaci?
Del sangue nostro Cäorsini e Guaschi
S' apparecchian di bere; o buon principio,
A che vil fine convien che tu caschi! 60
Ma l' alta Provvidenza, che con Scipio
Difese a Roma la gloria del mondo,
Soccorrà tosto, sì com' io concipio.
E tu, figliuol, che per lo mortal pondo

46–48. We never intended that our successors should treat the Guelfs as sheep, the Ghibellines as goats: cf. Mat. xxv, 33.

50. 'Should become an emblem on a standard.' The Papal troops sent against Frederick II in 1229 wore this token on their shoulders, and were called *chiavisegnati*. In Dante's own time the Pope was again warring against Christians: see *Inf.* XXVII, 85–90. For a Papal banner with the figure of St. Peter, cf. *Rom.*, II, 28, ll. 817–818.

52. The Papal seal bears the image of St. Peter.

55. Mat. vii, 15: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.' Cf. the Provençal poem by Peire Cardinal, *Li clerc si fan pastor*.

58. Cahors, the old capital of Quercy in southwestern France, was a nest of usury: see *Inf.* XI, 50. John XXII, Pope from 1316 to 1334, came from that town: cf. XVIII, 130–136. His predecessor, Clement V, was a Gascon; he is mentioned in *Inf.* XIX, 82–87, *Purg.* XXXII, 148–160, *Par.* XVII, 82.

61. *Con Scipio*, 'together with Scipio': Scipio the younger, who conquered Hannibal and thus saved Rome. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 164–171.

62. *A*, 'for.'

63. *Concipio* (Latin) = *concepisco*, 'conceive.'

64. *Per*, 'because of.'

Ancor giù tornerai, apri la bocca, 65
E non asconder quel ch' io non ascondo!'
Sì come di vapor gelati fiocca
In giuso l' aere nostro, quando il corno
Della Capra del ciel col sol si tocca,
In su vid' io così l' etere adorno 70
Farsi, e fioccar di vapor trïonfanti,
Che fatto avean con noi quivi soggiorno.
Lo viso mio seguiva i suoi sembianti,
E seguì in fin che il mezzo, per lo molto,
Gli tolse il trapassar del più avanti. 75
Onde la Donna, che mi vide assolto
Dell' attendere in su, mi disse: 'Adima
Il viso, e guarda come tu sei volto!'
Dall' ora ch' io avea guardato prima,
Io vidi mosso me per tutto l' arco 80
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima;
Sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco

67–72. These lines present the strange and lovely picture of an inverted snowstorm. Dante sees 'the æther grow beautiful, flaked with triumphant vapors' (the swarm of bright spirits returning to the Empyrean), 'just as our air flakes downward with frozen vapors' in midwinter, when the sun is in Capricorn — 'when the horn of the Sky-Goat and the Sun touch each other.' It must be remembered that 'wet vapors' produce rain, snow, and hail, while wind, lightning, and meteors are caused by 'dry vapors.'

73. *I suoi sembianti*, 'their forms.'

74. *Il mezzo*, 'the intervening space.' — *Lo molto*, 'its muchness,' or extent.

75. 'Prevented it (my sight) from passing beyond.'

76. *Assolto*, 'released.'

77. *Adima*, 'lower.'

78. *Sei volto*, 'hast revolved.'

79. See XXII, 133–153.

80–81. The ancients divided the habitable part of the earth into seven strips, or 'climates,' stretching east and west. In the middle of the first, or most southerly, of these zones is the meridian of Jerusalem; the westerly end is at the meridian of Gibraltar. The distance between the middle and the end, according to Dante's geography, is 90°, or six hours' revolution. See Moore, III, 101 and 132.

82–84. *Gade*, 'Cadiz.' Beyond Cadiz the poet sees the 'mad track' of Ulysses out in the unknown Ocean; cf. *Inf.* XXVI, 90–142, where the voyage is described as a *folle volo* (l. 125). On the hither side of Cadiz he sees 'nearly' (*presso*)

Folle d' Ulisse, e, di qua, presso il lito
Nel qual si fece Europa dolce carco.
E più mi fora discoperto il sito 85
Di questa aiuola; ma il sol procedea
Sotto i miei piedi un segno e più partito.
La mente innamorata, che donnea
Con la mia Donna sempre, di ridure
Ad essa gli occhi più che mai ardea; 90
E se natura od arte fe' pasture
Da pigliare occhi, per aver la mente,
In carne umana o nelle sue pitture,
Tutte adunate parrebber nïente
Ver lo piacer divin che mi rifulse, 95
Quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.
E la virtù che lo sguardo m' indulse
Del bel nido di Leda mi divelse
E nel ciel velocissimo m' impulse.
Le parti sue vivissime ed eccelse 100
Sì uniformi son ch' io non so dire
Qual Bëatrice per loco mi scelse.
Ma ella, che vedeva il mio disire,
Incominciò ridendo tanto lieta
Che Dio parea nel suo volto gioire: 105

the Phœnician shore, where Europa mounted on the back of Jupiter disguised as a bull; cf. *Met.*, II, 833-875, especially 868-869.

86. *Aiuola:* cf. XXII, 151.

87. *Partito*, 'distant.'

88. *Donnea*, 'dallies': cf. XXIV, 118.

89. *Ridure = ridurre*, 'bring back.'

91-93. 'And if nature or art ever made bait of human flesh or paintings of it, to catch the eyes in order to possess the mind.'

97. *Virtù*, 'power.' — *Indulse*, 'granted': cf. IX, 34.

98. 'Leda's nest' is the constellation of Gemini, so called because the Twins (Castor and Pollux) were the children of Leda by Jupiter in the form of a swan.

99. *Ciel velocissimo:* the ninth heaven, or Primum Mobile, which contains no visible bodies.

100. *Vivissime*, 'quickest': other texts have *vicissime*.

'La natura del mondo, che quïeta
Il mezzo, e tutto l' altro intorno move,
Quinci comincia come da sua meta.
E questo cielo non ha altro dove
Che la mente divina, in che s' accende 110
L' amor che il volge e la virtù ch' ei piove.
Luce ed amor d' un cerchio lui comprende,
Sì come questo gli altri; e quel precinto
Colui che il cinge solamente intende.
Non è suo moto per altro distinto; 115
Ma gli altri son misurati da questo,
Sì come dieci da mezzo e da quinto.
E come il tempo tenga in cotal testo
Le sue radici, e negli altri le fronde,
Omai a te puot' esser manifesto. 120
O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde

106. 'The order of the universe, which stills (holds motionless) . . .'
107. 'The middle' is the earth, a motionless globe surrounded by the revolving heavens.
109. *Dove*, 'where': location.
111. *La virtù ch' ei piove*, 'the power which it (the ninth heaven) showers' — transmits to the rest of the world.
112–114. 'Light and love envelop it round about, as it envelops the other heavens; and that belt (the Empyrean, or Heaven of light and love) is governed only by him (God) who girds it.' Every sphere except the ninth is surrounded by another sphere; but the ninth, the outermost sphere of the material universe, is surrounded only by the world of spirit, the Heaven of light and love, the Empyrean, which is the Mind of God. Moreover, every material heaven is directed by an order of angelic Intelligences; but in the Empyrean the only governing Intelligence is the Lord, in whom it exists. — For *intende*, cf. *Conv.*, II, Canzone I, l. 1.
115. *Distinto*, 'marked.' The unit of time is the day, which is determined by the revolution of the Primum Mobile: cf. *Conv.*, II, xv, 132–157; *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. x, Art. 1 and 4.
116. *Misurati*, 'regulated.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xc, Art. 4.
117. Just as 10 is determined by 5 (its 'half') and 2 (its 'fifth').
118. *Testo*, 'flower-pot': in this grotesque metaphor the spheres are pots, in one of which (the ninth) Time has its roots, while its leaves and flowers appear in the others.
121. *Affonde*, 'sinkest.' Greed is likened to a flood. — This apostrophe is

Sì sotto te, che nessuno ha potere
Di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde!
Ben fiorisce negli uomini il volere;
Ma la pioggia continüa converte 125
In bozzacchioni le susine vere.
Fede ed innocenza son reperte
Solo nei parvoletti; poi ciascuna
Pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.
Tale, balbuzïendo ancor, digiuna, 130
Che poi divora (con la lingua sciolta)
Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna;
E tal balbuzïendo ama ed ascolta
La madre sua, che, con loquela intera,
Disira poi di vederla sepolta. 135
Così si fa la pelle bianca nera —
Nel primo aspetto — della bella figlia
Di quei ch' apporta mane e lascia sera.
Tu, perchè non ti facci maraviglia,
Pensa che in terra non è chi governi; 140
Onde sì svia l' umana famiglia.
Ma prima che gennaio tutto si sverni

suggested by the contrast between Time and Eternity, on the one hand, and, on the other, the pettiness and brief duration of the goods coveted by men.

124. Cf. Romans vii, 18: 'to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not.'

126. *Bozzacchioni*, 'abortions.' The word is used to designate plums that are spoiled on the tree.

136–138. In *Mon.*, I, ix, 4–10, Dante (referring to Aristotle's *Physics*, II, ii) declares that humanity is the child of the sky, or the sun, and therefore should imitate Heaven: 'Humanum genus filius est cœli . . . generat enim homo hominem et sol . . .' — 'He who brings morning and leaves evening' (l. 138) is obviously the sun, and his 'fair daughter' would seem to be the human race. 'In the primal sight' (l. 137) probably signifies 'in the sight of God.' The obscure lines may, then, be interpreted: 'Thus is blackened, in the sight of God, the white skin of human nature, the sun's fair child.'

139. *Facci* = *faccia*.

142. *Gennaio* is to be counted as two syllables: cf. *Purg.* XIII, 22, XIV, 66, XX, 52. — *Si sverni*, 'be unwintered,' become a spring instead of a winter

(Per la centesma ch' è laggiù negletta)
Ruggiran sì questi cerchi superni
Che la fortuna, che tanto s' aspetta, 145
Le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,
Sì che la classe correrà diretta;
E vero frutto verrà dopo il fiore.'

month. Through an inaccuracy in the Julian calendar, which made the year of 365 days and 6 hours, the solar year gained over the standard year about one day in a century; in the course of something less than 90 centuries, then, January would have been pushed into the spring, if the error had not been corrected (as it was in 1582 under Gregory XIII, when the present calendar was adopted). The line means: 'But before 9000 years have gone by,' i. e., 'within a little while.'

143. The Julian year was really about $\frac{1}{130}$ of a day too long; but the error was sometimes estimated at a figure not far from $\frac{1}{100}$. See Moore, III, 96–97.

145. *Fortuna*, 'storm.'

147. *Classe* (Latin *classis*), 'fleet.' — Once more we have a vague prophecy of violent reformation.

148. The poet returns to the metaphor of l. 126.

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

In the Crystalline Heaven, on the confines of the world of matter, the poet beholds a symbolic picture of God, not in his divine essence, but in his relation to the nine orders of angels that govern the spheres. First Dante catches sight of the image reflected in the eyes of Beatrice; then he turns to gaze on the splendid spectacle itself. His initial perception of the truth comes, then, from Revelation. Once before, the lady's eyes have served a like purpose: in *Purg.* XXXI, 118–126. In Dante's new vision God appears as a microscopic point of exceeding brightness. The centre of a circle is like the Almighty in its immobility and its lack of extension. Minuteness is a token of indivisible unity; and the one Indivisible Unit is the centre and source of all light. See *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xi, Art. 2–4. Encircling the point, about as far away as a halo is from the star it surrounds, a bright ring revolves; and, one after another, eight more concentric girdles of fire are turning, the outermost being of inconceivable magnitude. Their light and speed are proportionate to their proximity to the Point; thus the tiniest circle — the one closest to the centre — is the swiftest and brightest, whereas in the material universe the smallest and nearest sphere is the slowest in its revolution. In the world of spirit, space signifies nothing, and vicinity to God is everything; in the physical universe, moreover, the centre is the earth, while the centre of the spiritual world is God.

The nine rings represent the heavenly Intelligences, which fall into three hierarchies, each composed of three orders: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominations, Virtues, Powers; Principalities, Archangels, Angels. They preside respectively over: the Primum Mobile, the Starry Heaven, the sphere of Saturn; the spheres of Jupiter, Mars, the sun; the spheres of Venus, Mercury, the moon. All these names of angels occur in one place or another in the Bible, but with no suggestion of system; five of them are mentioned by St. Paul (Ephesians i, 21, and Colossians i, 16), who had visited Paradise. St. Ambrose, *Apologia Prophetæ David*, V, 21, enumerates nine angelic choirs; but for an exact designation and

classification of the orders — with a lengthy but confused account of their functions — we must look to a fifth or sixth century Neo-Platonic Greek treatise, *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, sometimes called the Pseudo-Dionysius. The matter is discussed by St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cviii, and by Dante in the *Convivio*, II, vi. The present canto corrects an error of arrangement made by the author (and others) in his previous description — a shifting of Thrones, Dominations, Powers, and Principalities. In this chapter of the *Convivio*, 56–94, Dante informs us that the three hierarchies contemplate respectively the three persons of the Trinity — Power, Wisdom, and Love, embodied in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And inasmuch as each person can be regarded in three ways, — in itself, and in its relation to each of the other two, — every hierarchy is divided into three orders. St. Thomas ascribes to the nine orders the following functions: Seraphim, love; Cherubim, sight; Thrones, taking and holding; Dominations, command; Virtues, execution; Powers, judgment; Principalities, direction of nations; Archangels, direction of leaders; Angels, direction of individuals.

See Flam., I, 107; II. 252; G. Busnelli in *Giorn. dant.*, XIX, 97; C. Zanini, *Gli Angeli nella Divina Commedia in relazione ad alcune fonti sacre*, 1908 (cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 89). Between the angelic orders and their heavens, and between the orders and the classes of the blest, there is no manifest relation; nor is there in the *Paradiso* any trace of the connection between the heavens and the seven liberal arts, discussed in *Conv.*, II, xiv, 48–253. For Dionysius, see H. Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitica in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen*, 1900. — For rotation as a figure of the angelic intuition of God. in Dionysius and his commentators, see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 186–190, 196. Dionysius and St. Thomas discuss three symbolic movements of the angels, the circular, straight, and oblique (Busnelli, I, 195–203); but of these only the first appears with any clearness in Dante, although the influence of each higher order on the one below may be regarded as exemplifying the 'straight' motion. — Boethius, in *Cons.*, IV, Pr. vi, has a figure of a point surrounded by rings, representing Providence and Fate (this word being used to indicate secondary necessity). In *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, I. lxvi, 6, centre and circle typify eternity and time, the centre being always opposite every point in the circumference; angels, though eternal, participate in temporal existence (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. x, Art. 5), while God does not.

Poscia che contro alla vita presente
Dei miseri mortali aperse il vero
Quella che imparadisa la mia mente, —

2. *Miseri mortali:* cf. Virgil, Georgics, III, 66, 'miseris mortalibus.' — The subject of *aperse* is *quella* (Beatrice) in l. 3.

Come in lo specchio fiamma di doppiero
 Vede colui che se n' alluma retro, 5
 Prima che l' abbia in vista o in pensiero,
E sè rivolge per veder se il vetro
 Gli dice il vero, e vede ch' el s' accorda
 Con esso, come nota con suo metro, —
Così la mia memoria si ricorda 10
 Ch' io feci, riguardando nei begli occhi
 Onde a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda.
E com' io mi rivolsi, e furon tocchi
 Li miei da ciò che pare in quel volume,
 Quandunque nel suo giro ben s' adocchi, 15
Un punto vidi che raggiava lume
 Acuto sì che il viso ch' egli affoca
 Chiuder conviensi per lo forte acume.
E quale stella par quinci più poca
 Parrebbe luna locata con esso, 20
 Come stella con stella si colloca.
Forse cotanto quanto pare appresso
 Alo cinger la luce che il dipigne,
 Quando il vapor che il porta più è spesso,
Distante intorno al punto un cerchio d' igne 25
 Si girava sì ratto ch' avria vinto

4. *Doppiero*, 'wax torch.'
8. *El*, 'it': the truth.
9. *Esso:* the glass. — *Metro*, 'measure.'
13. *Tocchi* = *toccati*.
14. *Volume*, 'revolution,' i. e., heaven: cf. XXIII, 112, XXVI, 119.
15. *S' adocchi*, 'one gazes.' Contemplation of the Primum Mobile suggests the image of the angels and the universe in their relation to God.
17. *Viso*, 'eye.'
19. *Quinci*, 'from here below': from the earth. — *Poca* = *piccola*.
22. *Cotanto* is to be connected with *distante* in l. 25, and *cotanto distante* is correlative with *quanto appresso:* 'as near as' . . . 'so far away' . . .
23. *Luce* (object of *cinger*): the moon or a star. Cf. X, 67–69.
25. *Igne* (Latin *ignis*), 'fire.'

Quel moto che più tosto il mondo cigne;
E questo era d' un altro circuncinto,
E quel dal terzo, e il terzo poi dal quarto,
Dal quinto il quarto, e poi dal sesto il quinto. 30
Sopra seguiva il settimo sì sparto
Già di larghezza che il messo di Juno
Intero a contenerlo sarebbe arto.
Così l' ottavo e il nono. E ciascheduno
Più tardo si movea, secondo ch' era 35
In numero distante più dall' uno.
E quello avea la fiamma più sincera,
Cui men distava la favilla pura —
Credo, però che più di lei s' invera.
La Donna mia, che mi vedeva in cura 40
Forte sospeso, disse: 'Da quel punto
Depende il cielo e tutta la natura.
Mira quel cerchio che più gli è congiunto,
E sappi che il suo movere è sì tosto
Per l' affocato amore ond' egli è punto.' 45
Ed io a lei: 'Se il mondo fosse posto
Con l' ordine ch' io veggio in quelle rote,
Sazio m' avrebbe ciò che m' è proposto.
Ma nel mondo sensibile si puote
Veder le volte tanto più divine 50
Quant' elle son dal centro più remote.
Onde, se il mio disio dee aver fine

27. The motion of the Primum Mobile itself.
28. *Circuncinto*, 'girt around.'
31. *Sparto*, 'widespread.'
32. 'Juno's messenger' is Iris, the rainbow: cf. *Met.*, I, 270–271.
33. *Arto*, 'narrow': cf. *Inf.* XIX, 42; *Purg.* XXVII, 132.
37. *Sincera*, 'clear.'
39. *Di lei s' invera*, 'partakes of its truth.'
48. *Sazio*, 'satisfied.' — *Proposto*, 'set before.'
50. *Volte*, 'revolutions.'

In questo miro ed angelico templo
Che solo amore e luce ha per confine,
Udir conviemmi ancor come l' esemplo 55
E l' esemplare non vanno d' un modo;
Chè io per me indarno ciò contemplo.'
'Se li tuoi diti non sono a tal nodo
Sufficïenti, non è maraviglia,
Tanto per non tentare è fatto sodo.' 60
Così la Donna mia; poi disse: 'Piglia
Quel ch' io ti dicerò, se vuoi saziarti,
Ed intorno da esso t' assottiglia.
Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti
Secondo il più e il men della virtute 65
Che si distende per tutte lor parti.
Maggior bontà vuol far maggior salute;
Maggior salute maggior corpo cape,
S' egli ha le parti egualmente compiute.
Dunque costui, che tutto quanto rape 70
L' altro universo seco, corrisponde
Al cerchio che più ama e che più sape.
Per che, se tu alla virtù circonde
La tua misura, non alla parvenza
Delle sustanzie che t' appaion tonde, 75
Tu vederai mirabil conseguenza —

53. *Templo:* this sphere.
54. Cf. XXVII, 112.
55. *Conviemmi = mi conviene.* — *Esemplo:* the angelic circles are an 'example,' or pattern, of the material spheres.
60. *Per non tentare,* 'from not being tried': few philosophers attempt to solve the problem of the relation of the spiritual to the physical world. — *Sodo,* 'hard.'
63. 'And whet thy wits upon it.'
67. 'Greater goodness must work greater weal.'
68. 'Greater weal is contained by a greater body.'
70. *Costui,* 'this body,' the Primum Mobile. — *Rape* (Latin *rapit*), 'drags.'
73. *Circonde,* 'puttest . . . about.'
76. *Conseguenza,* 'correspondence' of each heaven to its governing Intelligence, or order of angels.

Di maggio a più, e di minore a meno —
In ciascun cielo a sua Intelligenza.'
Come rimane splendido e sereno
L' emisperio dell' aere, quando soffia 80
Borea da quella guancia ond' è più leno,
Per che si purga e risolve la roffia
Che pria turbava, sì che il ciel ne ride
Con le bellezze d' ogni sua parroffia, —
Così fec' ïo, poi che mi provvide 85
La Donna mia del suo risponder chiaro,
E come stella in cielo il ver si vide.
E poi che le parole sue restaro,
Non altrimenti ferro disfavilla
Che bolle, come i cerchi sfavillaro. 90
Lo incendio lor seguiva ogni scintilla;
Ed eran tante che il numero loro
Più che il doppiar degli scacchi s' immilla.

77. 'Of greater (size) to more (intelligence) and of smaller (size) to less (intelligence).'

81. The wind-gods were sometimes represented as heads blowing a threefold blast from the middle and the two corners of their mouths. See Ristoro d' Arezzo, *Composizione del mondo*, VII, iii. Thus Boreas blows not only the north wind, but also the northwest and northeast. The last is, for Italy, the 'mildest' and clearest. — For the whole image, cf. *Æn.*, XII, 365-367.

82. *Roffia*, 'rubbish.' The word apparently meant the refuse of tanned hides: see *Bull.*, III, 154.

84. *Parroffia*, 'parish,' quarter. See *Bull.*, III, 153.

88. *Restaro*, 'had ceased.'

90. The sparks into which the fiery rings resolve themselves represent the individual angels that compose the orders. Every angel constitutes a species by itself, but nevertheless it belongs to one of the nine orders, and never leaves it (cf. l. 91).

91. *Incendio* (the fiery ring) is the object of *seguiva*.

92. In *Conv.*, II, vi, 38-39, Dante declares that the angels are 'quasi innumerabili'; St. Thomas says as much in *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cxii, Art. 4. Cf. Daniel vii, 10.

93. *S' immilla*, 'stretches into the thousands.' According to an old story, the inventor of the game of chess asked of the King of Persia, as a reward, one grain of corn for the first square, two for the second, four for the third, eight for the fourth, and so on, with successive 'doubling,' through the 64 squares of the chess-board. The result is a number of 20 figures. The Provençal poets Peire Vidal and Folquet de Marselha (cf. IX, 94) refer to this tale.

Io sentiva osannar di coro in coro
Al punto fisso che li tiene all' *ubi*, 95
E terrà sempre, nel qual sempre foro.
E quella, che vedeva i pensier dubi
Nella mia mente, disse: 'I cerchi primi
T' hanno mostrati i Serafi e i Cherubi.
Così veloci seguono i suoi vimi, 100
Per simigliarsi al punto quanto ponno,
E posson quanto a veder son sublimi.
Quegli altri amor, che d' intorno gli vonno,
Si chiaman Troni del divino aspetto,
Perchè il primo ternaro terminonno. 105
E dei saper che tutti hanno diletto
Quanto la sua veduta si profonda
Nel vero in che si queta ogn' intelletto.
Quinci si può veder come si fonda
L' esser bëato nell' atto che vede, 110
Non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda;
E del vedere è misura mercede,

94. *Osannar*, 'Hosannah sung.'
95. *Ubi* (Latin), 'where,' i. e., spot.
97. *Dubi* = *dubbi*.
100. *I suoi vimi*, 'their bonds': the respective rings to which they are bound.
101. *Ponno* = *possono*. Cf. 1 John iii, 2: 'we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.'
102. *Sublimi*, 'exalted.'
103. *Vonno* = *vanno:* the form is still extant in Umbria.
105. 'Because' (when God created the world) 'the first triad ended with them.' *Terminonno* = *terminarono*. — The line is very obscure; but the idea seems to be that the designation 'Thrones' is appropriate because these angels form the bottom of the highest set, the sovereign angels being (so to speak) seated upon them. According to Dionysius (*De Cælesti Hierarchia*, VII, 1, end), the Thrones are so called because they are remote from everything earthly, are close to the highest, receive the divine advent without matter and without motion, carry God, and are fit for divine offices. — Cf. *Par.* IX, 61–63; *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cviii, Art. 5.
107. *Sua*, 'their.'
110. *Atto che vede*, 'act of sight.'
111. *Poscia seconda*, 'follows after.'

Che grazia partorisce e buona voglia;
Così di grado in grado si procede.
L' altro ternaro, — che così germoglia 115
In questa primavera sempiterna,
Che notturno Arïete non dispoglia, —
Perpetüalemente '*Osanna*' sverna
Con tre melode, che suonano in tree
Ordini di letizia onde s' interna. 120
In essa gerarchia son le tre Dee:
Prima Dominazioni, e poi Virtudi;
L' ordine terzo di Podestadi ee.
Poscia nei due penultimi tripudi
Principati ed Arcangeli si girano; 125
L' ultimo è tutto d' Angelici ludi.
Questi ordini di su tutti rimirano,
E di giù vincon sì che verso Dio
Tutti tirati sono e tutti tirano.
E Dionisio con tanto disio 130
A contemplar questi ordini si mise
Che li nomò e distinse com' io.

113. *Che* (= *mercede*, 'desert') is the object of *partorisce*, of which *grazia* and *buona voglia* are subjects.

114. These are the 'steps': Grace begets good will, Grace and good will constitute desert, desert determines the degree of sight, and sight is the source of love. Cf. *Par.* XXIX, 61–66; *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxii, Art. 4.

115. *Altro*, 'second.'

117. 'Which no autumn ever strips.' 'Nocturnal Aries' means 'autumn,' because in that season Aries is the constellation opposite the sun.

118. *Sverna*, 'sings' (as a spring song).

120. *Onde s' interna*, 'which make it threefold.'

121. *Dee*, 'divinities': orders of angels.

124. *Tripudi*, 'dances': orders.

128. *Vincon*, 'prevail.'

130. The great authority for the names, orders, and functions of the angels is a Neo-Platonic work, not earlier than the 5th century, *De Cœlesti Hierarchia*, attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's convert in Athens (mentioned in Acts xvii, 34). He was thought to have derived his information from St. Paul, who had visited Paradise.

Ma Gregorio da lui poi si divise;
Onde sì tosto come l' occhio aperse
In questo ciel, di sè medesmo rise. 135
E se tanto segreto ver proferse
Mortale in terra, non voglio ch' ammiri;
Chè chi il vide quassù gliel discoperse
Con altro assai del ver di questi giri.'

133. St. Gregory, in his *Moralia in Librum Beati Job*, arranges the angelic orders thus: Seraphim, Cherubim, Powers; Principalities, Virtues, Dominations; Thrones, Archangels, Angels. This sequence is followed by Brunetto Latini in the *Trésor*, and by Dante in *Conv.*, II, vi. Elsewhere Gregory has a still different arrangement. See *Bull.*, XVIII, 127 and 205.

137. *Mortale:* Dionysius.

138. *Chi:* St. Paul. — *Vide:* 2 Cor. xii, 2–4.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

A MEDIÆVAL poet could scarcely close a discussion of angels without giving his opinion on certain moot questions concerning them. In this canto, then, we are enlightened as to the date of their creation, the nature of the meritorious act which saved the good ones, the time and character of the sin which damned the bad ones, and the faculties which heavenly Intelligences may possess. To the modern reader such speculations seem otiose; and we are perhaps justified in believing that they did not appear very important to Dante. At any rate, he bitterly denounces those preachers who entertain their congregations with idle guesses, instead of feeding them on the Word of God. It is noteworthy that Dante holds no converse with the angels. He evidently thought of them as exalted, divine, nearer to God than to man. Even those which appear in Hell and Purgatory, although their duties bring them close to the traveler, preserve a certain air of austerity and remoteness.

See St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei,* XII, ix.

Quando ambedue i figli di Latona,
  Coperti del Montone e della Libra,
  Fanno dell' orizzonte insieme zona,
  Quant' è dal punto che il zenit inlibra,

1. *Quando:* at the vernal equinox, when, at dawn and at sunset, the sun and the moon are opposite each other on the horizon, one rising and the other setting. — 'Latona's children' are Apollo and Diana, the sun and the moon.
2. The sun is in Aries (the Ram, *Montone*), the moon is in Libra (the Scales).
3. The two luminaries 'belt themselves with the horizon': the horizon line bisects them both.
4. 'As long as it is from the moment when the zenith puts them into the scales.' The sun and moon, exactly balanced for an instant on opposite sides of the horizon, suggest to the poet the figure of a gigantic pair of scales, suspended from the zenith. And just as, in a balance, one scale immediately goes down, and the other up, so one of the two luminaries rises above the horizon and the other sinks below it.

Infin che l' uno e l' altro da quel cinto, 5
Cambiando l' emisperio, si dilibra,
Tanto, col volto di riso dipinto,
Si tacque Bëatrice, riguardando
Fisso nel punto che m' aveva vinto:
Poi cominciò: 'Io dico, non domando 10
Quel che tu vuoli udir, perch' io l' ho visto
Dove s' appunta ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando.*
Non per avere a sè di bene acquisto
(Ch' esser non può), ma perchè suo splendore
Potesse risplendendo dir: "*Subsisto,*" 15
In sua eternità di tempo fuore,
Fuor d' ogni altro comprender, come i piacque,
S' aperse in nuovi amor l' Eterno Amore.
Nè prima quasi torpente si giacque;
Chè nè prima nè poscia procedette 20
Lo discorrer di Dio sopra quest' acque.

5. *Infin che*, 'until.' — *Cinto*, 'girdle': the horizon.
6. *Si dilibra*, 'is unbalanced.'
7. *Tanto*, 'so long': correlative with the *quanto* of l. 4. The simile of the sun and moon in balance is used to convey the idea of one instant of intermediate stillness and suspense — the silence that intervenes between Beatrice's speech at the end of the last canto and her discourse that begins in l. 10.
10. *Dico*, 'speak.'
12. *S' appunta*, 'are centred.' God is the centre of all our conceptions of space and time. — *Ubi . . . quando* (Latin), 'where' . . . 'when.'
13. *Per*, 'in order to.' God was impelled to create the angels, not by a desire to increase his own weal, but by a wish to share his goodness with other beings. This is the doctrine of St. Thomas in *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei*, II, xlvi, and St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*, XI, xxiv. Cf. *Par.* VII, 64–66, XIII, 52–55
15. *Subsisto* (Latin), 'I am.'
16. *Di tempo fuore*, 'outside of time.'
17. *Comprender*, 'containing,' limitation. — *I=gli.*
19. Time has reference only to created things; for God all time is present and 'before' and 'after' have no significance. Therefore we may not say that God was inactive 'before' the creation.
21. 'The moving of God' etc. means the creation. Gen. i, 2: 'And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' The figure has a particular appropriateness here, because the 9th sphere was often called the 'aqueous heaven.'

Forma e materia congiunte e purette
Usciro ad esser che non avea fallo,
Come d' arco tricorde tre saette;
E come in vetro, in ambra od in cristallo 25
Raggio risplende sì che dal venire
All' esser tutto non è intervallo,
Così il triforme effetto del suo Sire
Nell' esser suo raggiò insieme tutto,
Senza distinzïon nell' esordire. 30
Concrëato fu ordine e costrutto
Alle sustanzie, e quelle furon cima
Nel mondo, in che puro atto fu produtto.
Pura potenza tenne la parte ima.
Nel mezzo strinse potenza con atto 35
Tal vime che giammai non si divima.
Jeronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto

22. *Purette*, 'unmixed.' The line means 'pure form (i. e., character without matter: the angels), pure matter (i. e., matter without spirit: the stuff of which the earth was made), and form and matter conjoined (i. e., the heavens).'

23. 'Came into an existence that had no lack,' i. e., came into independent being (*substantia*). God created the heavens, the angels, and brute matter all together on the first day. Cf. Ecclus. xviii, 1: 'Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia simul.' So Gen. i, 1: 'In principio creavit Deus cœlum et terram.' Dante follows the opinion of Peter Lombard (cf. X, 107), *Sententiæ*, II, i-ii, and St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxi, Art. 2-3.

28. *Effetto*, 'work' (ll. 22-24). — *Del suo*, 'from its.'

29. *Raggiò*, 'shot forth.'

30. *Esordire*, 'beginning.'

31. *Costrutto*, 'established.'

32-33. *Alle*, 'for the.' The three kinds of beings above named were arranged in due order. At the top (*cima*) were 'those in which pure activity was produced,' i. e., the angels, which, having no body, are pure intelligence, or 'form'; and form, or character, begins to operate as soon as it exists, and continues to operate completely and incessantly. The angels have no powers that are not in constant and full activity. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. l, Art 2.

34. 'Pure potentiality' is characteristic of brute matter, which is capable of no independent activity. — *Ima*, 'lowest.'

35. *Mezzo:* the material heavens. — *Strinse*, 'bound': the subject is *vime* in l. 36.

36. *Vime*, 'tie': cf. XXVIII, 100. — *Divima*, 'it is untied.' — Spirit and matter are always united in the spheres.

37-38. A curious Latinizing construction: 'Jerome (in his commentary on

Di secoli degli Angeli crëati
Anzi che l' altro mondo fosse fatto;
Ma questo vero è scritto in molti lati 40
Dagli scrittor dello Spirito Santo;
E tu ten' avvedrai, se bene agguati.
Ed anche la ragione il vede alquanto,
Che non concederebbe che i motori
Senza sua perfezion fosser cotanto. 45
Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
Furon crëati, e come; sì che spenti
Nel tuo disio già sono tre ardori.
Nè giugneriesi, numerando, al venti
Sì tosto come degli Angeli parte 50
Turbò il suggetto dei vostri elementi.
L' altra rimase, e cominciò quest' arte

the Epistle of Paul to Titus) wrote you down a long lapse of ages from the creation of the angels.' St. Jerome's opinion — that the angels existed countless ages before the creation of the world — is recorded and refuted by St. Thomas in *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxi, Art. 3.

40. *Questo vero*, 'this truth': ll. 22–24 and 28–30. — *Molti lati*, 'many pages': cf. note to l. 23.

41. Cf. *Mon.*, III, iv, 87–91: 'Nam quamquam scribæ divini eloquii multi sint, unicus tamen dictator est Deus, qui beneplacitum suum nobis per multorum calamos explicare dignatus est.'

42. *Agguati*, 'watchest.'

44. *Motori:* the angels, who move the heavens.

45. *Sua perfezion*, 'their perfection,' i. e., the opportunity for their proper work: 'movers' whose essence is pure activity (cf. note to ll. 32–33) must have something to move. — *Cotanto*, 'so long.'

49. *Giugneriesi = si giungerebbe*, 'one would reach' the number 20, in counting. The rebellious angels fell before one could count 20. The beatitude or damnation of the angels depended on the first act of their will after creation — assuming that they were created in grace and in the exercise of their free will: so St. Thomas in *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxii, Art. 5. Satan and his companions, moved by pride, immediately rejected grace, and fell; the others accepted grace, and thereby enjoyed complete vision of God, which made sin impossible (*loc. cit.*, Art. 8).

50. Cf. *Conv.*, II, vi, 95–98: 'di tutti questi Ordini si perderono alquanti tosto che furono creati, forse in numero della decima parte.'

51. The lost angels in their fall disturbed the earth, the 'undermost' of the physical elements. Of the four elements — fire, air, water, earth — earth is the lowest, being at the centre of the material universe. — Cf. *Inf.* XXXIV, 121–126

52. *Altra:* sc. *parte*.

Che tu discerni, con tanto diletto
Che mai da circüir non si diparte.
Principio del cader fu il maledetto 55
Superbir di colui che tu vedesti
Da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto.
Quelli che vedi qui furon modesti
A riconoscer sè dalla Bontate
Che gli avea fatti a tanto intender presti; 60
Per che le viste lor furo esaltate
Con grazia illuminante, e con lor merto,
Sì ch' hanno piena e ferma volontate.
E non voglio che dubbi, ma sie certo,
Che ricever la grazia è meritorio, 65
Secondo che l' affetto l' è aperto.
Omai dintorno a questo consistorio
Puoi contemplare assai, se le parole
Mie son ricolte, senz' altro aiutorio.
Ma perchè in terra per le vostre scuole 70
Si legge che l' angelica natura
È tal che intende e si ricorda e vuole,
Ancor dirò, perchè tu veggi pura
La verità che laggiù si confonde,
Equivocando in sì fatta lettura. 75
Queste sustanzie, poi che fur gioconde

56. *Inf.* XXXIV, 19-69.
59. 'In recognizing that they owed their being to that Goodness.' For the use of *riconoscere,* cf. XXII, 113, XXXI, 84.
60. *A tanto* etc., 'ready for so great understanding.'
61. *Viste,* 'eyes.'
62. Grace revealed the right course to them, and their merit consisted in choosing it.
66. 'According as the heart is open to it' (i. e., to grace). The degree of openness depends on love (*caritas*), which is a result of foreordained disposition.
71. *Si legge,* 'it is taught' in the lectures of doctors of theology.
73. *Dirò,* 'I shall speak.' — *Veggi* = *vegga* or *veda.*
76. *Queste sustanzie:* the angels.

Della faccia di Dio, non volser viso
Da essa, da cui nulla si nasconde;
Però non hanno vedere interciso
Da nuovo obbietto, e però non bisogna 80
Rimemorar per concetto diviso.
Sì che laggiù non dormendo si sogna —
Credendo e non credendo dicer vero
(Ma nell' uno è più colpa e più vergogna).
Voi non andate giù per un sentiero 85
Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
L' amor dell' apparenza e il suo pensiero!
Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta
Con men disdegno che quando è posposta
La divina scrittura, o quando è torta. 90
Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa
Seminarla nel mondo, e quanto piace
Chi umilmente con essa s' accosta.
Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna, e face
Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse 95

79. *Interciso*, 'intercepted.' Nothing ever intervenes between their mind and the image of all things in God.

80–81. *Non bisogna* etc., 'they have no need of remembering by reason of interrupted concept.' Forgetfulness is the intervention of a new concept between the former one and the consciousness. With the angels, no concept, or perception, is ever interrupted by another. — St. Thomas inclines to the opinion that angels do not need — and therefore do not possess — memory, but he admits the possibility of their possessing it in a certain sense, if memory be considered as a faculty of the mind: *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. liv, Art. 5. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, IX, ii, and X, xi. Dante is more positive than his masters.

82. 'So that on earth men dream waking dreams.'

83. *Credendo*. 'whether they believe.'

84. *Nell' uno*, 'in the one': i. e., the latter (*non credendo*).

85. *Voi*, 'you mortals.'— *Un*, 'a single.'

87. 'The love and thought of show.'

88. *Si comporta*, 'is suffered.'

93. *Con*=*ad*.

94. *Per apparer*, 'for show.'

95. *Trascorse*, 'treated.'

Dai predicanti, e il Vangelio si tace.
Un dice che la luna si ritorse
Nella passion di Cristo, e s' interpose,
Per che il lume del sol giù non si porse;
Ed altri che la luce si nascose 100
Da sè, però agl' Ispani ed agl' Indi,
Com' a' Giudei, tale eclissi rispose.
Non ha Fiorenza tanti Lapi e Bindi
Quante sì fatte favole per anno
In pergamo si gridan quinci e quindi; 105
Sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno,
Tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento,
E non le scusa non veder lor danno.
Non disse Cristo al suo primo convento:
"Andate, e predicate al mondo ciance," 110
Ma diede lor verace fondamento;
E quel tanto sonò nelle sue guance,
Sì ch' a pugnar, per accender la fede,
Dell' Evangelio fero scudo e lance.
Ora si va con motti e con iscede 115

97–102. Mat. xxvii, 45: 'Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour.' To explain this darkness at the Crucifixion, some said that the moon left its course to make an eclipse, others that the sun hid its own rays. Dionysius (XXVIII, 130) favored the first explanation, St. Jerome the second. Both are recorded by St. Thomas in *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. xliv, Art. 2. The second theory has the advantage of accounting for an obscuration 'over all the land,' whereas an ordinary eclipse would darken only a part of it. The miraculous eclipse recorded in the Bible 'answered for the Spaniards and the Indians' — at the two extremes of the habitable world — 'as well as for the Hebrews.'

103. Lapo and Bindo would seem to have been very common names in Florence. They were originally nicknames respectively for Jacopo and Ildebrando.

109. *Convento*, 'congregation.'

111. Cf. 1 Cor. iii, 10–11: 'I have laid the foundation' . . . 'For other foundation can no man lay.'

112. *Quel tanto*, 'that alone': i. e., the 'true foundation.' For the use of *tanto*, cf. II, 67, XVIII, 13. — *Sue*, 'their.'

115. *Motti*, 'jests.' — *Iscede* (or *scede*), 'buffooneries.'

A predicare, e pur che ben si rida,
Gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede.
Ma tale uccel nel becchetto s' annida
Che se il vulgo il vedesse, vederebbe
La perdonanza di che si confida; 120
Per cui tanta stoltizia in terra crebbe
Che, senza prova d' alcun testimonio,
Ad ogni promission si converrebbe.
Di questo ingrassa il porco sant' Antonio, —
Ed altri ancor che son assai più porci, — 125
Pagando di moneta senza conio.
Ma perchè siam digressi assai, ritorci
Gli occhi oramai verso la dritta strada,
Sì che la via col tempo si raccorci.
Questa natura sì oltre s' ingrada 130
In numero, che mai non fu loquela
Nè concetto mortal che tanto vada.
E se tu guardi quel che si rivela
Per Danïel, vedrai che in sue migliaia

117. 'The cowl puffs up' with self-satisfaction.

118. The devil is nestling 'in the tail of the hood,' waiting for the preacher's soul. This odd conceit seems to have been suggested by some carving or miniature. Conspicuous on the pulpit of the old church of S. Miniato is the figure of a monk, and just above his hood is an eagle, which supports the lectern. Although the intention is, of course, quite different, this group may have suggested such an interpretation to the mind of a disapproving listener.

120. 'What kind of indulgence it trusts.'

123. 'They would flock to any promise.'

124. 'On this (credulity) St. Antony fattens his pig.' St. Antony, the founder of monasticism, is generally represented with a hog under his feet, the symbol of his subjugation of the flesh. The monks of his order kept herds of swine, which were regarded as sacred and allowed to roam anywhere, even into private houses: cf. F. Sacchetti, *Novelle*, CX. The degenerate Antonians were the most shameless and importunate of the mendicant preachers and pardoners, and Dante compares them to their own pigs.

129. *La via:* our discourse.

130. *Questa natura:* angel kind. — *S' ingrada*, 'climbs.'

134. Daniel vii, 10: 'thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him.' Cf. note to XXVIII, 92.

Determinato numero si cela. 135
La Prima Luce che tutta la raia,
Per tanti modi in essa si recepe,
Quanti son gli splendori a che s' appaia.
Onde, però che all' atto che concepe
Segue l' affetto, d' amor la dolcezza 140
Diversamente in essa ferve e tepe.
Vedi l' eccelso omai, e la larghezza
Dell' Eterno Valor, poscia che tanti
Speculi fatti s' ha in che si spezza,
Uno manendo in sè come davanti.' 145

135. This ambiguous line must mean: 'No definite number is apparent.' For the use of *si cela*, cf. XVI, 80.
137. *Per tanti modi*, 'in as many ways.' — *Recepe* = *riceve*. — Every angel constituting a species by itself, no two perceive God alike.
138. *S' appaia*, 'it (the Light) unites.'
139. 'The act of conception' is the vision of God, which depends on Grace.
140. *Affetto* is the subject of *segue*. — Cf. XXVIII, 109–111.
141. *Tepe* (Latin *tepet*), 'is tepid' — of course only by comparison with the glowing love of the most favored.
142. *Eccelso*, 'height.' — *Larghezza*, 'breadth.'
144. *Si spezza*, 'it is refracted.'

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

We now cross the boundary of the world of matter and enter the realm of pure spirit. As the stars, at dawn, gradually fade away before the sunshine, so the bright angelic rings disappear, leaving only the light that emanates from the Point. This light — when the traveler passes from Primum Mobile to Empyrean — becomes so overpowering that he once more, for an instant, loses his sight, to have it restored more fit for the experiences to come. So it fares with all the souls that reach Paradise: they are blinded 'to make the candle ready for its flame.' Again and again Dante's vision, accustomed to physical cognition, must be purified, strengthened, and adapted to a new kind of perception. Thus, in these closing cantos, one glorious symbol succeeds another. The first impression he receives is an overwhelming consciousness of Grace, which appears as a vast, inexhaustible river of light. Next he becomes aware of the souls that Grace sustains — beautiful flowers covering the banks of the stream, visited by ministering angels which flit like sparks between the current and the shores. Thus far his view of Heaven has been wholly abstract and symbolic. To behold it in a semblance of concrete reality, his eyes must be touched by Grace, so that they may see the World of the Blest as it shall be after the Resurrection, when the souls shall be reclothed in the flesh. He stoops over the bank until his lashes dip in the flood. Suddenly all is transformed. The river gathers into a round sea of light, and all about it the banks rise up 'in more than a thousand tiers,' whereon, in their glorified bodies, are seated the Elect. The whole cup-shaped amphitheatre presents the figure of a rose, the emblem of love.

1 Cor. xiii, 12, 'For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face,' reads in the Vulgate: 'Videmus nunc per speculum, in ænigmate, tunc facie ad faciem'; and St. Thomas, in his Commentary on the passage, is led by the Latin phraseology to distinguish three different kinds of sight. The highest grade of sight, he tells us elsewhere, is the direct intuition of essence; this kind of sight is enjoyed by angels contemplating themselves and by angels and blest contemplating God: *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xii, Art. 4; Qu. lvi, Art. 3. By a special grace, this intuition was accorded, for one instant, to St. Paul (Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxv, Art. 3); his contemplation was of the highest type ever granted to man in the first life (Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxx, Art. 5).

Forse sei milia miglia di lontano
Ci ferve l' ora sesta, e questo mondo
China già l' ombra quasi al letto piano,
Quando il mezzo del cielo, a noi profondo,
Comincia a farsi tal che alcuna stella 5
Perde il parere infino a questo fondo;
E come vien la chiarissima ancella
Del sol più oltre, così il ciel si chiude
Di vista in vista infino alla più bella.
Non altrimenti il trïonfo che lude 10
Sempre dintorno al Punto che mi vinse,
Parendo inchiuso da quel ch' egl' inchiude,
A poco a poco al mio veder si estinse;
Per che tornar con gli occhi a Beatrice
Nulla vedere ed amor mi costrinse. 15
Se quanto infino a qui di lei si dice
Fosse conchiuso tutto in una loda,

1-3. Dante is about to describe the aspect of the sky, with the stars gradually fading, a little before dawn. 'The sixth hour (i. e., noon) is glowing' some '6000 miles away from us.' Noon is separated from sunrise by a quarter of the earth's circumference — that is, according to our author's geography (*Conv.*, III, v, 103), by 5,100, a quarter of 20,400. If noon, then, is 6000 miles off, sunrise must still be 900 miles (or about an hour) away. The sun is below our horizon on one side, and the earth's conical shadow, projected into space, is correspondingly above our horizon on the other. As the sun rises, the shadow sinks; and when the middle of the sun shall be on the horizon line, the apex of the shadow will be on the same plane in the opposite quarter. An hour before dawn, therefore, 'this earth is already bowing its shadow down almost to the level bed' of the horizon. Cf. Moore, III, 58-59.

4. *A noi profondo*, 'deep above us.'

6. *Parere*, 'visibility.'— *Questo fondo*, 'this bottom': the earth's surface, where we are.

7. *Ancella:* Aurora, the dawn.

9. *Di vista in vista*, 'from sight to sight': i. e., star by star. Cf. II, 115.

10. *Lude* (Lat. *ludit*), 'sports.'

11. *Vinse:* see XXVIII, 16-18.

12. In the allegorical vision which Dante has beheld, the Point seems to be encompassed by the rings of light, whereas in reality God encompasses everything.

14. *Per che*, 'wherefore.' — *Tornar* depends on *costrinse* in l. 15.

15. *Nulla vedere* ('seeing nothing') and *amor* are subjects of *costrinse*.

Poco sarebbe a fornir questa vice.
La bellezza ch' io vidi si trasmoda
Non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo 20
Che solo il suo Fattor tutta la goda.
Da questo passo vinto mi concedo,
Più che giammai da punto di suo tema
Suprato fosse comico o tragedo.
Chè, come sole in viso che più trema, 25
Così lo rimembrar del dolce riso
La mente mia di sè medesma scema.
Dal primo giorno ch' io vidi il suo viso
In questa vita, infino a questa vista,
Non m' è il seguire al mio cantar preciso; 30
Ma or convien che mio seguir desista
Più dietro a sua bellezza poëtando,
Come all' ultimo suo ciascuno artista.
Cotal, qual io la lascio a maggior bando
Che quel della mia tuba (che deduce 35
L' ardüa sua materia terminando),
Con atto e voce d' espedito duce
Ricominciò: 'Noi semo usciti fuore
Del maggior corpo al ciel ch' è pura luce —

18. *Vice*, 'turn,' moment.
19. *Si trasmoda*, 'transcends measure.'
23. *Punto*, 'incident.'
24. A 'comic poet' is one who writes in familiar, a 'tragic poet' one who writes in exalted style. Cf. Epistola X, x, 209–212. The Dante of the Canzoni is a 'tragedo,' the author of the *Commedia* a 'comico.'
25. *Viso*, 'eye.' — Cf. *Conv.*, III, Canzone II, 60: 'Come raggio di sole un fragil viso.'
27. *Scema*, 'deprives.'
30. *Preciso*, 'cut off,' prevented.
33. 'As every artist (must stop) at his utmost.' — Now that Beatrice has reached her own home, the Empyrean, she is seen in her full beauty, which defies description.
34. *Bando*, 'heralding.' Cf. *Purg.* XXX, 13; *Par.* XXVI, 45.
37. *Espedito* (or *spedito*), 'ready.'
39. 'The biggest body' is the Primum Mobile, which surrounds all the rest of the material world.

Luce intellettüal piena d' amore, 40
Amor di vero ben pien di letizia,
Letizia che trascende ogni dolzore.
Qui vederai l' una e l' altra milizia
Di Paradiso, e l' una in quegli aspetti
Che tu vedrai all' ultima giustizia.' 45
Come subito lampo che discetti
Gli spiriti visivi, sì che priva
Dell' atto l' occhio di più forti obbietti,
Così mi circonfulse luce viva,
E lasciommi fasciato di tal velo 50
Del suo fulgor che nulla m' appariva.
'Sempre l' amor che queta questo cielo
Accoglie in sè con sì fatta salute,
Per far disposto a sua fiamma il candelo.'
Non fur più tosto dentro a me venute 55
Queste parole brevi, ch' io compresi
Me sormontar di sopra a mia virtute;
E di novella vista mi raccesi
Tale che nulla luce è tanto mera
Che gli occhi miei non si fosser difesi. 60
E vidi lume in forma di riviera

43. In the Empyrean are two victorious armies, the 'soldiery' of blessed souls that resisted temptation, and the host of good angels that triumphed over the bad.

44-45. The spirits of the elect will be seen by Dante 'in that aspect' in which they are to appear at the Last Judgment: i. e., in their bodily form.

46. *Discetti*, 'scatters.'

47-48. *Gli spiriti visivi*, 'the spirits (or sense) of sight.' — *Sì che* etc., 'so that it (the flash) deprives the eye of the effect of even more impressive objects.'

49. Cf. Acts xxii, 6: 'suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me' — '*circumfulsit* me lux copiosa.'

51. Cf. Acts xxii, 11: 'I could not see for the glory of that light.'

60. *Non si fosser difesi*, 'had not withstood it.'

61. See Daniel vii, 10: 'A fiery stream issued and came forth before him.' Also Rev. xxii, 1: 'And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.' Cf. Isaiah lxvi, 12. In the apocryphal Book of Enoch, rivers of flaming fire issue from under the

Fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive
Dipinte di mirabil primavera.
Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive,
E d' ogni parte si mettean nei fiori, 65
Quasi rubin che oro circonscrive.
Poi, come inebrïate dagli odori,
Riprofondavan sè nel miro gurge,
E s' una entrava, un' altra n' uscia fuori.
'L' alto disio che mo t' infiamma ed urge 70
D' aver notizia di ciò che tu vei,
Tanto mi piace più, quanto più turge.
Ma di quest' acqua convien che tu bei,
Prima che tanta sete in te si sazii.'
Così mi disse il sol degli occhi miei. 75
Anco soggiunse: 'Il fiume, e li topazii
Ch' entrano ed escono, e il rider dell' erbe
Son di lor vero ombriferi prefazii —
Non che da sè sien queste cose acerbe,
Ma è difetto dalla parte tua, 80
Che non hai viste ancor tanto superbe.'
Non è fantin che sì subito rua
Col volto verso il latte, se si svegli
Molto tardato dall' usanza sua,

throne. St. Bernard, *Sermones de Diversis*, XLII, vii, says: 'torrente voluptatis potantur justi.' Dante makes of this traditional river a symbol of Grace.

63. The spring flowers that cover the banks are the souls of the just.

64–66. The 'living sparks' that emerge from the flood and nestle in the flowers, 'like rubies set in gold,' are the angels, whose function it is to assist in the transmission of grace. Angels are compared to bees by St. Anselm (see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 232).

68. *Gurge*, 'torrent.'

71. *Vei = vedi.*

72. *Turge*, 'swells': cf. X, 144.

73. *Bei = beva.*

79. *Acerbe*, 'unripe.'

81. *Viste*, 'eyes.' — *Superbe*, 'exalted.'

82. *Rua*, 'plunges': cf. *Inf.* XX, 33.

Come fec' io, per far migliori spegli 85
Ancor degli occhi, chinandomi all' onda
Che si deriva perchè vi s' immegli.
E sì come di lei bevve la gronda
Delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda. 90
Poi, come gente stata sotto larve,
Che pare altro che prima, se si sveste
La sembianza non sua in che disparve,
Così mi si cambiaro in maggior feste
Li fiori e le faville, sì ch' io vidi 95
Ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.
O isplendor di Dio, per cu' io vidi
L' alto trïonfo del regno verace,
Dammi virtù a dir com' io lo vidi.
Lume è lassù che visibile face 100
Lo Crëatore a quella crëatura
Che solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace;
E si distende in circular figura
In tanto, che la sua circonferenza
Sarebbe al sol troppo larga cintura. 105
Fassi di raggio tutta sua parvenza
Riflesso al sommo del mobile primo,

87. 'Which pours forth for our betterment.'

88–89. 'The eaves of my eyelids' are the lashes.

95. *Vidi:* note the insistence on the reality of the vision of Heaven, implied in the repetition of *vidi* in rhyme with itself in ll. 95, 97, 99.

96. Cf. ll. 43–44.

100. *Che* is the subject of *face* (=*fa*). The light still represents Grace.

102. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, I, i: 'Fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.'

106–108. The whole material universe forms a globe, whose exterior is that of the Primum Mobile. One ray of God's grace descends upon this sphere, and gives it life and motion; then, reflected from its smooth, round surface, is transformed into the circular ocean of light that appears as the floor of Paradise. — *Fassi* = *si fa*.

Che prende quindi vivere e potenza.
E come clivo in acqua di suo imo
Si specchia, quasi per vedersi adorno, 110
Quando è nel verde e nei fioretti opimo,
Sì, soprastando al lume intorno intorno,
Vidi specchiarsi, in più di mille soglie,
Quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.
E se l' infimo grado in sè raccoglie 115
Sì grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
Di questa rosa nell' estreme foglie?
La vista mia nell' ampio e nell' altezza
Non si smarriva, ma tutto prendeva
Il quanto e il quale di quella allegrezza. 120
Presso e lontano lì nè pon nè leva;
Chè, dove Dio senza mezzo governa,
La legge natural nulla rileva.
Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna, —
Che si dilata e digrada e redole 125
Odor di lode al Sol che sempre verna, —

109. *Clivo*, 'hillside.' — *Di suo imo*, 'at its foot.'
111. *Nel verde:* other texts have *nell' erbe*. — *Opimo*, 'rich': cf. XVIII, 33.
112. *Soprastando*, 'overlooking.'
113. *Specchiarsi:* cf. the figure of Rachel, the type of contemplation, in *Purg.* XXVII, 104–105. — *Soglie*, 'tiers.'
114. 'All of us who have returned on high.'
115–116. Cf. ll. 103–105.
117. The vast, cup-like theatre is called a 'rose,' and its sections 'petals.'
119. *Prendeva*, 'took in.'
120. *Il quanto e il quale:* cf. XXIII, 92.
121. 'There, nearness and distance neither add nor subtract.'
123. *Nulla rileva*, 'is of no importance.'
124. *Nel giallo*, 'into the yellow,' is to be connected with *mi trasse Beatrice* in l. 128. The 'yellow of the rose' is the sea of light that forms the bottom of the arena. Cf. Rev. iv, 6: 'And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal.'
125. 'Which expands, and rises in steps, and breathes sweet.' — *Che* refers to *rosa*. — *Redole:* Latin *redolet*.
126. *Sempre verna*, 'makes perpetual spring.' Cf. Epistola V, v, 81 (also 89–90).

Qual è colui che tace e dicer vuole,
  Mi trasse Bëatrice, e disse: 'Mira
  Quanto è il convento delle bianche stole!
Vedi nostra città quanto ella gira! 130
  Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni
  Che poca gente omai ci si disira!
In quel gran seggio a che tu gli occhi tieni
  Per la corona che già v' è su posta,
  Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni 135
Sederà l' alma (che fia giù agosta)
  Dell' alto Arrigo, ch' a drizzare Italia
  Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.
La cieca cupidigia che vi ammalia
  Simili fatti v' ha al fantolino 140
  Che muor di fame e caccia via la balia.
E fia prefetto nel foro divino
  Allora tal che, palese e coperto,

129. See Rev. iii, 5: 'He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment': and vii, 13: 'What are these which are arrayed in white robes?' Cf. *Par.* XXV, 88–96.

131–132. Men are so wicked, and the end of the world is so near, that only a few more souls are expected in Paradise. Cf. *Conv.*, II, xv, 115–116: 'noi siamo già nell' ultima etade del secolo.'

133. The impressive episode of a vacant chair in Heaven is found in several mediæval legends: in the Syriac version of the *Visio S. Pauli*, in the vision of Tundal, and in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Cæsarius of Heisterbach.

134. The homage which Dante, in these lines, pays to his worshipped Henry acquires tremendous force from the unfitness of a symbol of mundane sovereignty in Paradise. Cf. *Purg.* XIX, 133–138.

135. See XXIV, 1–2. Cf. Rev. xix, 9.

136. *Agosta*, 'Imperial.'

137. Henry of Luxembourg, elected Emperor (Henry VII) in 1308, crowned at Milan in 1311, attempted to restore the balance of power and the Imperial authority in Italy, but met with determined opposition, and died at Buonconvento in 1313.

139. *Vi ammalia*, 'bewitches you mortals.'

140. *Fantolino*, 'babe.'

142. The Pope, or 'prefect in the sacred court,' is Clement V, who died in 1314, eight months after Henry.

143. *Palese e coperto*, 'openly and secretly.'

Non anderà con lui per un cammino.
Ma poco poi sarà da Dio sofferto 145
Nel santo offizio; ch' ei sarà detruso
Là dove Simon mago è per suo merto,
E farà quel d' Alagna entrar più giuso.'

144. 'Shall refuse to travel on the same road with him.' Clement, after encouraging Henry to undertake the Italian expedition, underhandedly worked against him, and finally opposed him without disguise. Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 82–87; *Par.* XXVII, 82.

146–147. *Detruso,* 'thrust down.' — For Simon Magus, cf. *Inf.* XIX, 1. — Clement shall fall into the 3d pouch of the 8th circle of Hell, where simonists are planted upside down in fiery holes. In the hole of the simoniacal Popes, each new arrival pushes his predecessors further down: *Inf.* XIX, 73–75.

147. Clement's predecessor in simony is Boniface VIII: *Inf.* XIX, 52–57. He is called 'the man of Anagni' because he was born in that town, and in 1303 was assaulted and taken prisoner there: *Purg.* XX, 85–90. Anagni was known also as *Alagna* and *Anagna.* — These fearful words are the last spoken by Beatrice.

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

THROUGH all Dante's *Paradiso* there has been little thought of matter. Sound and light have been the main ingredients of his marvelous effects, even in the physical heavens. And now, in the last four cantos, he achieves what no other poet, before or since, has attempted with so much as a shadow of success: the presentation of a world beyond the perceptions of sense. Discreet omission and subtle suggestion, insistence on a progressive sharpening of spiritual insight, repeated warning that the increasingly exalted vision can be expressed only in ever more inadequate symbols — these are the elements from which the master creates an atmosphere of supersensual grandeur, love, and joy. A well contrived gradation leads from the first comprehension of Grace to the immediate view of God, the climax of the poem. No incongruous didactic theme is allowed to disturb our tenuous but distinct impression of actual presence. Questions physical and metaphysical have been disposed of ere we reach the Empyrean. The only doctrines formulated here are the appropriate ones of predestination and the salvation of infants; these are set forth in Canto XXXII.

To afford some support for the imagination, to lend to the ethereal conception some of the solid substance of personal identity, the poet fancies himself permitted by a special grace to gaze on the assembly of the Blest as they shall appear after the Judgment Day. 'For our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour . . . : who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body' (Philippians iii, 20–21). The vast amphitheatre (whose floor is a sea of glory) is thronged with faces, all of them clearly visible, in spite of incalculable distance. Between them and their Maker, who shines from above, hovers a thick swarm of angels, messengers between God and man; and even these purely spiritual beings now show themselves to Dante in a bodily form. Their presence, however, in no wise obstructs the direct vision of the Lord; in other words, the Just receive grace not only through angelic transmission, but straight from the Creator himself.

While Dante is wondering at this scene, Beatrice slips away, just as Virgil, his mission ended, silently took his departure from the Garden of Eden (*Purg.* XXX, 46–54). This time, however, there is no sadness in the parting, for the 'Gentilissima' has simply returned to her high seat in Heaven; whereas the earlier companion went back to eternal captivity below. Now that the pilgrim is in the actual presence of God, he has no further need of Revelation for a guide; and Beatrice, who was chosen from all the souls in Paradise to perform this office for him, now resumes her own personality and her own place. In her stead, at Dante's side, is St. Bernard, the type of Contemplation. Reason, Revelation, Contemplation represent the three stages of approach to God.

The verses of the present canto offer an unusual abundance of examples of hiatus and diæresis, which would seem to indicate a slow, thoughtful, impressive delivery. In such cases as *cominciò* | *egli* and *farà* | *ogni* (where a final vowel is stressed) hiatus is the rule in our poet. Also, in words like *ardüa*, *fïata*, *gaudïoso* (contrasted with *gaudio*), *glorïose*, *orïental*, *regïon*, *rïaccesa*, *süadi* — mostly Latinisms — diæresis is rather to be expected in the *Commedia;* although the number of such forms is uncommonly large in this canto. Very rare indeed, on the other hand, are lines comparable to 37, 47, and 53:

> 'I|o che | al divino dall' umano,'
> 'Menava | i|o gli occhi per li gradi,'
> 'Già tutta mi|o sguardo avea compresa.'

Curiously enough, the name *Beatrice*, which in the *Paradiso* very frequently shows separation of the *e* and the *a* (as is always the case with *bëato*), here in every instance combines the two vowels into one syllable. Is this because the Bestower of Blessings has now become once more Beatrice Portinari? It is to be noted that in ll. 79–90 Dante addresses her as *tu;* up to this time he has always used the respectful *voi.*

The power of angels to assume aërial bodies is admitted by St. Gregory, *Moralia,* XXVIII, i (commentary on Job xxxviii, 7).

In forma dunque di candida rosa
 Mi si mostrava la milizia santa

2. Cf. XXX, 43.
1. The figure of the rose seems to be Dante's own, although Paradise is sometimes represented in rose-like form in early Italian art. The rose, too, was some-

Che nel suo sangue Cristo fece sposa;
Ma l' altra, che volando vede e canta
La gloria di colui che la innamora 5
E la bontà che la fece cotanta,
Sì come schiera d' api, — che s' infiora
Una fïata, ed una si ritorna
Là dove suo lavoro s' insapora, —
Nel gran fior discendeva, che s' adorna 10
Di tante foglie, e quindi risaliva
Là dove il suo Amor sempre soggiorna.
Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva,
E l' ali d' oro, e l' altro tanto bianco
Che nulla neve a quel termine arriva. 15
Quando scendean nel fior, di banco in banco
Porgevan della pace e dell' ardore
Ch' egli acquistavan ventilando il fianco.
Nè lo interporsi — tra il disopra e il fiore —
Di tanta plenitudine volante 20
Impediva la vista e lo splendore;
Chè la luce divina è penetrante

times used as a symbol of the Passion. On the fourth Sunday of Lent, the Pope blesses a gold rose, with a ceremonial that indicates an association of this flower with Christ and Heaven: see G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 233–238. The Old French *Roman de la Rose*, the great literary success of the 13th century, made all western Europe familiar with the rose as a symbol of earthly love; Dante's white flower is the rose of Heavenly love. It may be that a sight of the Roman Coliseum influenced his conception of the great ampitheatre of Paradise (cf. Busnelli, I, 239–242).

4. *L' altra* (sc., *milizia*): the angels.

7. *S' infiora*, 'enflowers itself': dips into flowers.

9. *Là:* to the hive. — *S' insapora*, 'turns savory.'

13. Cf. Ezekiel i, 13: 'their appearance was like living coals of fire.'

14. Cf. Daniel x, 5 ('whose loins were girded with fine gold') and vii, 9 ('whose garment was white as snow'); also Song of Solomon v, 10 and 11: 'My beloved is white and ruddy' . . . 'His head is as the most fine gold.' The angels embody love, purity, and faith. Cf. the figure of the Griffin in *Purg*. xxix, 113–114.

18. *Ventilando il fianco*, 'by fanning their sides': i. e., by flapping their wings as they flew upward.

Per l' universo secondo ch' è degno,
Sì che nulla le puote essere ostante.
Questo sicuro e gaudïoso regno, 25
Frequente in gente antica ed in novella,
Viso ed amore avea tutto ad un segno.
O trina Luce, che in unica stella
Scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga,
Guarda quaggiù alla nostra procella! 30
Se i Barbari, venendo da tal plaga
Che ciascun giorno d' Elice si copra
(Rotante col suo figlio, ond' ell' è vaga),
Vedendo Roma e l' ardüa sua opra
Stupefaciensi, quando Laterano 35
Alle cose mortali andò di sopra, —
Io, che al divino dall' umano,
All' eterno dal tempo era venuto,
E di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,
Dì che stupor dovea esser compiuto! 40
Certo tra esso e il gaudio mi facea

24. *Ostante*, 'an obstacle.'
26. *Frequente*, 'abounding.' — *Gente* etc.: members of the Old (Hebrew) and the New (Christian) Church.
27. *Ad un segno*, 'directed at one mark.'
29. *Appaga = appaghi*, 'dost satisfy.' It is not certain whether we have in *appaga* a third person used for the second or a relic of the original form of the second person singular.
31-33. The 'zone' that is always 'covered by Helice' is the North. The nymph Helïce or Callisto was transformed into the constellation of the Great Bear, and her son Arcas or Boötes into the Little Bear: *Met.*, II, 496-507; cf. *Purg.* XXV, 131. The Bears, or Dippers, are close to the North Star: cf. Canzone XV, 28-29. — *Ond' ell' è vaga*, 'whom she loves.'
34. *L' ardua sua opra*, 'her lofty architecture.'
35. *Stupefaciensi = si stupefacevano*. — The 'Lateran' is the old Papal palace in Rome: cf. *Inf.* XXVII, 86. According to tradition, it was given to St. Sylvester by Emperor Constantine (cf. *Inf.* XXVII, 94-95), and became the seat of Christian dominion. Less than a century later, the barbarians invaded Rome.
36. *Andò di sopra*, 'surpassed.'
39. This phrase, the climax of the tiercet, is Dante's last and bitterest fling at Florence.
41. *Tra esso e il gaudio*, 'it (my amazement) and my joy together.'

Libito non udire, e starmi muto.
E quasi peregrin, che si ricrea
Nel tempio del suo voto riguardando
E spera già ridir com' ello stea, 45
Sì per la viva luce passeggiando,
Menava io gli occhi per li gradi,
Mo su, mo giù, e mo ricirculando.
Vedea di carità visi süadi,
D' altrui lume fregiati e del suo riso, 50
Ed atti ornati di tutte onestadi.
La forma general di Paradiso
Già tutta mio sguardo avea compresa,
E in nulla parte ancor fermato il viso;
E volgeami con voglia rïaccesa 55
Per domandar la mia Donna di cose
Di che la mente mia era sospesa.
Uno intendea, ed altro mi rispose:
Credea veder Beatrice, e vidi un Sene
Vestito con le genti glorïose. 60
Diffuso era per gli occhi e per le gene
Di benigna letizia, in atto pio,
Quale a tenero padre si conviene.
Ed: 'Ella ov' è?' di subito diss' io.

42. *Libito*, 'a pleasure.'
43. *Ricrea*, 'refreshes.'
44. *Voto*, 'vow': the shrine which he has vowed to visit.
45. *Ridir:* to tell the people at home. — *Stea* = *stia*.
49. 'I saw faces conducive to love.'
50. *Del suo*, 'with their own.'
58. *Uno intendea*, 'I meant one thing. — *Altro*, 'something else.'
59. *Sene* (Latin *senex*), 'Elder.' For the characteristics of *senio*, or old age, see *Conv.*, IV, xxviii. This elder is St. Bernard, founder of the Abbey of Clairvaux in Champagne, a great preacher and mystic of the first half of the 12th century, famous for his ardent devotion to the Blessed Virgin. It was he who preached the second crusade. One of his works is cited in Epistola X, xxviii, 555.
60. *Vestito con*, 'clad like': cf. *Purg.* XXIX, 145–146.

Ond' egli: 'A terminar lo tuo disiro 65
Mosse Beatrice me del loco mio.
E se riguardi su nel terzo giro
Del sommo grado, tu la rivedrai
Nel trono che i suoi merti le sortiro.'
Senza risponder gli occhi su levai 70
E vidi lei, che si facea corona
Riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai.
Da quella regïon che più su tuona
Occhio mortale alcun tanto non dista,
Qualunque in mare più giù s' abbandona, 75
Quanto lì da Beatrice la mia vista;
Ma nulla mi facea, chè sua effige
Non discendeva a me per mezzo mista.
'O Donna, in cui la mia speranza vige, —
E che soffristi per la mia salute 80
In Inferno lasciar le tue vestige, —
Di tante cose quante io ho vedute,
Dal tuo potere e dalla tua bontate
Riconosco la grazia e la virtute.

67–68. Beatrice's own seat is 'in the third row from the top tier.' The 1st row is that of Mary, the 2d that of Eve, the 3d that of Rachel, beside whom Beatrice sits: see *Inf.* II, 102; *Par.* XXXII, 8–9. Contemplation and Revelation sit side by side. The number 3 (as well as the number 9) has always been mysteriously associated with Beatrice: see *V. N.*, XXX. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. lxxx, Art. 4: 'in tertio vero gradu ponitur absoluta consideratio intelligibilium in quæ per sensibilia pervenitur.'

71. The significance of the halo, or crown of the blest, is discussed by St. Thomas in *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xcvi.

73–75. An 'eye' at the very bottom of the sea 'is not so far away' from the top of the earth's atmosphere — the 'region that thunders highest up' (cf. *Purg.* XXI, 43–57, and XXXII, 111).

77. *Effige*, 'image.'

78. *Per mezzo mista*, 'blurred by anything between.'

79. *Vige*, 'is strong.'

81. See *Inf.* II, 52–93; *Purg.* XXX, 139–141.

82. This phrase depends on *grazia* and *virtute* in l. 84.

83–84. 'I owe the grace and efficacy . . . to thy power and goodness.' For *riconosco*, cf. XXII, 113, XXIX, 59.

Tu m' hai di servo tratto a libertate 85
Per tutte quelle vie, per tutti i modi
Che di ciò fare avei la potestate.
La tua magnificenza in me custodi,
Sì che l' anima mia, che fatta hai sana,
Piacente a te dal corpo si disnodi!' 90
Così orai; ed ella, sì lontana
Come parea, sorrise e riguardommi;
Poi si tornò all' Eterna Fontana.
E il santo Sene: 'Acciò che tu assommi
Perfettamente,' disse, 'il tuo cammino, 95
A che prego ed amor santo mandommi,
Vola con gli occhi per questo giardino;
Chè veder lui t' acconcerà lo sguardo
Più al montar per lo raggio divino.
E la Regina del cielo, ond' i' ardo 100
Tutto d' amor, ne farà ogni grazia,
Però ch' io sono il suo fedel Bernardo.'
Quale è colui che forse di Croazia
Viene a veder la Veronica nostra,
Che (per l' antica fama) non si sazia 105

85. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxxiii, Art. 4: 'Libertas a peccato . . . vera libertas . . . vera servitus est servitus peccati.'
87. *Che = per cui.* — *Avei = avevi.*
88. *Custodi* (imperative), 'preserve.'
94. *Assommi*, 'achieve.'
96. The 'prayer and holy love' are Beatrice's.
97. St. Bernard, *In Ascensione Domini Sermo*, iv, 9 (cf. G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 245), exhorts his monks to contemplate the seats and mansions on high.
103. *Croazia*, 'Croatia.' — Cf. Petrarch's sonnet 'Movesi il vecchierel canuto e bianco.'
104. The Veronica is the true image of the Saviour, left on a kerchief which a holy woman had handed him, on his way to Calvary, to wipe the sweat from his face. It was shown at St. Peter's in Rome on certain days. Hosts of pilgrims went from afar to see it, as Dante tells us in *V. N.*, XLI, 1–11.
105. 'Who, having heard of it for so long, cannot look enough.' — Some would read *fame* for *fama:* see *Bull.*, XVIII, 20.

Ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra:
'Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?'
Tale era io, mirando la vivace
Carità di colui che in questo mondo, 110
Contemplando, gustò di quella pace.
'Figliuol di grazia, questo esser giocondo,'
Cominciò egli, 'non ti sarà noto
Tenendo gli occhi pur quaggiù al fondo;
Ma guarda i cerchi fino al più remoto, 115
Tanto che veggi seder la Regina
Cui questo regno è suddito e devoto.'
Io levai gli occhi; e come da mattina
Le parti orïental dell' orizzonte
Soperchian quella dove il sol declina, 120
Così, quasi di valle andando a monte
Con gli occhi, vidi parte nello estremo
Vincer di lume tutta l' altra fronte.
E come quivi, ove s' aspetta il temo
Che mal guidò Fetonte più s' infiamma, 125
E quinci e quindi il lume si fa scemo,
Così quella pacifica oriafiamma

106. *Fin che* etc., 'as long as it is exhibited.'
111. St. Bernard in his meditations had a foretaste of the peace of Heaven. In the *Meditationes Piissimæ* (ascribed to him), i, we find a rhapsody on the joys of contemplation.
112. *Esser*, 'existence.'
116. *Veggi* = *vegga* or *veda*.
120. *Soperchian*, 'surpass' in brightness.
122. *Parte nello estremo*, 'a part of the highest edge.'
123. *L' altra fronte*, 'the rest of the rim.'
124. 'And as, on earth, the point (of the horizon) where the chariot-pole (of the sun) is expected.'
125. For Phaëthon and his luckless attempt to drive the chariot of the sun, cf. *Inf.* XVII, 106–108; *Purg.* XXIX, 118–120; *Par.* XVII, 3.
127. The streak of light on Mary's side of the uppermost tier of the arena is called an 'oriflamme of peace.' The real oriflamme, — a red pennant on a gilded

Nel mezzo s' avvivava, e d' ogni parte
Per egual modo allentava la fiamma.
Ed a quel mezzo con le penne sparte 130
Vidi più di mille Angeli festanti,
Ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d' arte.
Vidi quivi ai lor giochi ed ai lor canti
Ridere una bellezza, che letizia
Era negli occhi a tutti gli altri Santi. 135
E s' io avessi in dir tanta divizia
Quanta ad immaginar, non ardirei
Lo minimo tentar di sua delizia.
Bernardo, come vide gli occhi miei
Nel caldo suo calor fissi ed attenti, 140
Li suoi con tanto affetto volse a lei
Che i miei di rimirar fe' più ardenti.

staff, given by the Archangel Gabriel to the kings of France, — was a standard of war.

132. Every angel, as has been said before, forms a species by itself, with its own degree of brightness and its own ministry.

136. *Divizia*, 'wealth.'

140. *Nel caldo suo calor*, 'on his own hot heat': i. e., on Mary, the object of his own burning affection.

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

On one side of the rim of the great cup of Paradise sits Mary; on her right is St. Peter, and beyond him St. John; on her left is Adam, then Moses. Opposite Mary, on the other side of the rim, sits John the Baptist, with St. Anna on his right and St. Lucia on his left. The Virgin is in the midst of four men, the Baptist is between two women. From Mary to the bottom of the cup extends a straight row of Old Testament women, the first of whom (after Mary) are Eve, Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and Ruth; on the right of Rachel is Beatrice. Across the cup from this row, a line of holy men stretches from John the Baptist to the bottom, — the second, third, and fourth being St. Francis, St. Benedict, and St. Augustine. The half of the amphitheatre which lies at the right of the line of men and at the left of the row of women is filled with the souls of virtuous Hebrews who died before the Redemption. The other half — at the right of Mary's line and at the left of John's — belongs to the souls of Christians; here some of the seats are still empty. The lower part of both halves, from the middle down, is occupied by the spirits of children who died before the age of moral responsibility. They are here because their parents had faith in Christ, either before or after his coming; on the Christian side, baptism is an indispensable prerequisite.

The children are mentioned here for the first time; no sphere offers an appropriate place for them, unless we are to understand that they are included in the army of the blest which assembles in the eighth heaven. Like the adults, they enjoy various degrees of beatitude, in proportion to the grace accorded them at birth. Our poet here departs from St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. lxix, Art. 8), who declares that all children admitted to baptism receive the same amount of grace; St. Bonaventure, however, admits the possibility of difference for them (G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, II, 1912, 166). Their presence serves to emphasize the mystery of predestination, in accordance with which all the seats in the rose are allotted. Dante's insistence on this doctrine renders futile any attempt at general classification of the souls in the Empyrean. In Hell and Purgatory the

topography is systematically described for us. No such exposition is given us in Paradise. In the journey through the spheres, we are introduced to certain types of merit and reward, which may or may not correspond in a way to the gradations of the amphitheatre. In the rose itself we are informed of the great vertical and horizontal divisions, and the position of a few of the souls ; and we may infer that proximity to Mary or to John the Baptist is a sign of honor. Beyond that, all is mystery.

Gazing upon this vast assembly, Dante finds satisfaction of the desire expressed in Canto XXII, ll. 58-60, to behold the Elect uncovered.

Affetto al suo piacer, quel contemplante
  Libero officio di dottore assunse,
  E cominciò queste parole sante:
'La piaga che Maria richiuse ed unse,
  Quella ch' è tanto bella da' suoi piedi 5
  È colei che l' aperse e che la punse.
Nell' ordine che fanno i terzi sedi,
  Siede Rachel di sotto da costei
  Con Bëatrice, sì come tu vedi.
Sara, Rebecca, Judit, e colei 10
  Che fu bisava al cantor che per doglia
  Del fallo disse: '*Miserere mei*,'
Puoi tu veder così di soglia in soglia
  Giù digradar, com' io ch' a proprio nome

1. *Affetto*, 'intent.' — *Piacer*, 'delight': Mary. — *Contemplante:* Bernard.

4-6. The 'wound' of original sin (inflicted by Eve and healed by Mary) is discussed in *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxxv, Art. 3. Mary is often represented as the counterpart of Eve. The word *AVE*, with which she is greeted, is the reverse of *EVA;* so says, among others, Dante's son Pietro. St. Bernard, *Sermo de Beata Maria Virgine*, compares Mary to a rose, Eve to a thorn: G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 227-228. — *Da' suoi piedi*, 'at her (Mary's) feet.'

7-9. Cf. *Inf.* II, 102; *Par.* XXXI, 67-69.

11. *Bisava*, 'great-grandmother': Ruth. — *Cantor :* David.

12. *Fallo*, 'sin': 2 Samuel xi-xii. — *Miserere mei*, 'have mercy upon me.' Ps. li (Vulg. l), 1.

14. *Giù digradar*, 'in graded descent.' — *A proprio nome*, 'with the name of each.'

Vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia. 15
E dal settimo grado in giù, sì come
Infino ad esso, succedono Ebree,
Dirimendo del fior tutte le chiome;
Perchè, secondo lo sguardo che fee
La fede in Cristo, queste sono il muro 20
A che si parton le sacre scalee.
Da questa parte onde il fior è maturo
Di tutte le sue foglie, sono assisi
Quei che credettero in Cristo venturo.
Dall' altra parte, onde sono intercisi 25
Di voti i semicircoli, si stanno
Quei ch' a Cristo venuto ebber li visi.
E come quinci il gloriöso scanno
Della Donna del cielo e gli altri scanni
Di sotto lui cotanta cerna fanno, 30
Così di contra quel del gran Giovanni,
Che sempre santo il diserto e il martiro
Sofferse, e poi l' Inferno da due anni,

18. *Dirimendo*, 'parting.' — The 'locks of the flower' are its petals, and the petals of the rose are presumably the sections of seats in the amphitheatre. — The line of Hebrew women cuts through all the rows from top to bottom. The first seven have been named; the rest are not.

19–20. *Secondo* etc., 'according to the look which Faith turned on Christ': i. e., according as the Faith of the Hebrews looked forward to Christ to come, or the Faith of the Christians looked back to Christ crucified. On one side of the partition (made by the line of Jewesses) are the Hebrews, on the other the Christians.

25–26. *Onde* etc., 'where the semicircles are broken by empty space': where some seats, here and there, are still vacant.

28. *Quinci*, 'on this side.'

30. *Cerna*, 'division.'

31. *Mat.* xi, 11: 'Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.' Cf. *Purg.* XXII, 153.

32. *Sempre santo:* 'he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb' (Luke i, 15). — *Diserto:* cf. *Purg.* XXII, 151–152; *Par.* XVIII, 134. — *Martiro:* cf. *Par.* XVIII, 135.

33. *Inferno:* the Limbus, where John, after his death, had to wait some two years for the descent of Christ to rescue the souls of the just.

E sotto lui così cerner sortiro
Francesco, Benedetto ed Augustino, 35
Ed altri sin quaggiù di giro in giro.
Or mira l' alto provveder divino!
Chè l' uno e l' altro aspetto della fede
Egualmente empierà questo giardino.
E sappi che, dal grado in giù che fiede 40
A mezzo il tratto le due discrezioni,
Per nullo proprio merito si siede,
Ma per l' altrui, con certe condizioni;
Chè tutti questi son spiriti assolti
Prima ch' avesser vere elezïoni. 45
Ben te ne puoi accorger per li volti,
Ed anco per le voci püerili,
Se tu li guardi bene e se gli ascolti.
Or dubbi tu, e dubitando sili;

34. *Cerner sortiro* seems to mean 'have assigned division,' i. e., have constructed the dividing line. Cf. XXXI, 69.

35. St. Augustine, the founder of Theology, and St. Benedict (XXII, 28) and St. Francis (XI, 43), the great founders of orders, may be regarded as successors of John the Baptist. Cf. Luke i, 17.

38–39. After the Last Judgment, the souls from the Old Church will be exactly equal in number to those from the New.

40. *Dal grado in giù*, 'below that tier'. — *Fiede*, 'cuts.'

41. *A mezzo il tratto*, 'half way down.' — *Discrezioni*, 'divisions': the two sides of the rose.

43. *L' altrui*, 'the merit of others' (one's parents). — *Condizioni:* cf. ll. 79–84.

44. *Assolti*, 'released' from the flesh.

45. *Elezioni*, 'choice': exercise of the free will.

46–48. According to the usual opinion, the bodies of all the elect will rise, at the Resurrection, in the aspect of the prime of life. Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxxi, Art. 1–2. So they are commonly pictured in mediæval art. In his striking departure from current belief, Dante was influenced certainly by a desire for significant visible contrast, and also, we may conjecture, by that love of little children which he has more than once revealed. The sweet conception of an encircling sea of baby faces, all twittering with baby voices, must have charmed him as it charms us.

49. *Sili* (Latin *siles*) = *taci*. — Dante is silently wondering why, if these children never won merit by the exercise of their free will, some have higher seats than others. He learns presently that the degree of beatitude (symbolized

Ma io ti solverò 'l forte legame 50
In che ti stringon li pensier sottili.
Dentro all' ampiezza di questo rëame
Casüal punto non puote aver sito,
Se non come tristizia o sete o fame;
Chè per eterna legge è stabilito 55
Quantunque vedi, sì che giustamente
Ci si risponde dall' anello al dito.
E però questa festinata gente
A vera vita non è *sine causa*
Intra sè qui più e meno eccellente. 60
Lo Rege, per cui questo regno pausa
In tanto amore ed in tanto diletto
Che nulla volontà è di più ausa,
Le menti tutte nel suo lieto aspetto
Crëando, a suo piacer di grazia dota 65
Diversamente; e qui basti l' effetto.
E ciò espresso e chiaro vi si nota
Nella Scrittura santa in quei gemelli,
Che nella madre ebber l' ira commota.

by the height of the seat) is determined by predestination, not by one's own acts: cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cxii.

53. 'Not a particle of chance can find a place.' Everything has a definite cause.

54. *Se non come*, 'any more than.'

56–57. *Giustamente* etc., 'there is exact correspondence.'

58–59. 'And therefore this company, hurried to the true life, is not *sine causa*' (Latin: 'without cause').

61. *Pausa*, 'rests.'

63. *È di più ausa*, 'ventures upon more.' Cf. *oso* in *Purg.* XI, 126, XX, 149; *Par.* XIV, 130.

64–66. Cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiæ*, III, xxxii: 'Electorum alios magis alios minus dilexit.' — *Effetto*, 'fact.' Do not seek the wherefore of God's grace. — See *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cxii.

67–69. Jacob and Esau 'struggled together' in their mother's womb: Gen. xxv, 22–25. Cf. Malachi, i, 2–3: 'I have loved you, saith the Lord. Yet ye say, wherein hast thou loved us? Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob. And I hated Esau.' So Romans ix, 10–15: 'And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived . . . : (For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God

Però, secondo il color dei capelli 70
Di cotal grazia l' altissimo lume
Degnamente convien che s' incappelli.
Dunque, senza mercè di lor costume,
Locati son per gradi differenti,
Sol differendo nel primiero acume. 75
Bastava sì nei secoli recenti,
Con l' innocenza, per aver salute,
Solamente la fede dei parenti;
Poi che le prime etadi fur compiute,
Convenne ai maschi all' innocenti penne, 80
Per circoncidere, acquistar virtute.
Ma poi che il tempo della grazia venne,
Senza battesmo perfetto di Cristo,
Tale innocenza laggiù si ritenne.

according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth;) It was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy.' See *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xxiii, Art. 3.

70–72. 'Therefore the heavenly light must crown us fitly, according to the complexion of that grace.' Our halo, or reward, in Heaven is proportionate to the grace bestowed on us at birth. For *s' incappelli*, cf. XXV, 9. The odd expression, 'the color of the hair of that grace,' was evidently suggested by Esau's red hair: Gen. xxv, 25. Esau, without apparent reason, differed in looks from Jacob, just as he differed from him in character and in divine favor.

73. *Mercè*, 'merit.' — *Costume*, 'conduct.'

75. *Primiero acume*, 'primal keenness' of spiritual sight, bestowed by Grace.

76. *Sì*, 'indeed.' — *Recenti*, 'new,' fresh from creation: the ages before Abraham. — Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. lxx, Art. 2.

80–81. 'It was requisite for the males to win strength for the wings of innocence by circumcision.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. lxx, Art. 2: 'Circumcisio instituta est ut signum fidei Abrahæ, qui credidit se patrem futurum Christi sibi repromissi; et ideo convenienter solis maribus competebat. Peccatum etiam originale, contra quod specialiter circumcisio ordinabatur, a patre trahitur, non a matre.' See also Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxxi, Art. 5. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 37–38.

82–84. After the Crucifixion, the unbaptized innocent children were 'confined below' in the Limbus: cf. *Inf.* IV, 30, 34–36. Since the Redemption, there has been no salvation without baptism in Christ. See *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Qu. lxx, Art. 2: 'Baptismus in se continet perfectionem salutis, ad quam Deus omnes homines vocat . . . Circumcisio autem non continebat perfectionem

Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a Cristo 85
Più si somiglia, chè la sua chiarezza
Sola ti può disporre a veder Cristo.'
Io vidi sopra lei tanta allegrezza
Piover, portata nelle menti sante
Crëate a trasvolar per quella altezza, 90
Che quantunque io avea visto davante
Di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,
Nè mi mostrò di Dio tanto sembiante.
E quell' amor che primo lì discese,
Cantando: '*Ave Marïa, gratia plena*,' 95
Dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.
Rispose alla divina cantilena
Da tutte parti la bëata Corte,
Sì ch' ogni vista sen fe' più serena.
'O santo Padre, che per me comporte 100
L' esser quaggiù, lasciando il dolce loco
Nel qual tu siedi per eterna sorte,
Qual è quell' angel che con tanto gioco
Guarda negli occhi la nostra Regina,
Innamorato sì che par di foco?' 105
Così ricorsi ancora alla dottrina
Di colui ch' abbelliva di Maria
Come del sole stella mattutina.
Ed egli a me: 'Baldezza e leggiadria,
Quanta esser può in angelo ed in alma, 110

salutis, sed figurabat ipsam ut fiendam per Christum.' Cf. Tertia, Qu. lxii. — For the fourth and last time, we have a series of rhymes in *Cristo*.

89. *Menti:* the heavenly Intelligences, or angels.

94. *Amor:* the angel Gabriel. Cf. XXIII, 94–96. — *Lì:* upon her (at the Annunciation).

95. Luke i, 28: 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured.'

99. *Vista*, 'face.'

100. *Comporte*, 'endurest.'

107. *Abbelliva di*, 'grew beautiful with.'

Tutta è in lui; e sì volem che sia,
Perch' egli è quegli che portò la palma
Giù a Maria, quando il Figliuol di Dio
Carcar si volle della nostra salma.
Ma vieni omai con gli occhi, sì com' io 115
Andrò parlando, e nota i gran patrici
Di questo imperio giustissimo e pio.
Quei due che seggon lassù più felici,
Per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,
Son d' esta rosa quasi due radici. 120
Colui che da sinistra le s' aggiusta
È il padre per lo cui ardito gusto
L' umana specie tanto amaro gusta.
Dal destro vedi quel padre vetusto
Di santa Chiesa, cui Cristo le chiavi 125
Raccomandò di questo fior venusto.
E quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi
(Pria che morisse) della bella Sposa
Che s' acquistò con la lancia e coi chiavi,
Siede lungh' esso; e lungo l' altro posa 130
Quel duca sotto cui visse di manna
La gente ingrata, mobile e ritrosa.
Di contro a Pietro vedi sedere Anna,

114. *Salma:* the 'burden' of human sin.
119. *Augusta*, 'the Empress': Mary. Augusta was an established title for the wife of the Emperor: see Tor. Cf. XXX, 136.
121. *Le s' aggiusta*, 'is next to her.'
124. *Vetusto*, 'ancient.'
125. Mat. xvi, 19. Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 91–92.
126. *Venusto*, 'lovely.'
127. St. John, the author of the Apocalypse.
128. *Sposa:* the Church.
129. *Lancia:* John xix, 34. Cf. XIII, 40. — *Chiavi*, 'nails.'
130. *Esso:* Peter. — *L' altro:* Adam.
131. *Duca*, 'leader': Moses. See Exod. xvi, 14–35.
133. *Anna:* St. Anna, mother of Mary.

Tanto contenta di mirar sua figlia
Che non move occhi per cantare '*Osanna.*' 135
E contro al maggior padre di famiglia
Siede Lucia, che mosse la tua Donna,
Quando chinavi, a ruïnar, le ciglia.
Ma perchè il tempo fugge che t' assonna,
Qui farem punto, come buon sartore 140
Che, com' egli ha del panno, fa la gonna;
E drizzeremo gli occhi al Primo Amore,
Sì che, guardando verso lui, penetri
(Quant' è possibil) per lo suo fulgore.
Veramente nè forse tu t' arretri 145
Movendo l' ali tue, credendo oltrarti,
Orando grazia convien che s' impetri —
Grazia da quella che può aiutarti.
E tu mi segui con l' affezïone,
Sì che dal dicer mio lo cor non parti.' 150
E cominciò questa santa orazione.

135. *Per cantare*, 'while singing.'
137. *Lucia:* St. Lucia, the type of Illumining Grace, who has twice come to Dante's aid: *Inf.* II, 97–108; *Purg.* IX, 55–63.
138. 'When thou wast bending thy brows to fall': *Inf.* I, 61. Lucia sent Beatrice to save Dante at the time when the wolf was driving him back into the wooded valley.
139. If, as seems likely, *t' assonna* means 'holds thee in sleep,' this passage affords the only evidence that Dante's experience is a dream. Nearly all the mediæval accounts of the other world are cast in the form of dreams or visions.
145. *Veramente*, 'but.' — *Nè*, 'lest': a Latinism.
146. *Oltrarti*, 'to advance.'
147. 'Grace must be obtained by prayer.'
148. *Quella:* the Blessed Virgin.
150. *Dicer*, 'speech.' — *Parti* = (*tu*) *parta*, 'thou divide.'

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

THE *Commedia* differs from most narratives in the abruptness of its beginning and end. No prelude is suffered to retard the entrance of the theme, and no epilogue dispels the stupendous exaltation of the climax. Isolated, complete in itself, the story of repentance, reform, and regeneration pursues its steady march from the opening line of the poem to its grand culmination — admission to the actual presence of God. Such an experience as this final one far transcends the powers both of speech and of recollection. Cautiously, laboriously, the poet feels his way through the dim chambers of memory, evoking evanescent glimpses of unspeakable vanished impressions, which, in the cruel lack of every means of direct conveyance, he can express only in the form of unsubstantial images. No tinsel royalty belittles Dante's Paradise, no pitiful attempt to describe the indescribable. First of all, we are made conscious of the unity and the universality of the Almighty: indivisible and undiversified, he contains the entire multiform world, whose true existence is in him alone. Next his threefold oneness is disclosed to us by the symbol of three mysterious rings — three distinct circles of three different colors, but occupying exactly the same place. One of these rings, depicting in itself, with its own color, the figure of mankind, reveals the human nature in Christ and its absolute fusion with the divine. At this point a sudden flash of Grace for one instant illumines the beholder with full understanding, and his individual will is merged in the World-Will of the Creator.

A purely intuitive, intellectual vision is devoid of physical images; but after the experience is over, the memory may retain impressions capable of expression in concrete form. Thus St. Paul's memory, at the close of his vision of Paradise, kept certain 'likenesses of visible things': St. Thomas, *Quæstiones de Veritate*, Qu. xiii, Art. 3; *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxv, Art. 4.

Although the persons of the Trinity are very often described by Church writers as of exceeding brightness (cf. G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l' ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, I, 1911, 256–7), the conception of the three rings of light seems, in the main, to be of Dante's invention. In Rev. iv, 3, we read: 'And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.' Commentators indulged in much speculation on this verse, attempting to determine the colors of the three precious stones. St. Thomas makes them white, green, and red, the

colors chosen by Dante to designate the three virtues (Busnelli, I, 259–266). Furthermore, the image of the rainbow was used to symbolize the Trinity (particularly by St. Basil in *Epistolæ*, Classis I, Ep. xxxviii); the figure was not inappropriate, because, according to Aristotle and others, the rainbow consists of three colors, which blend into one another (Busnelli, I, 257–259).

'Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta più che crëatura,
Termine fisso d' eterno consiglio,
Tu se' colei che l' umana natura
Nobilitasti sì che il suo Fattore 5
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.
Nel ventre tuo si raccese l' amore
Per lo cui caldo nell' eterna pace
Così è germinato questo fiore.
Qui sei a noi meridïana face 10
Di caritate, e giuso intra i mortali
Sei di speranza fontana vivace.
Donna, sei tanto grande e tanto vali
Che qual vuol grazia ed a te non ricorre,
Sua disïanza vuol volar senz' ali. 15
La tua benignità non pur soccorre
A chi domanda, ma molte fïate
Liberamente al domandar precorre.
In te misericordia, in te pietate,
In te magnificenza, in te s' aduna 20
Quantunque in crëatura è di bontate.
Or questi, che dall' infima lacuna

1. The beautiful prayer to the Blessed Virgin, with which this canto opens, is quite in the style of St. Bernard. A great part of it was copied by Chaucer in the *Second Nun's Tale*, 29–84. Such an intercession is wholly in accordance with Catholic practice.

10. *Face*, 'torch.'

13–15. Cf. St. Bernard, *Sermones in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini*, III, x: 'Nihil nos Deus habere voluit, quod per Mariæ manus non transiret.' — *Qual*, 'whosoever.' — *Vuol volar senz' ali*, 'is trying to fly without wings,' seems to have been a standing phrase: *Bull.*, XVIII, 21.

22. *Questi:* Dante. — *Lacuna*, 'pool': the lake of ice at the centre of the

Dell' universo infin qui ha vedute
Le vite spiritali ad una ad una,
Supplica a te, per grazia, di virtute 25
Tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi
Più alto verso l' Ultima Salute.
Ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi
Più ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei preghi
Ti porgo (e prego che non sieno scarsi) 30
Perchè tu ogni nube gli disleghi
Di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,
Sì che il Sommo Piacer gli si dispieghi.
Ancor ti prego, Regina che puoi
Ciò che tu vuoli, che conservi sani, 35
Dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi.
Vinca tua guardia i movimenti umani!
Vedi Beatrice con quanti bëati
Per li miei preghi ti chiudon le mani!'
Gli occhi da Dio diletti e venerati, 40
Fissi nell' orator, ne dimostraro
Quanto i devoti preghi le sòn grati.
Indi all' Eterno Lume si drizzaro,
Nel qual non si de' creder che s' invii
Per crëatura l' occhio tanto chiaro. 45
Ed io, — ch' al fine di tutti i disii
M' appropinquava, — sì com' io dovea,
L' ardor del desiderio in me finii.

earth. St. Thomas calls stagnant waters *lacunæ* in *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xviii, Art. 1.—The reference is to Dante's experiences on his upward journey.
25–26. *Di virtute tanto*, 'for so much strength.'
31. *Perchè*, 'that.' — *Disleghi*, 'dispel.' — Cf. *Cons.*, III, Metr. ix, 25–26:

'Disjice terrenæ nebulas et pondera molis,
Atque tuo splendore mica.'

44. *S' invii*, 'is sped'; the subject is *l' occhio* in l. 45. Other texts have *s' inii* (a word constructed from *io*), 'sinks itself.'
45. *Per creatura*, 'by any creature.'

Bernardo m' accennava, e sorridea,
Perch' io guardassi suso; ma io era 50
Già per me stesso tal qual ei volea;
Chè la mia vista, venendo sincera,
E più e più entrava per lo raggio
Dell' alta Luce, che da sè è vera.
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio 55
Che il parlar nostro, ch' a tal vista cede;
E cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio.
Qual è colui che somnïando vede,
E dopo il sogno la passione impressa
Rimane, e l' altro alla mente non riede, 60
Cotal son io; chè quasi tutta cessa
Mia visïone, ed ancor mi distilla
Nel cor lo dolce che nacque da essa.
Così la neve al sol si dissigilla,
Così al vento nelle foglie lievi 65
Si perdea la sentenza di Sibilla.
O Somma Luce, che tanto ti levi
Dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
Ripresta un poco di quel che parevi,
E fa la lingua mia tanto possente 70
Ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
Possa lasciare alla futura gente!
Chè per tornare alquanto a mia memoria,

52. *Venendo sincera*, 'growing pure.'
57. *Oltraggio*, 'excess.'
58. *Somniando* = *sognando*, which is the reading of some texts.
59. *Passione*, 'emotion.'
62. *Distilla*, 'drips.' — Both the sweetness and the thinness of the recollection are reflected by the tinkling rhyme in *-illa*.
64. *Si dissigilla*, 'is unsealed': melts away.
65–66. The Cumæan Sibyl used to write her prophecies on loose tree-leaves, which, when a wind arose, were scattered and lost: *Æn.*, III, 441–451.
68. *Dai*, 'above.'
71. *Favilla* is the object of *lasciare* in l. 72. — *Sol*=*sola*.
73. *Per tornare*, 'by returning.'

E per sonare un poco in questi versi,
Più si conceperà di tua vittoria. 75
Io credo — per l' acume ch' io soffersi
Del vivo raggio — ch' io sarei smarrito,
Se gli occhi miei da lui fossero aversi.
E mi ricorda ch' io fui più ardito
Per questo a sostener, tanto ch' io giunsi 80
L' aspetto mio col Valor infinito.
O abbondante grazia, ond' io presunsi
Ficcar lo viso per la luce eterna
Tanto che la veduta vi consunsi!
Nel suo profondo vidi che s' interna, 85
Legato con amore in un volume,
Ciò che per l' universo si squaderna:
Sustanzia ed accidenti e lor costume,
Quasi conflati insieme per tal modo
Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume. 90
La forma universal di questo nodo

76–78. When we turn from gazing on a light, our eyes are blurred for everything else: cf. XXV, 118–120. So the sight of God makes all other vision seem confused and meaningless. — *Aversi*, 'averted.'

80. *Per questo*, 'on that account': because I felt sure that I could see nothing else.

81. *Aspetto*, 'gaze.'

82. *Presunsi*, 'presumed.' — To behold the divine essence, our human sight must be fortified by divine enlightenment: St. Thomas, *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, III, liv.

84. *Consunsi*, 'spent': cf. XXVI, 5. I looked with such intentness that I became blind to all else.

85. *S' interna*, 'is contained.'

86. God is the Book of the Universe. Cf. *Purg.* III, 126.

87. *Si squaderna*, 'is spread.'

88. Nothing being accidental in God, the distinction between substance and accident does not exist in him: *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. iii, Art. 6. — *Costume*, 'habit.'

89–90. 'Fused together, as it were, in such wise that that whereof I speak is one simple light' (cf. l. 109). God, containing all things, is a perfect unit: see *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. iv, Art. 2. Cf. *Par.* XXVIII, 16–21.

91–93. Painfully groping in his memory, the poet is encouraged by a sense of satisfaction with his statement — a reminiscence of the glow of contentment (the 'passione impressa') which came over him when he first comprehended the

Credo ch' io vidi, perchè più di largo,
Dicendo questo, mi sento ch' io godo.
Un punto solo m' è maggior letargo
Che venticinque secoli alla impresa 95
Che fe' Nettuno ammirar l' ombra d' Argo.
Così la mente mia, tutta sospesa,
Mirava fissa, immobile ed attenta,
E sempre di mirar faceasi accesa.
A quella Luce cotal si diventa 100
Che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto
È impossibil che mai si consenta;
Però che il ben, ch' è del volere obbietto,
Tutto s' accoglie in lei, e fuor di quella
È difettivo ciò che lì è perfetto. 105
Omai sarà più corta mia favella —
Pure a quel ch' io ricordo — che di un fante
Che bagni ancor la lingua alla mammella.
Non perchè più ch' un semplice sembiante

union of everything in God. This feeling leads him to believe that his report thus far has been correct. — By 'the universal form of this knot' is meant the absolute principle of this union — the fusion of all things temporal and eternal in the Creator. — *Di largo*, 'amply.'

94–96. 'One single moment, for me, means more forgetfulness than 25 centuries have been for that adventure which made Neptune marvel at the shadow of Argo.' The expedition of the Argonauts, under Jason, in search of the golden fleece (*Inf.* XVIII, 86–87; *Par.* II, 16–18) was thought to have occurred in the 13th century B. C. The Argo was the first ship ever built: hence Neptune's surprise. The general sense, then, is this: in the first moment after my awakening (XXXII, 139) I forgot more of my vision than mankind has forgotten, in 2500 years, of the story of the Argonauts.

100–102. 'In that Light one becomes such that it is impossible ever to consent to turn from it to see aught else.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. v, Art. 4: 'Perfecta beatitudo hominis in visione divinæ essentiæ consistit. Est autem impossibile quod aliquis videns divinam essentiam velit eam non videre. . . . Visio autem divinæ essentiæ replet animam omnibus bonis, cum conjungat fonti totius bonitatis. . . . Sic ergo patet quod propria voluntate beatus non potest beatitudinem deserere.'

103. 'Because good, which is the object of volition.'

106–107. 'Henceforth, even in the things I remember, my speech will fall shorter than that of a babe.'

Fosse nel vivo Lume ch' io mirava 110
(Che tal è sempre qual era davante),
Ma per la vista che s' avvalorava
In me guardando, una sola parvenza
(Mutandom' io) a me si travagliava.
Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza 115
Dell' alto Lume parvemi tre giri
Di tre colori e d' una continenza;
E l' un dall' altro — come Iri da Iri —
Parea riflesso, e il terzo parea foco
Che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri. 120
O quanto è corto il dire, e come fioco
Al mio concetto! e questo, a quel ch' io vidi,
È tanto che non basta a dicer 'poco.'
O Luce Eterna, che sola in te sidi,
Sola t' intendi, e da te intelletta 125
Ed intendente te, ami ed arridi!
Quella circulazion, che sì concetta
Pareva in te come lume riflesso,
Dagli occhi miei alquanto circonspetta,
Dentro da sè del suo colore stesso 130
Mi parve pinta della nostra effige,

114. *Si travagliava*, 'was transformed.'
117. *Continenza*, 'dimension.'
118. The circle representing the Son seemed reflected from the circle symbolizing the Father, just as one arch of a double rainbow is reflected by the other (cf. XII, 10–13) — 'Iris by Iris.' Cf. XIII, 55–57.
119. *Terzo:* the Holy Ghost emanates equally from Father and Son. Cf. X, 1–2.
122. *Questo:* sc., *concetto*. — *A*, 'compared to.'
123. *Tanto*, 'such.'
124. *Sidi*, 'abidest.'
125–126. Mat. xi, 27: 'no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son.' Cf. *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. xxxiv, Art. 1: 'Pater enim intelligendo se et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum . . . concipit Verbum.'
127. *Concetta*, 'conceived,' generated.
129. *Circonspetta*, 'surveyed.'
131. *Effige*, 'image.' Cf. Philippians, ii, 7.

Per che il mio viso in lei tutto era messo.
Qual è 'l geometra che tutto s' affige
Per misurar lo cerchio, e non ritrova
Pensando quel principio ond' egli indige, 135
Tale era ïo a quella vista nuova:
Veder voleva come si convenne
L' imago al cerchio, e come vi s' indova;
Ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne —
Se non che la mia mente fu percossa 140
Da un fulgore, in che sua voglia venne.
All' alta fantasia qui mancò possa;
Ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il *velle*,
Sì come ruota ch' egualmente è mossa,
L' Amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle. 145

133-135. Cf. *Mon.*, III, iii, 9-10: 'geometra circuli quadraturam ignorat.' Also *Conv.*, II, xiv, 217-219: 'il cerchio per lo suo arco è impossibile a quadrare perfettamente.' — *Geometra*, 'geometer.' — *S' affige*, 'applies himself.' — *Misurar:* the problem is the squaring of the circle. — *Indige*, 'is in need.'

137. *Si convenne*, 'conformed.'

138. *S' indova*, 'it finds a place.'

139. *Penne*, 'wings.'

142. Cf. *Conv.*, III, iv, 87-95: 'il nostro intelletto, per difetto della virtù della quale trae quello ch' el vede (che è virtù organica), cioè la fantasia, non puote a certe cose salire, perocchè la fantasia nol puote aiutare, chè non ha il di che; siccome sono le Sustanze partite da materia; delle quali se alcuna considerazione di quelle avere potemo, intendere non le potemo, nè comprendere perfettamente.' Cf. also *Par.* XXIV, 24.

143. *Velle* (Latin), 'will.' — *Disiro* and *velle* are objects of *volgeva*, the subject of which is *Amor* in l. 145. — St. Thomas, in *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei contra Gentiles*, III, xxv, tells us that, inasmuch as the knowledge of God is the natural goal of man's desire, no other knowledge can suffice for human happiness.

144. The circle, being the perfect figure, is an emblem of perfection; and circular motion symbolizes full and faultless activity. St. Thomas, *In Librum B. Dionysii De Divinis Nominibus*, Caput iv, Lectio 7: 'Et ideo circularitas motus animæ completur in hoc quod ad Deum manuducit.' In *V. N.*, XII, 26-34, we read that while Love in the abstract is comparable to a circle, Dante, the earthly lover, is not; but at the end of his journey, in the presence of his Maker, Dante's love is made perfect, 'like a wheel in even revolution.' See J. B. Fletcher in *The Nation* (New York), Dec. 29, 1910.

145. The stars, at which the poet has gazed wistfully from below, are now beneath him. Their conformity to God's plan is not more complete than his, nor is their rotation more perfect than the movement of his desire and will.